

# THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY

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1966



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**Nanda:**

"What makes you so happy Aunty?"

**Aunty:**

"Oh! I am so pleased. From the day that Kamala started working she had planned to take a long holiday in Kashmir. Now, that dream is coming true. She leaves next week."



**Nanda:**

"Doesn't it cost a lot of money?"

**Aunty:**

"It does—but she tells me that she has a wonderful insurance policy which gives her enough money at the end of three five-year periods. This policy has helped her to save regularly and provides useful sums of money when she needs them most—as, for example, in the case of this trip."



**Nanda:**

"How exciting! Tell me more."

**Aunty:**

"Five years hence she is to receive another equal amount with which she plans to refurnish her house—another dream fulfilled. And lastly she will receive an even larger sum which will come in handy for many other plans she has. An LIC Agent drew up this plan for her."

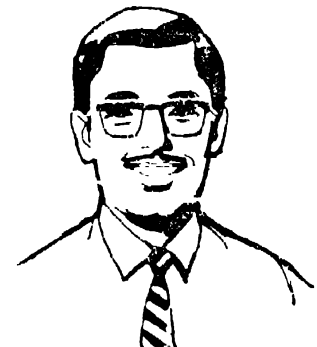


**Nanda:**

"I must go and talk to him. I thought life insurance moneys were payable only on death."

**L.I.C. Agent:**

"This type of policy is called an Anticipated Endowment Policy. It is a good plan particularly for young working women. It helps them to save and make their dreams come true."



**Life Insurance Corporation of India**

CMLIC-47

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VOL. CXIX. No. 1

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# THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY



1966

VOL. CXIX, No. 1

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## NOTES

### These Space Flights

Landmarks in the field of human progress are not always signs of increased human well-being. The atom bomb, for instance, signified an utter negation of welfare. The invention of sulpha drugs or antibiotic medicines increased human happiness and freedom from suffering and preventible death to a very great extent. There have been other discoveries and inventions which have benefited mankind or endangered progress and security with reference to their great scientific value. Advancement in point of knowledge or ability to control the forces of nature do not necessarily add to the pleasures or security of life of mankind. There are things which can serve a dual purpose. They can do good to man or destroy his happiness according to the manner they are made use of. Such things are found among electrical or electronic devices, mechanical or chemical inventions and among all those marvels of scientific and industrial achievements which have enabled humanity to make those giant strides which we call human progress.

Men have always dreamt of visiting the distant planets and the other solar systems which are so very far away that their distances are measured in light years, one light year being the distance that light traverses in one year, travelling at the rate of 183000 miles per second. So long as men only imagined such journeys to other places in the outer space, no one really worked out any details of the travel programmes. With the growth, in recent years, of rocket research, the details began to assume material shape and financial size with the launching of each rocket. We now know that a properly manned expedition to the Moon, our nearest neighbour in space, may cost a few thousand crores of rupees. A journey to Mars or Venus may require ten or twenty times more money, time and organisation.

What good will such space travel do to mankind? It is now fairly certain that the Moon will not provide facilities for human habitation and the planets of our solar system will not be suitable for colonisation by men. It is possible, however, to recover valuable elements from these far away heavenly bodies. Diamonds, metals,



gems and objects hitherto unknown to us may come from the explorations of space. Such discoveries may pay for the journeys and even yield a profit. And as far as the misuse of the power to move about in space is concerned, we can visualise the military potentiality of launching rockets with war heads from hidden points of the compass at great speed, which will defeat all known detection appliances. But such mankilling weapons will not add to human well-being. Rather, these will be a greater menace to humanity than anything we have known so far. From this point of view, man's successes in space voyages, cannot be viewed with optimism and pleasure.

On the other hand if the speed of space crafts can be boosted from launching stations and booster centres in outer space so that these crafts can move at a speed faster than that of light, then man may be able to explore the far away solar systems with greater ease. Then explorations may enable man to discover planets with congenial physical conditions of atmosphere, temperature and gravity which may be habitable for men. If such things ever happened, the future of mankind might find other settings than what could be found on this Earth to develop and unfold its potentialities. That will no doubt be a gain and real progress. But travelling at speeds greater than that of light or at speeds now attainable for three thousand or three million years according to the distances to be covered, are now just as much of a dream as was a journey to the Moon in 1865 A.D. The U.S. astronauts who have remained in space for long periods have proved that men can travel in space to the planets without suffering any unendurable hardship. They can also come back to earth in a controlled manner. These are steps forward in space travel methods and are likely to lead to well planned journeys into outer space within a few years. The Russians have also made great progress in space travel. They are certainly as ad-

vanced in this field as are the United States astronautical planners. Perhaps the Russians are a little superior to the Americans. Other nations cannot compete with these two industrial giants for the obvious reason that they cannot afford to do so. Whether China or India will be able to come into line with Russia and the U.S.A. is a matter of progress in industry. China surely would like to people the universe with men and women of the Han race, but that may only come after the Chinese have obtained full control over this Earth. The Chinese may also migrate *en masse*; but that will be too good for all the others who inhabit this Earth and such good things never actually happen.

### General Thimayya

The death of General Thimayya has removed a military strategist of great talent from that very small group of men of extraordinary ability that India possesses at the present time. Men of average ability there are in fairly good numbers, but remarkable talent is quite rare. We have some scientists of the superior type and we have several persons of extraordinary merit in the learned professions. There are highly talented artists, musicians, actors and entrepreneurs too. But altogether the number of really capable men in different fields of human endeavour is limited. Among soldiers General Thimayya was an outstanding figure and though he was no longer actively connected with warfare, all soldiers who had known Thimayya at any stage of their service life felt the loss the army had suffered when he went out of active service. Among all the mistakes the Government of India had committed during the Nehru regime which reduced India's national potential considerably, the army was subjected to mishandling in a bad way too. Its recovery had been spectacular since a change of policy was put in motion after the Chinese invasion. General Thimayya

was not made proper use of by the Government of India and the reasons for this are not known to us. He was pushed out of active fighting into the diplomatic branch of military work. He proved his merit in this sort of work too ; but his absence from field service was a loss to the nation. A great soldier is dead and when the history of India's national army is written his name will be among those who have been outstanding for their grasp and understanding of military science.

### Pompousness

Imperialism and pompousness went hand in hand. It possibly began with the Roman Empire. The great processions, victory marches, grand banquets etc., etc. that were organised to display the greatness of the Empire and Emperor in a spectacular manner, were all the expressions of a very common human weakness. By nature men desire to assert their superiority over others and this self-assertion, when carried too far becomes obnoxious. The Roman Emperors were possibly not guilty, personally, of the blatant exhibition that they made of themselves. Their followers, sycophants and officials liked to throw their weight about, play with the rights of ordinary citizens, usurp the privileges of the common man and to put everybody into difficulty and discomfort, so that the world could realise in full how powerful and great were those that surrounded the Emperor and were his sword-hand. The British suffered from a Roman Empire complex too throughout the short period during which they wielded power over a large slice of the world. Their pompousness increased after they inherited the *gaddi* of the Moghuls in India. The Durbars, the Processions with richly dressed up elephants, camels and mounted body-guards and all the rest of the pageantry made the underfed, ill-clothed and ignorant masses of India, gape with

wonder and amazement at the mighty *feringhees* to whom they paid *selami* and *khazana*. It seems the secular democratic republic of India has not lost its taste for cheap show and expensive archways in spite of all its vaunted avowals of a deep attachment to asceticism, simplicity, equal division of wealth and privileges and everything else that points to a total freedom from all human weaknesses. We find the same interference with the citizens' rights to use the city's roads conveniently to go from place to place, the same archways built at the cost of the poor Indian public and the same pageant and fanfare, as we found in the days of the imperial British overlords. Mr. Shastri who displays his *dhoti* everywhere in order to prove that he is one of us, should realise that if "No Entry" signs are put across the major roadways of Calcutta 12 hours before his arrival in the city and all traffic is stopped, also hours before he sets foot anywhere within the V.I.P. zone, it would hardly help to convince the public of his oneness with the general run of Indians. We know it is not he who arranges all this pointless display ; and that the officials are responsible for overdoing things ; but he should put a stop to all excesses indulged in by the bureaucrats. The bureaucrats destroyed the British Empire. Given a chance they will destroy all political parties, every type of Government and themselves too.

### Hindi-Burmi Bhai Bhai

Exuberant foreign relations are never an index of the true feelings of nations. Pandit Nehru was effusive to a fault and got attached to foreigners incautiously and without reserve. He was whole-hearted and he was, therefore, easily victimised by others. His experience should teach his successors that other nations will be friendly to us only to the extent that it will suit their own purpose to be so. So that, we

should back the policy of our leaders in so far as they are polite and friendly to other nations. But we should be careful to accept any unduly optimistic assessments of the possibilities of any sudden developments in the sphere of foreign relations. The Burmese have not been extra friendly to Indians of late and we do not believe that they will change their policy relating to Indians in a drastic manner after Mr. Shastri's visit. Mr. Shastri has been right to exchange very friendly greetings with Gen. Ne Win and we have nothing to say about that. But whether or not these exchanges will lead to great things for India and Burma, is a question which time alone can and will answer. Burma may very willingly take technical aid from India and we may also take rice from Burma; but all that will be just trade. If Burma agrees to a greater and wider scheme of cultural exchanges those may lead to more intensive friendly relations between the two nations. What will happen eventually is, of course, not known to anyone. Even if we grant that the present exchanges of wishes and desires have been very sincere and born of genuine and true feelings, there cannot be any certainty of the fullest realisation of those wishes and desires. Human feelings are unstable. Even more unstable are human relations and the Governments of revolutionary eras. Our Government is more stable than the Burmese Government. Burma, therefore, may depend on us to carry out our promises. How far can we depend on Burma to carry out her promises?

### Anti-Indian British

The British have been anti-Indian for over two hundred years. First they looted India in the manner of bandits during the days of the East India Company. Then they exploited India in the manner of feudal lords through taxes, rents, monopolistic control of trade and manufacture and salaries and wages of officials, soldiers, mechanics and in all other ways that overlords followed to drain out the wealth of conquered territories. For all this gain made unethically the British hated their Indian victims. There is a twist in human psychology which causes all exploiters to hate the people they exploit. After independence the British have continued to act in an anti-Indian fashion in all their activities affecting India, Pakistan and other Asiatic countries. But they kept up an outward show of decency and friendship. This outward show has now vanished. Recently the common Britisher has joined hands with the empire builders and are molesting and insulting Indian men and women who go to Britain for studies or for other reasons. In one such case two Indian girl students were assaulted and injured by some British hooligans in London. And the British police insulted the victims instead of helping and protecting them.

We have said before this that we should send out all Britishers who come to India to make money. There are various reasons for this. The first is that Britishers cannot be trusted to be true to their salt. (They will be paid by India but they will act anti-Indian). Secondly, they may act as spies of foreign powers and also give support and protection to others who are, more or less, of the fifth column. The British who come to India are usually under-qualified and over-paid. It is not economically a sound policy to engage British technicians. The only thing they successfully achieve is to make India buy inferior British and other machinery at an exorbitant price. They also do not teach Indians what little they know and they try to prove that Indians are not good enough technicians and that they cannot replace foreigners. All British workers in India should be sent out on this ground only. At least, they should not be allowed to stay

on in India for very long periods. It is neither necessary nor is it a good policy for the reason that the longer a Britisher stays in India the worse he becomes from every point of view.

### **To Keep Wars Going**

America and Great Britain are two of the greatest sponsors of international ill feelings and wars. Great Britain has been doing this work of provoking fierce antagonisms among nations for a few centuries and America has taken it up as a part of her own foreign policy after the end of the first World War. While these and other Western nations talk about ending wars for ever and establishing peace on earth on a basis of complete international fellowship, they continue to act secretly as well as openly to instigate mutual antipathies among nations. They also supply arms to those who have not enough man-killing appliances and finance war-like preparations by evil-minded leaders of selected nations. Men like Ayub Khan are just the sort of leaders that the war-mongers of the West like. They can carry out the secret orders of their pay-masters without compunction or consideration for the well-being of their own people. These secret arrangements are sometimes quite fantastic. Open enemies can secretly collaborate and nations bound by treaties and alliances may secretly try to destroy one another. In such a world one does not feel surprised if the pioneers in the field of World Peace spend \$300 million dollars to build up the "defences" of a fairly peaceful nation. Nor if another declared peace-loving power supplies £125 million worth of armaments to give military strength to a hitherto non-violent nation. These astounding figures refer to America's military aid to Saudi Arabia and Britain's supplies of war planes to the same country. Why is this being done? Some are saying

that a new Pan-Islamism is in the making and Saudi Arabia will take a lead in the formation of this new bloc. Pakistan has apparently failed to deliver the goods. But she will remain in it, playing second fiddle. This new Islamic bloc will possibly counter the leadership of the U.A.R. in the Afro-Asian zone. China was aided in a round about fashion by being allowed to conquer Tibet and by a tacit toleration of her international misdeeds; but she also failed to chase Russia out of Afro-Asia. Whether China received any secret financial aid from her avowed critics and enemies is not known to us; but such things can happen. The kind of diplomacy that the Anglo-Americans engage in has no limits anywhere. There are currents and cross currents of open and secret forces and influences which are not guided or directed according to any ethics or logic acknowledged by the nations of the world. The only principle recognised by those who control these forces and influences is to maintain their own superiority. This they try to achieve by making the nations of the world enemies of one another. They are first made to feel strongly against one another. Then they exhaust their resources by war-like preparations. After this they fight among themselves and get weaker and then they run for more aid and assistance—and so it goes on and on.

### **Menace of China**

Mr. Shastri may meet and feel friendly towards Ayub Khan but the menace of Pakistan will remain. Treacherous enemies are bad; but treacherous friends are worse. For, we can provide for the possibilities of treachery by an enemy; but we may not do so in the case of friends. That is why it is more of a danger to national security to have too many friends among those who have acted treacherously in the past, than to have a few declared enemies. Pakistan was created by stabbing mother India in the

back. Pakistan continues to stab India in the back as a matter of policy and habit. We cannot, therefore, trust Pakistan while Pakistan lasts. Militarily we can not relax while Pakistan exists, no matter who makes what promises in her behalf. For, Pakistan will never be a friend of India.

The same is true of China. And on top of that she has a population which is much more than that of India. She has vast masses of very good workmen who toil hard without making any demands and produce war materials for China at a cost which is possibly less than half of what it costs India to manufacture armaments. China has no ethical inhibitions. India has suffered throughout her history for her unwise mixing of **dharma** with **yuddha**. There cannot be any mixture of good and evil for the two are mutually exclusive. Goodness ceases to be good when mixed with evil and things that are evil lose their sting when they are modified by goodness. **Yuddha**, therefore, must be totally **yuddha** and all considerations of **dharma** must be shelved when **yuddha** is being prepared for. China has had many religious teachers of the same class as the Jain **Tirthankars** or Goutama the Buddha. But after her experience and clashes with Western civilisation and her adoption of Western materialism as the moral basis of life, China never allowed any teachings of Lao Tse, Confucius or Buddha to stand between her and her dreams of making the world Chinese. In India there are numerous leaders and followers who devote more time and thought on vegetarianism, prohibition, non-violence, home spun clothes, Ram-rajya, and so forth than on national defence. That we must defend our country at any cost and by any sacrifice has not entered fully into our heads, leave alone our souls. China is poised on our borders with a few hundred thousand well armed soldiers who can fight to death and who can be increased to a few millions whenever China so desires. China also has small range and middle range

missiles with atomic war heads. She will soon have nuclear missiles which will be able to traverse long distances. India is hugging some half-dead ideals which Pandit Nehru passed on to his followers. These followers are mostly on the brink of the Biblical Three Score Years and Ten. Are our future citizens going to die a horrible nuclear death, because some persons fanatically attach themselves to a fallacy and stick to the path of a great national disaster? This is a matter in which all Indians are involved. And all Indians must think of it and voice their opinion too without much delay.

### National Survival

Philosophically speaking life is a bouquet of love and hatred. That, is, philosophically speaking, again, a creative and constructive attachment to persons or things is only as beautiful as a chaotic and destructive passion which fiercely seeks to remove all obstructions to the subject's self-assertion. This vital urge is co-existent with life and without it the subject is quickly disposed of and others taken over to carry on the colourful drama of life. Thus it is that those who think of killing as a great sin and glorify life inordinately to the exclusion of death, lose sight of the importance of killing and death in the sphere of progress and evolution. Those who can suppress others and come to the top to remain there are the inheritors of the universe of life. Lack of will to fight and win opens the exit doors of the arena of life. The reasons for such lack of will may be ethical or glandular, reinforced by contrary thoughts or unsuitable diet; but the resulting disaster and failure to survive will not be affected thereby.

Now that the less disciplined and ethically undeveloped races and communities of mankind are beginning to acquire modern arms and instruments of destruction, it will no longer help the culturally advanced nations to parade their ideals and past

glories for their national defence. Regiments of properly armed soldiers, guns, mortars, missiles, rockets with nuclear war heads, a fully developed air force and a navy equipped with long range submarines using atomic fuel and all other types of defensive and offensive vessels will be required to counter the new barbarian inroads that one visualises will be coming before long. The ancient world had reached comparatively greater heights of culture than the modern world could achieve. The barbarians of ancient times found no difficulty in overthrowing the mighty Romans. The ethically and culturally superior civilisation of the Hindus received a terrifying shock treatment from the bandit hordes of earlier times; but it stimulated their defensive reactions only during the initial millenium after the Buddha. Later, the Hindus failed to match the mass military organisation of the successors of the Golden Horde, which thrived on the great strength of its unscrupulous armies. They had no considerations other than those which conditioned victory in battle. Thoughts of **dharma yuddha** did not stiffen their sword arm. Their food marched with them on its own legs.

The Chinese have made their nuclear weapons. However few in number and of whatever size, the atom bombs and the atomic war heads of missiles are there. The number will increase and the size grow. These weapons will find their way into Pakistan and so will Chinese planes and missiles together with the Chinese pilots and launching crews. Pakistan may make pretence of developing its own atom bomb

by 1968; but long before that she will have enough Chinese equipment and trained personnel to threaten the integrity of India from a new angle. There is not much chance that the Russians or the Yugoslavians will lend India their nuclear weapons. The British, the Americans and others will give Pakistan everything it needs militarily either directly or through Turkey, Persia, Saudi Arabia and those other countries who act as stooges for the Western powers. India therefore has to join in the nuclear race. If she does not, on the ground that Mahatma Gandhi believed in and preached non-violence or because Pandit Nehru laid down a principle which precluded the manufacture or use of nuclear weapons, India will be walking into a terrifying national disaster with her eyes open. Non-violence has been discarded by India since she chose to use conventional weapons for the suppression of her enemies and even for keeping law and order within the country. The philosophical or ethical reasons for not using a particular type of weapon which is more powerful and devastating than other weapons are not known to us whatever they are and even if they were sanctified by the support of the late Pandit Nehru, the logic behind them is non-existent which cannot permit a nation to follow the path of total ruin and to risk the lives of millions of innocent women, children and men who will surely die a horrible death if India did not develop her nuclear strength sufficiently to deter China and Pakistan from the use of atom bombs against India.

# Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

## FOOD POLICY—AN ANALYSIS

What is now being described as the “crash” agricultural programme which is said to be aiming at attaining self-sufficiency in the production of food cereals by 1970-71 would, on analysis, be found to be no more than a fresh emphasis, probably mainly aimed at assuaging growing suspicions abroad of a frivolous neglect of, if not actual indifference to the need for laying down a sound base of agricultural surpluses as a necessary condition of industrial development and economic growth, of postulates accepted as a priority constituent of earlier Plans. Take, for instance, the Third Plan. It had accorded first priority to increasing agricultural production, the target for increase in food production having been fixed at 25 million tonnes; 105 million tonnes gross (in cereals production) whereby to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains by the end of the Plan period (1965-66) which was laid down as one of the basic objective of the Plan. What is significant is that the necessary (or what was estimated by the Planning Commission as necessary in this behalf) inputs for the purpose in capital and ancillary services were provided for in the Plan estimates. Results, however, have been less than nil. Production of cereals, throughout the first four years of the Plan period has continued to stagnate around an average 30 million tonnes and, with wide spread drought during the last year of the Plan which, the Union Food & Agriculture Minister sardonically declares to have been the worst over the last one hundred years, it is apprehended to go down significantly by over 8 million tonnes (according to the Minister) bringing in its wake what may prove to be a severe famine condition during the current harvest year!

Yet, when early in November last the Union Food Minister revealed that it was proposed to

step up next year (the commencing year of the Fourth Plan) allocations to the States for agricultural programmes by as much as 43 per cent over those in the current year,—although total Plan outlay during the year is likely to be considerably smaller, it appears to have been accepted as an inevitable part of the emergency with no questions asked. The Food Minister’s rather slipshod account of how this higher allocation was to be utilized did not, likewise, reveal any fresh thinking nor any more vigorous new approach to the problem of stepping up agricultural production. In spite of the admission in the Fourth Plan Memorandum that “the set back in agriculture since the end of the Second Plan is a cause of deep concern and has, in turn, led to a fresh consideration of the assumptions, methods and techniques as well the machinery of planning and plan implementation in the field of agriculture,” the Food Minister’s account lists, as the essentials of his “crash programme,” (1) expansion of the area under multiple-cropping, (2) improving utilization of irrigational potentials, (3) preparation of farm manure in compost pits, (4) cultivation of subsidiary crops etc. do not indicate the initiation of any new programme; these have been stated as being the essential elements in a dynamic agriculture even much earlier. This does not, however, mean to suggest that being old they are not good so far as they go. What, however, one may pertinently ask in this connection is if this *so-called* “crash programme” in agriculture as revealed by the Food Minister, is the product of a reconsideration of the “assumptions, methods and techniques” of agricultural planning to which the Fourth Plan Memorandum refers and which have, hitherto, been the cause of very large investments yielding what may only be described as consistently and progressively diminishing returns? Or, whether, it is based on such misconceptions

as that the absorptive capacity of the agricultural sector for fresh investments is unlimited or that the yield of fresh investments in agriculture can be expected to emerge almost without any time-lag? Past experience supplies ample evidence of the fact that there are definite limits to the *pace of effective* new investments in agriculture. This may, in part at least, flow from what the Planning Commission describe as a "marked lag in the application of the results of scientific research, in the adoption of better implements and more scientific methods of agriculture and, generally, in the extension of better agricultural practices. The proportion of cultivators who have taken to scientific agriculture is still quite small. No doubt due to the slow implementation of measures of land reform, the structure of the rural economy has not changed to the extent postulated in earlier Plans."

Land reform programmes, it is notorious, have not been following the requisite measures of dynamic progress; legislations have been mostly slow and halting and riddled with loopholes and gaps, administrative measures for enforcement where and what little of it actually exists have been deplorably inadequate and inefficient and there is a vast area of cultivating tenants spread out all over the country which still lacks any kind of a security of tenure. And, yet, land reform is a primary desideratum of better and more dynamic agriculture. So are *stable* and *remunerative* prices for agricultural produce at the harvesting level. A multiplicity of official agencies operating in the field of agricultural production are supposed to function at both States' and Central levels but their efforts have been mostly uncoordinated, with the result that it is quite impossible to fix responsibility for failures at any particular point. It has been suggested that each village should be collectively committed to its own annual farm production target and that all financial subventions should be channelled through a village body which should bear responsibility for achieving the target. But the question would seem to be as to whom it should be responsible to and how when dispensers of official assistance at both States and Central levels are so numerous and seemingly uncoordinated?

The decision to increase financial outlays on agriculture has to be judged in this particular

context. A short-term "crash programme" can be useful only if it is part of a perspective programme covering these basic factors, which alone can determine the pace at which agriculture can absorb fresh investments *effectively*. The temper of the Government at present, however, does not seem to indicate any appreciation of the value of such an approach. Their whole attitude appears to be heavily weighted in favour of *ad hoc* measures which, on paper and public relations literature at least, would seem to hold out expectations of immediate returns. But if the lessons of the past three Plans have any bearing on the issue, this would seem very much like grasping the plough at the wrong end.

But our discussion, so far, does not anywhere nearly dispose of the fundamental aspects of the food problem in the country. In a free economy the adequacy or deficit, as the case may be, can be assessed by relating home production of food cereals on the basis of the growth in demand. The U.N. Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East for 1964 says that "fundamentally the Indian food problem during the last decade was caused by the low level of production which was below the demand and which tended to increase only just as far as the rate of increase of demand, and by the large fluctuations in production which could not be offset by imports or by the release of Government stocks." The implication of this observation would seem to be that distribution becomes a problem only if production is inadequate. The question, as to what level of production could be considered adequate in this context would seem to follow as a matter of course; the present level plus how many more million tonnes? And, who wants this production?—if it is only the towns, the additional requirements can, presumably, be only marginal. The U.N. Survey referred to above estimates an increase of 2.5 million tonnes in the urban demand for food cereals during the decade 1951-1961. From the Government of India's officially published estimates, production of food cereals would appear to have increased from 55 million tonnes in 1951 to 80 million tonnes in 1961; *a ten per cent of this increased production should, therefore, have been ample to cover fully the increase in urban demand*. Now, where has this additional output gone? The answer would seem to



be, partly to feed the additional population which increased by very nearly 25 per cent over the decade under survey ; partly also to satisfy the increased demand flowing from increased incomes. In certain quarters almost twice as much weightage is accorded to the influences of population growth on demand than on those of rises in incomes although having regard to low income elasticities, the effect, more probably, was perhaps equal in both cases. The U.N. Survey's analysis of the pattern of increased demand flowing from income rises would appear to be revealing ; for every rupee spent on agricultural goods only 12 paise worth of additional demand is said to be generated of which 9 paise, again, go to agricultural goods. This high degree of auto-consumption in agriculture makes agricultural goods, particularly foodgrains, highly susceptible to *speculative pressures* with their inevitable consequential influences upon marketable surpluses and prices. Theoretically an effective solution of the problem would seem to be in increasing agricultural taxation, provision of urban goods and services in rural areas and settling up industries which would be likely to generate little demand for agricultural goods. Such a panacea would, however, seem to disregard one of the fundamental facts of Indian agriculture,—that more than a good 10 per cent of total agricultural households in the country are landless hired labourers, that the next 33 per cent of the community own and cultivate such small parcels of land, usually far below 2.5 acres per household on an average, that their production can cover no more than about the concerned households' own consumption requirements for 3 months in the year and that the next 30 per cent of farming households own and cultivate land areas whose yield just about cover their own consumption demand leaving no surplus at all, thus leaving only 22 per cent of farming households comprising approximately 18 per cent of the national population who alone produce marketable surpluses ; further of the 78 per cent of agricultural households listed above, who comprise approximately 62 per cent of the national population, more than 75 per cent of their total consumption expenditure were estimated to have been accounted for by purchases of foodgrains alone at 1960-61 prices. The extreme vulnerabi-

lity of the agricultural community in the country would, therefore, be obvious and copy-book maxims and panaceas would just be wholly inept and irrelevant.

As prefaced in this discussion with the observation that the Union Food Minister's so-called "crash programme" for foodgrains production in the next year was mainly for U.S. consumption vis-a-vis our desperate need for continuance of P.L. 480 wheat imports on a long-term basis and for an indefinite period in the future, rather than for actual and effective implementation of a new agricultural policy which, it is now being claimed, will enable India to attain self-sufficiency in foodgrains production in 1970-71. In fact as we have already tried to demonstrate on this and previous occasions in these columns, the sum of the Government of India's food policy—if one can give it the name of a consistent and substantiable policy—has been one long series of *abdication of responsibilities* : by creating food zones they assumed the responsibility of feeding the deficit areas ; by making the zones co-terminus with States, they passed on their own responsibility in this behalf by sharing it out between the States ; and by leaving the initiative for procurement and distribution entirely to the discretion of the States, they finally and wholly abdicated responsibility. The consequences of this kind of a *negative food policy* based upon a consistent process of evasion of responsibility, are already all too apparent and if the dire prognostications which the Union Food Minister has himself now been issuing came to pass—there is hardly any reason for complacency that they will not do so—the country will have to begin to face a situation which, for its devastating contents may even make the 1943 Bengal famine an event of only minor significance.

For, fundamentally, the present nature and extent of the food problem in the country is hardly one of lack of adequate production. We have already seen that during the decade between 1951 and 1961 production of food cereals in the country increased from 55 million tonnes to 80 million tonnes or by 25 million tonnes or by very nearly 45.5 per cent. During the same

period urban demand had increased by 2.5 million tonnes covering only 10 per cent of the increased production and population growth accounted for a net increase of very nearly 25 per cent over the ten-year period accounting for a corresponding over-all growth of demand for foodgrains which should amount to roughly an additional 14 million tonnes. During the crop year 1964-65 the gross output of food cereals in the country has been officially assessed at 88 million tonnes and imports grossed very nearly 6.5 million tonnes, making the level of gross availability of foodgrains at 94.5 million tonnes. And yet, in point of the rise in the price level and availability of marketable surplus, this has proved to be one of the most difficult years in a decade of consistently and unrelievedly critical food situation in the country. And yet at a 16 oz. daily adult ration of cereals and half that quantity for persons in the age groups 0-9 and 66 years and above, a realistic estimate of the actual consumption requirements of foodgrains (taking into account a net 2.4 per cent annual increase in the population since 1961) today, should be well within 70 million tonnes net which, together with a 10 per cent allowance for unavoidable wastage and seed grains, should gross no more than 77 million tonnes in 1964-65. The level of actual availability, we have seen, has been 94.5 million tonnes gross indicating a comfortable surplus, this year, of anywhere between 17.5 and 22.7 per cent over actual consumption requirements.

It should be obvious, therefore that the present food crisis, both in its immediate and acute aspects as well as in respect of its long-term and virtually chronic implications, is one primarily of adequate availability of marketable supplies as well as of prices, rather than of production: in a word it is a crisis, primarily, of distribution. Increased production will, no doubt, help to assuage the rigours of the crisis over short-period spells but would hardly be able to strike at the root of the trouble. It is only at the distribution end, both at the wholesale and the retail levels that permanent and wholesome remedies will have to be sought and applied but which the Government both at the Centre and in States seem wholly determined to evade. Mr. C.

Subramaniam has been broadcasting the direct possible prognosis of the situation next year and while he has been heroically propagating his "crash programmes" for increasing food production as a tenuous but rather fragile instrument of relief, the West Bengal Chief Minister who somehow appears to have acquired some sort of a reputation for toughness and determination, has more or less been echoing his Union counterpart (I mean, so far as the Food portfolio is concerned) as regards the dire prospects of next year. What he was reported to have stated recently in this connection—that if with a production aggregating 5.7 million tonnes last year the State had to face a crisis, the gravity of next year's prospects with a total crop yielding less than 4.5 million tonnes should be obvious (or words to the same effect) would appear to be even more significant.

It is in this particular context that the Government of India's anxiety to conclude a long term P.L. 480 agreement for wheat with the U.S. Government to replace the hitherto month to month arrangements, have to be viewed and assessed. As already pointed out, Mr. Subramaniam's "crash programme" for increasing agricultural production would appear to have been conceived and undertaken primarily to convince the U.S. that determined and effective measures are really being taken to carry the country towards self-sufficiency in food grains production in the immediate future, a matter which appears to have been conditioning American attitude in respect of continued P.L. 480 wheat assistance in the future. We had to have some sort of an agricultural policy to enable P.L. 480 wheat assistance to be available without which the threats of a devastating famine throughout the country by the next summer would seem to be very real. But what, in its basic structure, are the contents of this agricultural policy? It would seem really to boil down to one of increasing agricultural inputs, like water and fertilizers. Comparably increasing water consumption has been easier because equipments and materials for the purpose are easily available within the country. So far as fertilizers are concerned the need to produce adequate numbers of plants at home has seldom before been seen and the rate

of increase of fertilizer production and consumption so far would appear to have been only nominal. And, yet, in any programme of a dynamic modern agriculture, fertilizers would be bound to play a crucial role. In fact, the basic productivity of agricultural effort in any modern system of scientific agriculture, would seem to crucially depend upon the quantum of fertilizer inputs into the soil. But lacking the plants which we had not been wise enough to put down when it might have been done without much trouble, any new inputs for fertilizers would have to mean, immediately, inputs for plants and equipments and not actually in fertilizers which would directly go into the soil. However, what has to be clearly understood is that a policy of increasing agricultural inputs such as those described above would not, necessarily, increase agricultural outputs by a corresponding measure. To ensure corresponding increases in output *vis-à-vis* the increased inputs, it is necessary to ensure that the present eccentric, even chaotic process of increasing inputs is replaced by a *balanced* combination of inputs to ensure a corresponding balance in increased productivity. During the last fifteen years since 1951 agricultural output has no doubt increased substantially, —in foodgrains from 55 to 80 million tonnes— but this has flowed more from extensions of the cultivated area (which eventuated as a matter of course without any definitive Government policy towards such an end) than from any measurable per capita-cum-per-acre yield to indicate any increase in productivity to correspond with the increased inputs.

The other part of the Government's agricultural policy —and it is with this that we are more immediately concerned in the present context— consists merely of what can at best be described as panic measures that are taken in and following years of bad harvest. They hardly deserve the name of a policy except for the fact that they are being so frequently resorted to as to constitute almost a permanent framework. There, for instance, is hardly any consistency or pattern in the shape of levies, methods of procurement, distribution and import policies. But what is both deplorable and demoralising is that they have come to be regarded as the permanent ingredients

of a long term policy, however inefficient, inequitable and *ad hoc* their nature may be. During the current year there is not even that excuse of surprise which may on occasion justify the undertaking of panic measures in a suddenly emerging crisis. Last year's was one of an unusually good harvest and yet we passed through a very serious measure of inflation. Even during the current year we had ample forewarnings of a critically small harvest. The flow of foodgrains to urban areas, it should have been clear, was going to suffer serious set backs. It should have been possible to organize corrective measures well ahead of time. And, yet, procurement was left to the States and the measures taken by them do not seem to bear any relation to either their capacity or their need. Procurement has been most inadequate. Rice procurement is not expected now to exceed 1.6 million tonnes which will lead to drastic cuts in deliveries to deficit States which, in 1965, would aggregate 2.4 million tonnes. This alarming state of affairs would seem to be correspondingly reflected in the note of alarm in the Union Food Minister's recent speeches and statements.

There is, however, little indication that the Union Food Minister is doing much except to get panicky. In his review of the food situation the Minister has advised the States to cordon off the towns by clamping down rationing, but he has done nothing to ensure that there will be enough grains to feed the towns. In fact, by issuing the warning that the quantum of the ration may have to be cut down to 10 oz or even 8 oz he has amply indicated that supplies will not be available to make urban rationing effective. The Minister, it is notorious, has seldom been able to exert his authority over the States, now it appears that he has even been failing to think. In the meanwhile the problem has got beyond one of merely provisioning urban areas only. In vast areas of rural India, especially in the deficit States, it is now becoming increasingly clear, famine in the absence of public measures for food supply, is immediately impending.

What, then, would be the situation like as it is bound to emerge within the next few

months? There can be only one way out; that in the absence of adequate procurement, stocks will have to be requisitioned and seized. One visualizes that this will have to inevitably happen eventually under the pressure of circumstances that will brook no longer any half measures as hitherto employed. In the lean season police parties will have to be sent about raiding shops and godowns and it is almost inevitable that such official measures may be largely supplemented by those of private rioters and organised hooligans. And this was exactly what could have been avoided by advance, well thought out and co-ordinated official effort. This should have begun last year in the wake of the lean season when a massive inflationary pressure on foodgrains prices had begun to emerge. This would have been both equitable and enabled the foundations of a sound food policy to be permanently laid. But for reasons which it may not be very difficult to visualize, the Government have consistently evaded taking this only rational measure. But what they would not agree to do while the doing was good, they would now, it appears almost inevitable, may have to do under public compulsion.

### THE MILLIONNAIRES WHO SEEM TO BE MISSING

Statistical data relating to income tax revenues could be a valuable economic indicator of the patterns and measures of growth in a community. Unfortunately, in this blessed land of India that is Bharat, income tax revenue statistics are easily among the worst of those processed by Government departments from data that are only available to themselves internally. For one thing they are made available so late as to be of little value to those who may be interested in the information; for another, very much out of data as they generally are, they are published in such forms as to be hardly of any practical utility in point of intelligibility unless they are reprocessed to fall into any understandable pattern useful for applied research. One could only wish that there were someone in the Revenue Department of the G.O.I. all whose times are not taken up by stimulating exercises in futility such as devising schemes

for tax credits and voluntary surrender of black money, who could be made responsible for timely publication of these information and in a form more intelligible than at present?

The latest available data relating to income tax revenues pertain to the tax year 1962-63 or tax due on incomes earned during the fiscal year 1961-62. The following two tables culled from these would seem to yield an interesting pattern:—

Table I : Income Tax Assessment By Class Of Assessee

Class of Assessee	Assessment Year	No of Assessee (000)	Income Assessed (Rs. Crores)	Total Tax Assessed (Rs. Crores)
Individuals	1959-60	768	742	97
	1960-61	828	778	98
	1961-62	910	885	113
	1962-63	962	923	118
Hindu	1959-60	69	89	13
	1960-61	70	89	12
	1961-62	73	97	15
	1962-63	73	95	14
Unregistered Firms	1959-60	29	35	8
	1960-61	23	32	6
	1961-62	30	39	9
	1962-63	26	35	7
Registered Firms	1959-60	14	113	4
	1960-61	15	128	4
	1961-62	18	149	5
	1962-63	30	197	8
Companies	1959-60	10	213	110
	1960-61	10	248	122
	1961-62	11	405	196
	1962-63	12	361	175
Total (Including Others)	1959-60	891	1,192	230
	1960-61	952	1,275	243
	1961-62	1,073	1,575	338
	1962-63	1,104	1,612	323

Table II : Individual Assessee By Range

Of Income

Income Range	Assessment Year	No. of Assessee ('000)	Income Assessed (Rs. Crores)	Tax Payable (Rs. Crores)
Upto 7.5	1960-61	532	258	4
	1961-62	606	290	4
	1962-63	599	294	5
7.5-15.0	1960-61	192	290	10
	1961-62	214	222	11
	1962-63	236	216	12
15.0-25.0	1960-61	61	117	12
	1961-62	70	133	14
	1962-63	75	142	15
	1961-62	46	191	47
	1962-63	48	195	57
100.0-500.0	1960-61	2.1	33	20
	1961-62	2.6	30	25
	1962-63	2.3	38	24
Over-500.0	1960-61	0.074	7	5.6
	1961-62	0.083	7	5.3
	1962-63	0.076	7	5.8

These figures would seem to indicate that the grinding poverty of our teeming hundreds of millions has a contagious influence. Rich taxpayers, true enough, are difficult to uncover. Those in the income group : over Rs. 5 lakhs per annum would appear to have numbered only 76 in the year 1962-63 : of these 26 were salary earners and could not, *per force*, evade their tax dues ; 15 were Hindu Undivided Families who enjoy a high exemption limit and are notoriously prone to juggle with tax dues by *legal partitions* following the births of each male child in a business family and only 35 are individuals and who, together, account for a gross income assessed to tax in that year of only Rs. 7 Crores. Again, only 2,300 assessee enjoyed an annual income of over Rs. 1 lakh in 1962-63 of whom 1,000 were salary

earners and 300 Hindu undivided families. What will appear to be significant is that there has hardly been any change in these numbers or even the pattern of the categories mentioned over the last one decade of development when, it is claimed, the gross national product has substantially increased although the quantum of the increase may not have wholly achieved pre-determined targets. Even allowing for a normal measure of tax evasion, especially in the higher income brackets, the figures relating to income tax revenue receipts would seem to demonstrate an extraordinary measure of static stagnation. And, why is it so ? The inevitable answer would seem to be that the phenomenon is the inevitable harmonization of the interests of the rich with the tax system.

It is well known that our present Union Finance Minister has, for some time, been trying to work out the possible repercussion on the income tax revenues if the present system were to be reversed, replacing it by a significant lowering of the tax rates in the higher income brackets, compensating for the reduction by a corresponding increase in the compulsory savings rates. This will mean, in effect that while, for the present the tax-payers' total outgoes in over-all terms will remain materially unaffected, there will be a significant decrease in the tax obligations. How this is likely to affect the incidence of evasions, is difficult to assess. Besides, those who have satisfactory arrangements for effective tax-avoidance are not likely to be lured by such enticements. Apart from the fact that they generally have congenitally developed objections to paying any kind of State dues that could possibly be avoided without risk to their persons and fortunes, they may, very pertinently, apprehend that such devices as a letting down of the tax tariff by a corresponding levelling up of the compulsory savings element may very well be the thin end of a wedge to force their real incomes out into the open for future imposts.

On the other hand the substitution of high income tax rates by steeper expenditure tax rates would not seem to be a very feasible expedient in the absence of effective enforcement and policing measures which would be likely to affect careful disposition of private incomes and expenditure, however attractive it may appear to be as a sav-

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ings inducement. Apart from providing relief to the comparatively few honest tax-payers who are, mainly, salary earners, the results of such expedients are likely to be a general reduction in revenue receipts without any corresponding or even appreciable increase in the savings rate.

At the same time the Hindu Undivided Family appears to be a favoured sector in the tax system. The number of such families assessed to income tax appears to have remained virtually constant over the years. To what extent this may have been due to the high exemption limit and legal partitions following each new birth of a male child is difficult to assess on the basis of the data at present available. There does not seem to be any doubt, however, that the Hindu Undivided Family is the most commonly used device for legitimate tax avoidance. Government do not seem eager to go into the matter, possibly for fear of the broader legal and religious complications that may ensue as a result.

## CREDIT POLICY

With the onset of the new busy season—though not yet in terms of market pressures—there is considerable apprehension regarding the shape of things to emerge. This apprehension appears to have been flowing from the tighter liquidity position in which the banking system finds itself and the prospects of another large expansion of credit during the season ahead. The uncertainty regarding monetary policy seems to heighten this apprehension because, unlike last year, when the Reserve Bank outlined its busy season policy fully a month ahead of its commencement, it is yet to disclose its mind this season. Is it because the central banking system has yet to make up its mind as regards the policy to be followed consistently with its own assessment of the emerging situation?

At the outset of the last slack season the Reserve Bank was stated to have indicated targets of Rs. 200 crores for deposit growth and a like amount in credit contraction. Deposits had grown to very nearly correspond with the target—Rs. 195 crores—but credit contraction has been significantly below the target aimed at—by about Rs. 95 crores. This target was considered in banking circles to have been on the high side, but no one seemed to have apprehended that the incidence of credit contraction would be so much less than the target, much lower, in fact, than even that of the slack season in the previous year. The target, it may be presumed, was presaged on a nearly complete reduction of seasonal commodity advances, set off by an increase in credit against those groups of commodities which are generally not subject to seasonal variations.

It is not possible in the absence of relevant statistical data that this shortfall in slack season contraction of credit represents a failure of policy. If the Reserve Bank felt that credit contraction against the seasonal commodities was tardy, it might with effect have further tightened selective controls. This it did not. On the other hand there was some loosening of the rigours of control on raw cotton, withdrawal of the directive on clean credit and a positive attempt to increase the flow of credit to the textile mills. The impression, therefore, would seem to have been left that the target itself was flexible and that the Reserve Bank was not unduly concerned over the slow pace of contraction. Monetary policy, however, during the period could not be said to have remained passive. As most bankers ruefully complain, the Reserve Bank kept the market unduly taut compared to that in any other previous season. Banks may not have, as advised, invested their surplus funds in Treasury Bills to the extent desired, but the pressure

on the market was not any the less on that account and credit, undoubtedly, was kept leashed on a tight rein all the while.

The slower rate of contraction would now appear to have added to the banks' problems of financing seasonal needs now. Financing requirements will naturally depend upon the level of industrial production including agriculture-based industries rather than directly on agricultural output. Assuming a very moderate credit expansion of, say, 20 per cent over present levels, Rs. 400 crores or about what it was last year would be needed. Some put it at a larger figure—Rs. 450 crores, which would be below last year's rate of expansion and that of the year before, in spite of a 5 per cent higher price level than that prevailed last year. To cover this the Banks will have to turn to the Reserve Bank and the whole question would seem to boil down to the degree of expanded credit the Reserve Bank will allow to be financed.

Last year, despite the panic measures of February, which seemed to indicate a surrender of judgment to the monetary expertise of the I.M.F., the banks gave a commendable demonstration of flexibility and the actual conduct of the busy season policy indicated that the Reserve Bank did not flinch from its responsibility to finance the genuine needs of productive effort while, at the same time, keeping a tight control over credit. In the slack season likewise, there was no blind pursuit of a credit contraction target to the detriment of the needs of production. There is no doubt that the tight credit policy has begun to hurt and one can only hope that the Reserve Bank will continue to be mindful of the interests of the economy in promoting finance for production and will refuse to submit to the dictates of the IMF and the World Bank which would appear to be mostly based upon crude monetary theories.

## ACHARYA BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL\*

Hon'ble Mr. Justice P. B. MUKHARJI

We are assembled here this evening to honour the memory of Acharya Brajendra Nath Seal. He was an epoch and an age by himself. He was *sui generis* who admits of no comparison. He was Emerson's Representative man. He was the book of knowledge whose every page radiated light. He was the luminous symbol of all that was and can be the summit of human intellect, wisdom and scholarship. He was a man of Homeric and Cosmic proportions.

Dr. Seal was a scintillating diamond with many facets. A colossal philosopher who contained in his sweep of vision the whole panorama of human civilisation, its failures and achievements, its aspirations and frustrations. He showed the destiny to which man is entitled, but which he has not yet claimed. He was intellectually a totalitarian, philosophically a unitarian, historically perennial, geographically global, culturally a universalist, and humanistically indivisible.

In the world of education he was the pole star. No range of human intellect and scholarship was beyond his ken. Equally at home in philosophy and religion, in literature and philology, in Sanskrit and modern biology, in mathematics and statistics, in the sciences and humanities, in fine arts and technicalities, he was a marvel and miracle

of scholarship. To call him an encyclopaedia of learning and scholarship is to misjudge him and make him mechanical. He was the natural patriarch of the intellectual and scholastic home of India for at least two successive generations, to whom came the aspiring pilgrims searching for the solution of the mysteries of this universe.

He introduced new currents of thoughts. His contributions brought fresh waters of life in many fields of human knowledge. He was a rare Anthropologist who took a total view of the genetic origin of races in the whole context of biological, sociological and psychological frame-work. His vision of history was unique. He was the precursor of Acton and Toynbee. This vision of history made him the exponent of humanism, the crucible of all religions, races, sects and creeds.

At the same time he was the type of the wise who soared but never roamed and was always coming back to the kindred points not only of heaven and home but also of the present, past and the future. He it was who said "To turn back now on the entire course of Indian History, to take a stand on that separation and segregation, which are the rejected bye-products, the unsuccessful experiments of Nature, in this vast continental laboratory and museum which is India, is to be untrue to the past and the future of India and of humanity alike". He was a patriot of the highest order and that patriotism was the supremacy of the love for one's country, her genius, her culture and her civilisation and a conquest of all hatred. He it was who showed that you can love your country without hating somebody else's country.

\*The above is a transcript of the address delivered by the author while presiding over the 27th Death Anniversary Commemoration meeting of Acharya Seal, at the Darbhanga Hall, Calcutta University, on 3rd December, 1965.



One who hates another country cannot truly love his own. This concept was broad-based on liberal regional expressions promoting regional universities and a well-balanced economy that could hold the scales between industry and agriculture.

Acharya Brajendra Nath Seal in this background can be called the prophet of international faith based on the recognition of individual nations within their limits. Like every individual, every nation has a personality of its own and he voiced the legal conscience of the modern world to-day unified by Science, Commerce and Travel when he said "a right to the realisation of its own ideal ends, satisfactions and values, within the limits imposed by the similar rights of others (individualistic justice), and also a right to co-partnership and co-operation for the common good and common advantage (sociolistic justice), within the limits imposed by the preceding clause".

As a philosopher he started with Hegel but outstripped him from dialectics to revelation, from controversy to conclusion, from logic to knowledge. His logic was not the introvert logic of Kant. Nor was his an extrovert logic. His was the brooding omnipresent logic which is the never failing matrix of life and its achievements,

the wizard sculptor in whose magic hands all resistant matter became malleable and pliable enough to reflect and fashion endless casts and moulds of the infinite soul of man, for ever daring and ceaselessly challenging. One looks in vain to find another example where mathematics and philosophy combined to produce this overwhelming efflorescence of intellect, wisdom and scholarship. He it was who first drew the attention of the world and of India to the contribution of the ancient Hindus in Chemical Industry, in Differential Calculus, in Accelerated Motion and in developing Methodology of Science.

No wonder then Sir Brajendra Nath Seal's "Quest Eternal" published in London in 1936 is the meeting point of poetry and philosophy, of science and humanity, and proclaiming that liberation of man the grand destiny which the world awaits:

"Whose eye the ideal firmament  
clears;

No longer Destiny's minions  
but co-workers free."

It was a blessing that he was born amongst us. It is a grace that we enjoy his gifts. It is such a man to whom we pay our homage of love, respect, admiration, and adoration. In hailing him, we are hailing the future of man upon this earth.

# ANATOMY OF VIETNAMESE CULTURE

DO TRONG CHU

To the uninitiated foreign visitor, a hurried look at Vietnamese customs will almost inevitably lead to the foregone conclusion that, because of a long Chinese domination lasting for several centuries, Vietnamese civilization is nothing but a stepchild of Chinese culture. This, for the most part, has been the result of unimaginative writings, void of objective investigation, produced by four-day tourists who have appointed themselves "experts in Vietnamese affairs".

There is no denying of the fact that China rightly prides itself on the wealth and depth of its civilization. But that does not diminish the simultaneous fact that, notwithstanding a long Chinese domination, such small neighbours like Japan, Mongolia, Tibet, Korea and Vietnam all possess a civilization independent and distinct from the Chinese. The long history of these countries is sharply marked by centuries of ceaseless struggle against the possibility of being assimilated by China

## Survival as a Race

Vietnam's struggle for survival as a race started on the very year she was conquered by China for the first time in III B.C. Several centuries before that Vietnam had already shaped her own ethnic personality.

When the Chinese invaders forcibly introduced their language into the country, the Vietnamese immediately altered the Chinese script with "Chu Nom", a popular form of handwriting that was later to play a significant role in the development of the national literature. That Chinese terminology has been injected into the vernacular vocabulary does not underplay the importance of the fact that Vietnamese syllabication and—more essentially—syntax do not

in any way show affinity with the Chinese language.

An attempt was later made to graft certain Chinese practices into the local customs. Resisting imperial edicts, the women obstinately clung to their traditions. Vietnamese women are never known to bind their feet or plait their hair like the Chinese do.

Vietnamese women have long known the art of painting their nails with the pink resin of a pine tree. They are proud to let their hair flow freely down the shoulders like a torrent symbolizing good health. Their clothes, notably, carry a striking contrast to the austere, narrow Chinese garb. Their slacks wide and roomy, their robe tails fluttering freely like banners, they are a far cry from the Chinese draped in their bandage-like, bondage-like dress.

An essential item in any national tradition is food. Unlike other peoples who have generously from Chinese gastronomy the Vietnamese have a permanent substitute for soya-bean sauce. "Nuoc-mam", sauce extracted from fish, is as essential to the local diet as rice itself. Anthropologists who have come to know this invigorating sauce have given a name for it—"Long-life sauce".

This prolonged and continued spirit of resistance to Chinese innovations is not the product of xenophobia. Vietnamese know how to discern what good they can derive from foreign influence, but also what to reject. That rejection proceeds from their recognition that only what is right should be retained. Their discernment is logical and seldom one-sided.

## A Wealth in Arts and Letters

The history itself testifies, the early Chinese had a name for Vietnam—"Van Hien Chi Bang", which means "A Nation of Letters".

A rich line-up of great poets makes Vietnamese history significantly on the fore. Some of them, like Nguyen Du, author of the national poet "Kim Van Kien" can stand up on equal footing with the best in classical literature. One of them, Ho Xuan Huong was regarded by Rabindranath Tagore as of equal magnitude as Li Tai Peh, Shakespeare and Victor Hugo.

The tone and flections of the Vietnamese vernacular itself is a glowing reflection of how widely used was poetry in the daily life of the early Vietnamese. Time was when people "uttered in verses" and "argued with or mocked each other in rhyme."

Literature as a national pride was not only coincident, but often identical with military science. A good military officer could not be conceived, unless he was simultaneously well-versed in civil mandarin. And neither could a scholar be considered integral, unless he had a wide knowledge of military tactics.

Vietnamese Annals point to a long list of civil mandarins who were at the same time brilliant Generals who excelled not only in warfare, but also in the broad use they made of their knowledge of political science and literature.

When the Mongols invaded the country in the 13th century, Generalissimo Tran Hung Dao rallied his men to the front with an edict formulated in verses. Later, when the Vietnamese forces subdued the Tay Son early in the 19th century, it was through a moving proclamation, written in carefully selected words that General Nguyen Van Thanh managed to induce his victorious military forces to fraternity and modesty.

Respect for the learned man is still deeply rooted in Vietnamese social life. Ambitious mothers never fail to imbue their children with the example set by the great men in history who made themselves—and their country—famous by their excellence in literature, political and military science.

Monuments still stand to date, remind-

ing present generations of how well regarded was the learned man. A national temple dedicated to the worship of Confucius and his 72 disciples was erected in 1070, and still stands there today. As history records, the first examination for the selection of the talented was conducted in the year 1075 and the first Vietnamese National Academy founded in 1086, under the first doctor Mac Hien Tich.

### **Democracy is not New**

Democracy is not a new thing to the Vietnamese. Justice and fraternity have long been the basis of their social life. This proves, too, how deep has Confucian teaching rooted into Vietnamese thought.

According to Confucian teaching, "the country is founded on the people". The country belongs to the people—the King merely derives his authority from Heaven, in order to lead the people. "Heaven and man have the same essence and the people's will is the will of Heaven. Heaven loves the people and understands them. So the leaders must love what the people love; and hate what they dislike."

Mencius, a staunch follower of Confucius (372-289 B.C.), repeated the same principle when he wrote: "The people come first, the country next, and the King is third".

### **No Distinction of Classes**

Unlike societies of Western feudal countries during the 18th century, or Japan and India just before the last war, there has been no trace of class distinction in Vietnamese society. Neither has there been the slightest vestige of caste separation based on prejudice or social rank.

Although the four ranks, scholars, peasants, workers and traders—are registered in Vietnamese social history, there were no social bars to prevent one belonging to an inferior rank from ascending to a superior level. Hard work was the key to social

elevation. Descendants of lower ranks could easily transform into mandarins of the court if they had the necessary talent.

Examinations for qualification were common and utmost consideration was given to the individual's capacity. Sons of workers easily obtained administrative posts if they met the requirements.

This lack of social discrimination is eloquently depicted by a favourite national legend. Chu Dong Tu, a pauper is said to have wed a Princess. A fisherman, Truong Chi, was believed to make a high mandarin's daughter tremble with the sound of his flute.

### **Social Justice**

There was even a custom practiced by certain kings of offering their daughter in marriage to topnotchers of triennial examinations and the kings complied with their promise, regardless of the winner's social rank or position.

Properties were evenly distributed, following the Confucian doctrine that says: "What we should be afraid of is not poverty, but inequality".

After his famous victory against the Minh forces in 1428, Emperor Le Loi immediately set up the village autonomy system which consisted of plotting of lands on equal basis every three years. This system remained until recently.

During the Tran dynasty (1225-1400) land properties owned by private individuals were restricted to a maximum of 10 acres for each citizen. All surplus lands were bought by the government for redistribution to the landless farmers. People from crowded villages often were transported to uninhabited areas and were allotted lands to till.

Undoubtedly this system prevented the malignant accumulation of property by a small minority of aristocrats. This gave opportunity for equal progress. As a result of that system, as says a proverb, "no family was poor for three successive generations".

One outstanding feature of civic administration in the country was the clear-cut two-way autonomy between the central government and village authorities. The villagers were noted for their determination to run their own affairs.

An assembly of chiefs-of-family chose their delegates who, in the name of the community, freely dispensed with justice, communal ruling and organization. Common good dictated their decisions and there was conscientious concern for the upholding of family and social tradition.

This form of village autonomy was derived from the rule saying: "The King's laws must give way to the customs of the village."

But the most curious feature in the social justice as practiced by the early Vietnamese was the fact that tax-collectors, as we know them today, did not exist at all. The villagers decided among themselves how much each of the members should pay, who should be exempted and what should be the terms of payment. The entire village then made a collective payment to the national government through the district administration. With no needed control, the villagers spontaneously gave a sum proportionate to their economic condition.

### **Patience and Courage, a National Trait**

Patience and courage make up the combined national trait and temperament of the ordinary Vietnamese. This is brought about by a constant struggle to which 20 million people, concentrated inside a narrow stretch of difficult land, are engaged in.

Other peoples have been more fortunate with nature-endowed rich lands, without the historic necessity of having to lock themselves in a life-and-death contention against the forces of nature, harmful insects, wild beasts and foreign invasions.

# THE PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH

LATE SUKUMAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

A well-known writer has warned us against the dangers of abstruse metaphysical speculations invading our religious systems and defeating the main purpose at which all religions should aim, and has expressed his preference for "an understandable religion with an understandable God". This bears a striking resemblance with the sentiments expressed by Gurudeva in one of his latest sermons. We had very little concern, he remarked, with a God residing in a distant heaven and know less about Him, while we are directly concerned with the God who is manifest all around us in His manifold creation : we can see and feel Him and, to Him, we owe our definite allegiance and duty.

The expression of an unorthodox opinion like this, from one who has made so large a contribution to the spiritual literature of man must have shocked many of his hearers and I know of one who complained in a half-jocular mood to the late Mr. Andrews, that Gurudeva was treading perilously on the verge of atheism and should be restrained.

In one of his most brilliant essays, on the Orissan temples, he emphasised the cardinal feature of Hinduism of not placing man's religion and his everyday life in two water-tight compartments. In an exquisite poem, addressed to the Vaishnava Poet, he ends with the observation that it is hardly possible to draw a line of distinction between our love of God and for our fellow-beings, and one of his most well-known and oft-quoted passages is the first line of a sonnet in the *Naivedya* that *vairagya*, or renunciation, has no place in his conception of salvation. Nothing can be more rational, more in accord with the present-day ideas than this attitude which pervades the whole range of Gurudeva's writings, that religions and religious system are to be judged not by those unknown and unknowable factors, spiritual advancement and salvation, but by their effect on man's outward

life, his behaviour to the members of his family, his friends and neighbours, in fact, his whole outlook on life in general.

We are surrounded by mysteries on all sides. We find ourselves in this world of ours, endowed with certain powers of feeling, thinking and acting : able to act, to a certain extent, according to our wills, but circumscribed by circumstances over which we have no control. We have no means of knowing what was before we were born and what will be after our death : we can, at best, speculate, proceeding by arguments from the known to the unknown. Even that knowledge, from which we seek to start our speculations, is limited, for "knowledge is of things we see".

In the midst of these mysteries, with our limited vision and limited knowledge, what are we to believe and how are we to conduct ourselves, so that we may fulfil the purposes of our lives and thus obtain continence and satisfaction ? In other words, what should be regarded as a rational Philosophy of life ?

Even the most casual reader of Rabindranath's poems cannot fail to notice the remarkable ones addressed to the source of his inspiration, beginning with the *Manas Sundaree*, the *Kautukmayee*, the *Antar-Devata* of his earlier days and ending with the *Leela-Sangini* and the *Ahran* written during more recent times. Side by side with these, are the poems which are directly devotional, particularly those in the *Naivedya* and the *Gitanjalee*. The belief in a personal God which we find here is in such striking contrast with some of the later utterances, especially after his return from Russia in 1930, that Rabindranath has been charged by some superficial readers and critics with a change of outlook in this respect and with discarding or, at least, modifying his previous faith.

We propose to examine this charge later on. For the present, we shall consider the subject-matter of the two classes of poems mentioned

above, those which addressed to his Muse and the purely devotional ones. Regarding the latter, there is no ambiguity, as these are in accordance with our commonly accepted notions of a Supreme Being who guides and controls the universe, from the movements of the suns to the growth of the smallest microcosm. The *Jeevana-Devata* group seems, at first sight, to strike a new and somewhat mysterious note. The technique has been familiarised to us by the Vaishnava poets from whom Rabindranath has adopted it, but the concept seems to elude our grasp. Is it merely a figment of the Poet's mind conjured up with the help of a vivid imagination and decked with a wealth of imagery and rhythm which has seldom been surpassed? Or, does it represent a truth which the Poet has "seen", for there can be no doubt Rabindranath belongs to the long line of seers who have, through a succession of centuries, enriched the cultural and spiritual life of India? If we read these poems carefully and compare them with the devotional poems, it is evident that the God to whom the Poet bows down his head in prayer and supplication is one and the same with the *antaratma* or "the Innermost Being" by whom he is guided and inspired not only in his creative work but in all action, the *Manasa-Sundaree*, the *Kautuka-Moyee*, the *Antar-Devata* and the *Lela-Sangini*. We shall have to refer to these and other poems of a similar character later on, in elucidating our thesis.

There are few conceptions so undefined and vague as that of God. It has changed from age to age, from country to country, and from man to man. It is well-known how the State has often conjured up a God to suit its own purpose and has thrust it upon the people through its paid agents, how acts of horror and indescribable barbarity have been committed in its name, and how even intelligent and otherwise right-thinking men have participated in, connived at and defended these. The foundation on which this colossal hoax had been erected is the conviction that, in matters religious and spiritual, Reason has no place and that you have to take things on trust from specially-privileged persons, the "Sole Agents", as it were, of things divine in the benighted land where we have the misfortune to

find ourselves. C this serfdom of reason is conceded, there is no knowing where you will be allowed to stop, in what Serbonian bog of follies and sins it will land you.

Therefore when we examine any religion, and anything said or written about the Supreme Being and man's relations with Him, we should be careful to see how far we are asked to accept without challenge things which are opposed to reason and common-sense and which cannot be reconciled with the practical experiences of our lives, making the fullest allowance for the imperfections of our understanding. We are fortified in this view by the teachings of the *Bhagabat-Geeta*, which nowhere supports the institution of a Guru in whom his disciples are to have a blind and unquestioning faith. In the relationship between the teacher and the taught, the *Geeta* advocates humility and reverence, but not serfdom.

What then are the special characteristics of the Supreme and the Divine Being of whom Rabindranath sings, and what is his conception of the relations between man and his God? We have already referred to the definite opinion expressed by the Poet, in one of his later public utterances which seems to rule out altogether the idea of a separate God, the denizen of a far-off heaven. God is with us and, in fact, within us. The poems in the *Geetanjalee* and the *Naivedya* supply abundant materials in support of this view, but it is in the poems of the *Jeevana-Devata* series that the conception takes a clear and well-defined shape.

Amidst the many highly abstruse doctrines inculcated in the *Bhagabat-Geeta*, we come across one or two passages where the fundamental truths of religion have been enunciated in an unambiguous manner, which serve as beacon lights to men lost in the haze of conflicting dogmas and doctrines, and which no amount of ingenuity of erudite commentators can render obscure.

One of these is contained in the following Sloka :

"*Isvara dwells in the heart of all creatures*".

This doctrine is by no means confined to the sacred texts of Hinduism. Jesus said to his

disciples, "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in ye" ?

There is another significant passage in the Bible which brought solace and comfort to the mind of Robinson Crusoe. "One morning being very sad, I opened the Bible upon these words, 'I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee'". I do not know what the commentators may have said about this but, to my mind, the plain and only meaning is that God is always with us.

The reason why we fail to perceive His presence is our ignorance, *avidya*, *maya* or illusion, call it by what name you will, which blurs our vision, makes us confuse the permanent with the transitory, the eternal with the ephemeral, the real with the unsubstantial. In the words of the *Geeta*, he only sees truly who sees the changeless and the indestructible in this mass of ever-perishing and ever-changeful objects.

An eminently Christian poet, Lord Tennyson, has spoken of "the God within him, lighting up his face", when speaking of the supernatural intelligence of his friend Hallam. In spite of these stray passages, it is very doubtful whether the full implications of this doctrine of the Divine presence within all living beings was accepted in any religious system other than Hinduism.

"The worship of idols is the lowest form of worship, worship by means of penance (*tapas*) and hymns is the second stage, purely mental worship, (without any outward symbols) is good, but the highest form of worship is that where the worshipper is able to identify himself with the object of his worship, and to say "So-ham", "That am I".

Although, according to this fundamental theory of our religion, the Divine Spirit or *Paramatman* is ever present in our nature, there can be no denying the fact that we are also human, with our animal wants and animal desires implanted in our nature and with the objects for the satisfaction of those wants and desires spread out all around us. We are thus endowed with a kind of dual nature, so aptly described by Tennyson—

"Thou seem'st human and divine,

"The highest, holiest manhood thou"

What is the relation between the two ? Are we entirely controlled by the Divine Will and

have no free will of our own ? The answer which the Hindu Scriptures have to give is :

"Whatever thou doest, eatest, offerest as sacrifice, givest away or hast in your meditation, dedicate that to me". Of all the beggars that we know of, Sreekrishna of the *Geeta* is certainly the boldest, the most grasping and the most audacious !

You cannot beat this, in point of simplicity, by any of the copy-book maxims with which we become familiar in our childhood. There is nothing in this which can be twisted out of its common-sense meaning by the ingenuity of clever commentators. God is enshrined within us, and He wants that, whatever we do, we should dedicate the action to Him, not merely by word of mouth, not with the object of earning merit and securing happiness in Heaven, but in the proper spirit of virtue being its own reward and for the inner satisfaction which words cannot express. Yet this is precisely what the Poet seeks to express in the *Antaratama* (The Innermost). We shall not attempt a translation of this exquisite poem which, in its choice of words, its resonant rhythm, and its wealth of imagery, will occupy a very high place in the literature of the world. Every line of the poem is pregnant with meaning and its meaning can only be understood if we accept the theory of the Divine Soul existent within us to which all our actions are dedicated. The final stanza is thrilling by reason of the anguish and agony which it expresses at the futility of our lives where we have lost so many opportunities and wasted so many auspicious moments, so that at the end of the day we stand in the presence of the Divine, with our eyes full of tears.

But what are our offerings at the feet of the Divine Spirit ? The Divine Spirit is within us to inspire and guide us, so that the Human Soul may act in unison with the Spirit. Therefore it is only when our actions are thus regulated that they are most acceptable to the God within. Unfortunately, however, we seldom realise the presence of the Spirit and accept the inner guidance with the result that our acts are thoughtless and more controlled by our senses and desires than by Pure Reason. This idea is very forcibly expressed in the allegorical poem on the Fisherman who idly casts his net in the

sea and, at the end of the day, brings home to his beloved whatever have been brought up by these chance throwings. The latter is not pleased and, too late in the day, the realisation comes to him that the things for which he has striven and strenuously fought are of little value. The last stanza of the *Antaratama* is in the same strain.

What exactly are the functions of the Spirit? In the passage from the *Geeta* to which we have referred at the beginning, the Divine Spirit is supposed to direct our activities through the influence of *Maya*. There is, however, another well-known sloka in the *Upanishad* where the Spirit and the Human Soul are described as twin birds seated upon the same branch of a tree of whom one eats the delicious fruits while the other sits by and silently watches the eating.

It is needless, for the purpose of our discourse, to enter into a discussion of the various texts in the Sacred Books of India which bear upon this point. We believe that enough has been said to show that the idea of the co-existence of the Divine Spirit and the Human Soul is one of the fundamental beliefs with the ancient Hindus. In the writings of Rabindranath, this ancient truth assumes a definite shape. As *Manas-Sundaree*, the Spirit assumes the form of the Muse by whom all his poetry is inspired. As *Kautuk-Moyee*, the Spirit takes mischievous pleasure in beguiling the wayfarer from the beaten tracks of human life, and leading him astray across dense and pathless forests, upon dizzy heights down into sunken vales, till, footsore and travel-stained, he is brought face to face with Death at every step. But the most striking

of the *Jeevana-Devata* series is probably the *Ahvan* (Call) in the *Purabee* where we find the Human Soul in its endless journey through its series of countless births and deaths. The Soul attains consciousness, realises itself and wakes into an ecstasy of the joy of life only when it receives the Call of the Spirit. Here, again, it is impossible to render into a foreign tongue the characteristic beauties of Rabindranath's writing.

The idea can be expressed in very simple language, divested of all philosophical verbiage. So far as we are without the Divine Spirit, we lead merely an animal existence. As the ancient poet has expressed it, "Even the trees, the birds and the beasts live....."

It is only when, at any particular point of our existence or in any particular sphere thereof, we receive the Touch Divine that there is a manifestation of God through us. This in our humble opinion, is the doctrine of *Bibhuti-Yoga* as expounded in the *Bhagabat-Geeta* which ends with that exquisite Sloka :

"Wherever there is splendour and grandeur in our lives, there Arjuna, I am manifest".

The idea of this dual existence is one of the key-notes of Rabindranath's poems and, therefore, of his philosophy of life. According to him this flows from eternity to eternity. "It seems", he says, "that in this wide world, you are the only object of my love, and that you and I have been travelling together for ages through all this concourse of people"; then again, "You have woven into my life a ray of the dawn that came millions of years ago; where did I blossom on that morning; what shape did you make me assume?"



## THE INDO-GERMAN CONSPIRACY : DECLINING PHASE\*\*

Prof. KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

The differences and misunderstandings among the members of the Indian revolutionary group in America are further borne out by the contents of some messages that were produced at the San Francisco Trial as Court exhibits. True, revolutionary work was not at a standstill. But the results were not satisfactory. Some of these messages may be quoted at length to show that the high expectations of these revolutionists in the U.S.A. were far from being realised. Moreover, although the messages are definite proofs of the widespread character of the Conspiracy, it may be mentioned here that in many cases, the ambitious plans could not be carried out. In others they were thwarted. Some of these untoward developments have already been narrated and analyzed. It is hardly necessary to point out that by the time these messages had been compiled (most likely for the information of the Berlin Group) several items in the plans had miscarried. It may not be out of place, however, to reproduce these messages. They are an indication of the working of the mind of Chakravarty and his associates with respect to the Indo-German Conspiracy.

The decipherment of a message dated October 25, 1916 (Government's Exhibit No. 72)<sup>1</sup> reads as follows :—

"Recent information from India is that our groundwork all over India of our plan in connection with Germany is thriving. Lahiri, Mukherjee, Sanya, Kirtekar have

done good work. Lahiri sent Mana Ben Roy, known as Martin, and Narendra Chattacharje, P. E. Chakrabarti, to arrange the delivery and distribution of arms. They came to Java and the German Consul at Batavia directed them to see Thomas Helfereich. He gave them help and promised that he would give two ships with arms as soon as he would hear they had arranged for it, and for arrangement 25,000 guilders to Roy, known as Martin, and later 20,000 ; 6,000 Eastern Bank B. M. Harry Son and Bengalese firm first, 1,000 Shanghai Bank to S. Ramajib Samabay.....At Shanghai \$40,000 was given to Ras En Bahiri Bose who is now in Japan, known as Thakur, of which \$10,000 have been seized with Shanjif Mukerjee at Singapore and \$40,000 given to Weide at Manila to charter steamer. Henry could not secure any arms and was caught near Celebes. Gupta got \$28,000 and is getting \$100 monthly and Gadar 32,000 and monthly uncertain."

Further down, the message assesses the success of the programme and admits that "Taken as a whole the sum is big and the result shown is poor (and) questionable ...." This sense of inadequacy is also reflected in a subsequent message (Government Exhibit No. 73) dated November 2nd, 1916 which says, "We have not succeeded to smuggle more than two hundred pistols and nearly three thousand shots during the last six months through the Pacific." The message of October 25, 1916, to which a reference has already been made, also expresses the dissatisfaction of the Indian revolutionists with the attitude of Japan while appreciating the friendliness of the Germans of New York and Washing-

\*\* The previous article in the series was published in the last November issue of *The Modern Review*.

1. *Trial Records*, Pp. 1873-74.

ton. This portion of the message which we quote below has besides, an unsavoury reference to the erstwhile Indian revolutionary leader in the U.S.—Heramba Lal Gupta. “The attitude of Japan is vacillation; our relations with New York and Washington are friendly, appreciated and respectful, though they were annoyed with Gupta’s behaviour at the Golden Gate and Shanghai—disrespectful and unpleasant.”<sup>2</sup>

We shall presently refer to another message in detail in support of our view that several months before the Indian revolutionists were rounded up in the U.S.A. the organization had been weakened by internal feuds. Besides, the revolutionary programme in Bengal had suffered a setback. A reference to a letter dated November 2nd, 1916 has been made earlier. This gives a list of Bengal revolutionaries who had been arrested at home.<sup>3</sup>

Anyway, Chakravarty proceeded with his work the nature of which is explained by a message dated 29th November, 1916. The programme of helping the revolution in India and elsewhere against the British Empire is continued by smuggling two thousand pistols and ten thousand bullets and by having organized the West Indians for revolution. The second part of the programme appears to be much too vague. What follows in the message is a little more concrete in character although one gets the impression that the nature of the work was getting less revolutionary and its scope was

being restricted. “Gadar has come into hands and a permanent basis of work has been established: And if I get by January, fifteen to twenty thousand dollars at my disposal everything would be arranged in such way as a permanent national center and work in future could go in under all conditions.”<sup>4</sup>

Chakravarty’s letter dated December 21, 1916 (which is quoted below) still further highlights the growing feud between him and Gupta. If one reads this letter one cannot but feel distressed at the mutual mudslinging and bickerings within the conspiratorial group. There was also some show of physical violence in this inter-party quarrel and at one stage “Chakravarty received a blow on the head landing him in the hospital for a while.”<sup>5</sup> The Berlin nominee was worried about the preservation of the good reputation of the revolutionary group in the U.S.A. and tried, in an indirect manner though, to establish his own sincerity and integrity. But while assessing his own work for the revolutionary cause all that he can claim to have done was to organize a Pan-Asiatic League and Oriental Society. An organ of the Society was in the offing.<sup>6</sup>

4. *Trial Records*, p. 1877.

5. Spellman. *op. cit.*, p. 42.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1875.

3. The letter refers to the arrests (among others) of Hari Kumar Chakravarti, Makhan Lal Chakravarty, Sham Sundar Bose, Bholanath Chattopadhyay, Amarendra Chattopadhyay, Satindra Nath Mukerji (?), Chittapriya Roy-Choudhury, Manoranjan Sen Gupta, Satyendra Mitra of Noakhali, Rajah Narajole (interned), Radugopal Mukerji, Charu Roy, Indra Nandi.

Many of these revolutionists had already made their mark or, were destined to play significant roles in India’s struggle for freedom.

6. *Trial Records*, P. 1876. “We have been for some time under an embarrassing situation. When Gupta returned from Japan we told him many things in order to utilize him and take him in the Committee but when we found he secretly went to the Consulate and Embassy and complained against me that I was a crank and was in the lunatic asylum and have mismanaged everything, and (that) my associates are Das, a spy, likewise Harish Chandra, we had to drop him out. Since then (he has been) almost like a howling maniac; he has been trying every means to harm the cause and strain our respectful relations. Of course the Embassy regard him as a jealous and disappointed backbiter. They have every confidence in us, but who knows what they think of the Hindoos when told that the Berlin Committee consists of money-making

The conclusion is almost irresistible that Chakravarty was preparing more for propaganda and publicity than for active revolution. Circumstances may have forced his hands. But there is no denying the fact that the scope and the objective of the work of the Indian revolutionaries in America had become considerably restricted. The emphasis on propaganda and pamphleteering is also brought home by the programme of the revolutionary group as explained in its messages. A secret understanding had been brought about with the Japanese and the Chinese Governments, whereby, "an atmosphere of more than passive sympathy" could be expected in the future. Other items of work indicated in one such message were first, that two hundred and eighty thousand copies of nine different pamphlets had been distributed and eighty thousand reserved for future use (evidently in different parts of the British Empire and among the Indian troops), and, secondly, that an immigration law unfavourable to the Indians had been criticized.<sup>7</sup>

Certain other messages seem to be some sort of a commentary on the Gupta-Chakravarty feud. Sometimes Chakravarty defends the other against harsh criticism. Chakravarty was reasonably worried over what the Germans might think of the Indian revolutionists in the U.S. He was naturally perturbed over signs of disintegration and dis-unity in the party. But nonetheless he felt that the availability of adequate funds would set everything right.

criminals and (that) I am in this game. And when everything failed he went so far as to use physical violence against me..... I have done my best as loyally and devotedly I could under the circumstances. Have organized (a) Pan-Asiatic League and Oriental Society, and its organ *Oriental Review*, is in the process of crystallization."

7. Spellman, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

He also talked of the 'new plan'.<sup>8</sup> It is very likely that this new plan was related to this scheme of organizing a Pan-Asiatic League and Oriental Society.

We have mentioned in a previous paper<sup>9</sup> that Heramba Lal Gupta was arrested on March 10, 1917. He faced trial in Chicago. Gupta, Jacobsen, Wehde and Boehm were found guilty of conspiracy and of violating the Neutrality of the United States. On October 20, 1917 judgment was pronounced on all the four accused. Gupta was sentenced to imprisonment for one year and six months and a fine of \$100 on both indictments.<sup>10</sup>

Another young Indian revolutionary who had contacts with Dr. Chakravarty and who subsequently became a celebrity was M. N. Roy. In his *Memoirs* Roy has hardly a word of praise for Chakravarty. We shall have occasion to refer to Roy's assessment of Chakravarty in a subsequent paper. It may be pointed out here, however, that Roy devotes very little space to Chakravarty, and not much space either to his own doings in the U.S., in a book of more than 600 pages. He has very emphatically refuted Chakravarty's claim that he was negotiating with the captain

8. *Trial Records*, p. 6543. "Gupta is back in New York and has seen me but has not submitted any report. We need 15,000 dollars more for next six months to carry out the new plan."

P. 6550. "Gupta is here but unwilling to work with the Committee; is angry. Consulate was perturbed at this attitude, but I assured them that Gupta's patriotism and sincerity are unquestionable, and he got twenty thousand dollars."

"Please let me know what to do in order to keep the respect and admiration of German authority, which we need if we cannot accomplish our objects during the war. More so for the future our party should have a union, earnest and dignified."

9. *The Modern Review* for November, 1965.

10. Sperry, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

of the famous German cargo submarine Deutschland to take Roy to Germany. According to Chakravarty, "Roy was arrested" while these negotiations were on, "on a complaint telegraphed to New York by Evelyn's father. According to Chakravarty, Evelyn defied her father, married Roy in the jail, and the two were released."<sup>11</sup>

Not all of Chakravarty's statements could be corroborated by facts. He claimed, without being able to produce any evidence whatsoever, that Rabindranath Tagore was involved in the Indo-German Conspiracy.<sup>12</sup> We do not feel competent to express any definite views on the Deutschland business. It may be pointed out that Roy gives a different account of his experience of American justice.<sup>13</sup> He says that the District Attorney indicted him "for violating the Immigration Law of the U.S.A." The Grand Jury endorsed the indictment. He was then released pending the trial and told that he would be summoned again. M. N. Roy escaped. This account does not tally with Chakravarty's statement before the Court—"Roy appeared before the Grand Jury and was discharged. He could not be connected in any possible way with the Conspiracy."<sup>14</sup> It is just possible that in the confusion of their arrests and the tensions of the subsequent days Chakravarty did not have correct and accurate information about the whereabouts of M. N. Roy.

What is of importance, however, is the fact that whatever impression one might get from M. N. Roy's Memoirs, his association in the U.S.A. with Chakravarty and

the Indo-German Conspiracy was not just superficial. This is borne out by several documents produced at the San Francisco trial. It may be recalled that in the cipher message dated October 25, 1916<sup>15</sup> Roy was reported to have received 25,000 guilders from an agent in Java. The message appears to be a report from Chandra Chakravarty to the German Foreign Secretary, Zimmermann.<sup>16</sup> Roy's activity mentioned here took place before his arrival in the U.S.A. His involvement in the Indo-German Conspiracy with Chakravarty as the Berlin Committee's nominee in America is further confirmed by the following two receipts from the former: "received from Dr. C. Chakravarty \$275 for passage from the west and personal expenses. M. N. Roy. November 1916." "Received one hundred and fifty dollars (\$150) on behalf of Sailendra Ghose, for his passage expenses from San Francisco to New York. M. N. Roy. Feb. 10, 1917."<sup>17</sup> Roy says that he met Chakravarty for the first time in New York.<sup>18</sup> But Chakravarty in the course of the San Francisco trial said that he had met Roy at Palo Alto (seat of Stanford University) near San Francisco.<sup>19</sup> This

15. Footnote 1.

16. Overstreet and Windmiller, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

17. *Trial Records*, p. 882.

18. M. N. Roy's Memoirs, p. 32. Roy describes how for the first time he went to meet Dr. Chakravarty at his residence in New York and enquired of a gentleman "if Dr. Chakravarty lived in the premises" the gentleman grinned and said, "Sit down. I have been expecting you."

19. *Trial Records*, p. 1059.

Q. Did you know this man Roy when he lived at Palo Alto?

A. While he was at Palo Alto I met him

11. Overstreet and Windmiller, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

12. For a discussion on this, see R. C. Majumdar's paper in the *Modern Review* of June 1963, and the author's paper in the same journal of July, 1964.

13. M. N. Roy's *Memoirs*, Pp. 37-44.

14. *Trial Records*, p. 885.

Q. What name was he going under? A.

Q. Going under Roy? A. Yes.

Q. Did he go under the name of Martin?

A. Not that I know of.

most likely happened before Roy came over to New York. Did Chakravarty fail to impress him and Roy did not remember him when the latter came to New York, or, did he deliberately ignore Chakravarty when decades later Roy wrote his Memoirs?

We quote below some excerpts from the **Trial Records** in support of our contention that M. N. Roy had a fairly intimate connection with Chandra Chakravarty in the Conspiracy venture:

Mr. Preston: Here is a message addressed to Dr. Chakravarty, 364 West 120th Street, New York, signed by Roy, Hotel Leighton, Los Angeles..... The message is undated. It reads "Waiting here, please send three hundred dollars by telegraph. Will start for middle west on receipt. How long will you take to arrange business. I am all earnest for that. Let us know details in the meantime if possible. Roy."

Preston: On Sept. 6, 1915 there is record of a transfer of one hundred dollars to this man Roy at the Hotel Leighton, Los Angeles.

Preston: Here is a telegram to Mr. Chakravarty from Surendra Karr, also referring to Roy. It is dated Jan. 8, 1917:

"To Doctor C. Chakravarty, 364 West 120th Street, New York.

"Ghose is with me. He has urgently to meet you before February 15. Before further particulars ask M. N. Roy, Daly Avenue, New York, to whom details have been written. Short of funds. Immediately

wire three hundred dollars to meet his outfit expenses and passage money to New York. Surendra Karr."<sup>20</sup>

It may be safely concluded from the above documents that M. N. Roy received money on several occasions from Chandra Chakravarty in the U.S.A., presumably for the furtherance of revolutionary activity. The messages we have quoted in this connexion are, however, colourless and do not enable us to know what the two revolutionists thought of each other while in the United States. We have indicated, however, that in later years when they were no longer in the same camp their mutual assessment was anything but happy. This is particularly true of Roy's assessment of Chakravarty.

A word about Chakravarty's relations with Ram Chandra, the leader of the California members of the Gadar party. Towards the closing stages of the San Francisco trial Chakravarty revealed for the first time "the cause of the animus existing between Ram Chandra and himself" when he told the jury that he had been sent by the Berlin Foreign Office to "call off" Chandra's "violent publications." The Berlin Committee's nominee further said that he tried to induce Chandra to discontinue the publication of the **Gadar**. "When he refused I parted company with him and his methods of aiding our countrymen."<sup>21</sup> A natural sequence to this was to restrict the scope and objective of Indian revolutionary activity in America. This may be explained in the words of Dr. Chakravarty himself: "Personally I did not attempt to put on foot a military enterprise..... But I did spread our propaganda and expended thousands of dollars doing it in the name of patriotism."<sup>22</sup>

Q. Which name did you know him by then? A. Roy was the only name I knew him by while he was here.

Q. I thought you said you knew him by Medez. A. That was not here; that was while he was in New York.

Q. After you had known him here? A. Yes.

Q. How did you learn of it? A. He wrote to me and said he was using that name.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 1710.

21. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 18, 1918, p. 11.

22. *Ibid.*

# THE CONCEPTION OF A LIBERAL EDUCATION

V. GOPALAKRISHNAIAH

For centuries a type of liberal education has been esteemed throughout Western Civilization as the education of the ideal citizen. The word "liberal" comes from the Latin *liber*, meaning "free"; that the proper meaning of the phrase "liberal arts", is "the arts becoming to a free man". The very term "liberal arts" has become synonymous with "liberal education". In the Middle Ages the liberal arts were seven in number. They were divided into two namely, the Trivium (grammar, logic and rhetoric) and the Quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music). The idea of liberal education is not definable in terms of some peculiar subject-matter. Some applied sciences may well fall outside its scope. But by and large, any formal discipline may fall in its scope. It is not the subject-matter that determines the character of studies as liberal studies. It is rather the way in which a formal discipline, a subject-matter, is taken up that is decisive; whenever it is being studied for its own sake, liberal education is taking place. The formal liberal disciplines are the mathematical disciplines, the physical sciences the science of life, the sciences of language and also the great works of philosophy and literature. It is a fantastic idea to equate liberal studies with the humanities; as if mathematical and scientific disciplines are less human than historical or poetic or philosophical studies.

The liberal arts are ends in themselves, since they do not of themselves give virtue, nor mastery in any particular field of knowledge, but rather perfect the instrument of the intellect and attain a balanced view of the Reality. Seneca held that the

liberal arts do not give virtue, but prepare the mind to receive virtue. A modern writer tells that 'the purpose of a liberal education is to awaken and develop the intellectual and spiritual powers in the individual before he enters upon the chosen career, so that he may bring to that career the greatest possible assets of intelligence, resourcefulness, judgement and character'.<sup>1</sup> If we were to live well we must learn a great many facts about ourselves and about the physical, social, and spiritual actualities which daily confront us.

The following works of different great thinkers were intended to the espousal of the nature of the liberal arts. Parts of Plato's **Republic** and of Aristotle's **Ethics** and **Politics** treat of the liberal arts. Cicero's **De Oratore** and Quintilian's **Institution Oratoria** espouse the same studies. The key works of St. Augustine **De Ordine** and **De Doctrina Christiana** deal with the nature of the liberal arts. **De Magistro** of St. Thomas Aquinas treats of the same studies. The **Ratio Studiorum** of the Jesuits will have much of the Jesuit plan for teaching the liberal arts; and Cardinal Newman's **Idea of a University** deals mainly with the theory and practice of the liberal arts.

In the **Republic**, Plato mentions some of the liberal arts and offers illuminating comments on why they have a place in the education of youth. He conceives education as having two ends, namely, training for citizenship and training for

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1. A Whitney Griswold, **Liberal Education and the Democratic Ideal**, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1959. P. 13.

leadership. The society of Plato's days was divided into slaves and masters. The slaves did all the manual labour, leaving to free men only the occupations of sport and war. The free men had to dedicate themselves wholly to the maintenance of freedom in the state, spending their leisure time in sports. It is said by Plato that dancing, gymnastics, music, art, literature and history are the ways in which they are trained for citizenship. The youth in the free men who are steadfast and have the virtues of courage, self-control and vigour of mind and philosophy (i.e., insight, vision of truth and beauty) should be trained for leadership. Dialectic was regarded as a suitable subject for giving training to the leaders; for it manifests especially the progress from sense to intellect, from material to the spiritual. Such mental training is the best discipline for the conduct of public affairs. Plato reveals that until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of Philosophy, until political greatness and wisdom meet in one "cities will never have rest from their evils—no nor the human race, as I believe—and then only will this our state have a possibility of life and behold the light of day".<sup>2</sup>

We can find the educational ideas of Aristotle in his works *Ethics* and *Politics*. He also upheld the theory of the natural slave and considered the mechanical arts as degrading ones. The only excellence of a slave is the reflection of his master, and the artisan only attains this reflected excellence in so far as he becomes a slave. Aristotle believed firmly that education should be liberal (that is for free men) rather than practical or vocational. The proper occupation for free men, in his opinion, is citizenship, whereas the lower

occupations of trade, artisanship or farming are illiberal because they distort the body, destroy harmonious development, destroy leisure time, and do not allow for the pursuits of citizenship and intellectual investigation. Further he regarded the contemplation as a higher operation, a leisure spent in pursuit of knowledge and virtue. We should seek education for our sons "not as being useful or necessary, but because it is liberal and noble".<sup>3</sup>

Cicero's *De Oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* give a representative idea of the place of the liberal arts in Roman education. The formation of the 'Vir bonus decendi Peritus,' the good man and able speaker, was a very practical thing in Cicero's time. Quintilian also thought eloquence was the greatest power in human life, and the training of the perfect orator was the supreme task of education. The education of an orator was a ready knowledge of the arts and sciences which increased one's ability to deal with his fellow men and to tackle the intricacies of the profession with the proper tools and basic skills. Cicero writes in his *De Oratore*, "No man could ever excel and reach eminence in eloquence without learning not only the art of oratory but every branch of useful knowledge."<sup>4</sup> Moreover he demanded for his orator an intimate knowledge of life and virtue, of the law and of reasoning and a knowledge of the natural phenomena. In his *Institutio Oratoria* Quintilian depicts the character of the Orator as the well rounded man of affairs or statesman rather than merely an accomplished speaker.

St. Augustine's books *De Ordine* and *De Doctrina Christiana* give his views on the nature of the liberal arts. He says in the *De Ordine* that the order of learning

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2. *Republic*, (Jowett's Trans.) V 473.

3. *Politics*, (E. Barker's Trans.) VIII, 3, 1-13.

4. *De Oratore*, II, 1, 5.

is through the liberal arts. There is gradual process from lesser studies to philosophy which treats of God and soul. Youth of genius must be led from the bodily senses and from profane letters to the love of unchangeable truth, and to God. This is the order of learning from matter, to man, to Maker. Without the liberal arts one can be pious and holy, but scarcely happy. Augustine stated that 'a moderate and succinct acquaintance with the liberal arts make the lovers of truth more eager and constant.'<sup>5</sup> He includes in the liberal arts grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music and Philosophy.

The **De Magistro** of St. Thomas Aquinas gives his theory of teaching and learning. For him the art of teaching is a liberal art, a human art. It is a noble task of free men, exercised on creatures. The philosophy of teaching and learning of St. Thomas emphasizes the self-activity and plasticity of the student, with the consequent power of both learner and teacher in the formation of good habits. "The art that confers aptness for the good work of the intellect, the knowledge of truth or character formation, is a liberal art."<sup>6</sup> St. Thomas was educated by the liberal arts. He states that 'liberal arts free man's highest powers, his intellect and will, for their proper activity. Without the training they afford, the power of expression may be tied down, the powers of thought may be tied down, the powers of thought may lack matter or method, and the will lack motives'. The liberal arts give greater freedom for rational action. Moreover they give good ideals gleaned from the works of literature and the deeds of history.

The **Ratio Studiorum** of the Jesuits is a good example of the liberal arts in practice in the period of Renaissance. St. Ignatius

Loyola was the man who played a major role in formulating the principles of **Ratio**. In essence the **Ratio** is a set of definite rules for Superiors, Prefects of Study, Professors of Theology, Philosophy, Mathematics and the Sciences, Languages and Literature and also for pupils. It is a system formulated carefully for bringing orderliness to educational establishments. The subjects were arranged in such a manner that they would give literary, philosophical and scientific training to the pupils. The practical rules and careful supervision will bring good results even with teachers of moderate talents. To secure thoroughness for the students frequent repetitions will be conducted at all levels. The students will have to assimilate the lessons taught by their teachers through a varied system of exercises: compositions, disputations and contests. The formation of valuable moral and intellectual habits and the use of individual talents were regarded as the ideals to be achieved. Thus we can find in the **Ratio Studiorum** the Jesuit plan for teaching the liberal arts. The intellectual scope of the **Ratio** is so wide that it aims to bring an all round development in pupils through the training of the mind. This training of the mind means the gradual and harmonious development of the various powers or faculties of the soul—of memory, imagination, intellect and will; and this is what we call liberal education.<sup>7</sup> Moreover in the Jesuit plan of studies religious training is the foremost object, and religious influence and inspiration are to pervade all teaching.

In cardinal Newman we can find the most complete and explicit analysis of the liberal arts in theory and practice. The

5. **De Ordine**, I, 8, 24.

6. **De Magistro**, Mayer's Trans. P. 157.

7. Father. D. Gordon, **General Education Reconsidered**, Edited by K. Satchidananda Murty, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963, p. 59.



subject of liberal education, and of the principles on which it must be conducted, has ever had a hold upon Newman's mind. His monumental work *The Idea of a University* was intended by him mainly to expound the meaning of liberal education. Liberal or philosophical knowledge consists in a comprehensive view of truth in all its branches, of the relations of science to science, of their mutual bearings and their respective values. What is really meant by liberal knowledge or liberal education? In its grammatical sense it is opposed to servile; and by servile work is understood bodily labour, mechanical employment and the like, in which the mind has little or no part. In a nutshell, liberal education and liberal pursuits are exercises of the mind, of reason, of reflection.

What is the end of liberal education or liberal knowledge? 'Knowledge is capable of being its own end,' forms its text and rarely has that cardinal truth of education been set forth so eloquently, so convincingly. Newman says: "Liberal knowledge is that which stands on its own pretensions, which is independent of sequel, expects no compliment, refuses to be informed (as it is called) by any end, or absorbed into any art, in order duly to present itself to our contemplation". Such knowledge is 'an acquired illumination, it is a habit, a personal possession, and an inward endowment'.

In this connection it is necessary to differentiate liberal education from useful education. A 'useful'—or **vocational** as we now call it—education is one that prepares its recipient directly and exclusively for his future avocation in life. Whereas

a liberal education is that in which the individual is cultivated, not as an instrument towards some ulterior end, but as an end unto himself alone. In other words, useful knowledge is power, and it is validated by its ability to manipulate the external world. Liberal knowledge, however, is understanding, and it is validated by our willingness to rest in the understanding which it conveys. In support of this view Newman quotes Aristotle who made clearly the distinction between liberal and useful education. "Of possessions, those rather are useful, which bear fruit; those liberal which tend to enjoyment. By fruitful I mean which yield revenue; by enjoyable, where nothing accrues of consequence beyond the using."<sup>10</sup>

Then immediately the question which strikes our mind is: What is the use of liberal education? The utilitarians may ask as to the real worth in the market of the article called 'liberal education', if it does not teach us definitely how to advance our manufactures, or to improve our lands, or to better our civil economy, or again if it does not at once make this man a lawyer, that an engineer and that a surgeon; or at least if it does not lead to discoveries in chemistry, astronomy, geology, physics and other sciences. In answer to this Newman holds that liberal knowledge would be desired for its own sake even if it led to nothing, but it does in fact lead to something, and therefore it is desired for that as well.

In fact, liberal education is beneficial to the recipients of it, as members of society in the various duties and circumstances and accidents of life. It produces the culture of the intellect. In the case of most men liberal education makes itself felt in the good sense, sobriety of thought, reasonableness, candour, self-command and steadiness of view which characterize it.

8. J. H. Newman, *The Idea of a University*, Longman's Green & Co., New York, 1957, P. 96.

9. *Ibid.*, P. 96.

10. *Ibid.*, P. 97.

11. *Ibid.*, P. 147.

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In some it will develop habits of business, powers of influencing others and sagacity. In others it will elicit the talent of philosophical speculation, and lead the mind forward to eminence in this or that intellectual department. In all, it will be a faculty of entering with comparative ease into any subject of thought, and of taking up with aptitude any science or profession. In the words of Newman, "the man who has learned to think and to reason and compare and to discriminate and to analyze, who has refined his taste, and formed his judgment, and sharpened his mental vision can take up any one of the sciences or callings with an ease, a grace, a versatility and success, to which another is a stranger."<sup>11</sup>

As it is maintained by Newman, the training of the intellect, which is best for the individual himself, best enables him as a citizen to discharge his duties to society. Productively, society is a whole because it integrates many parts. As workers we are responsible for only a tiny segment of life, but as citizens and human beings our duties are as various as life itself. In other words, there is a duty we owe to human society as such, to the state to which we belong, to the sphere in which we move, to the fellow-beings with whom we are variously associated. The wide sphere of these duties must be anticipated by a wide sphere of knowledge, and such knowledge is necessarily liberal.

Now let us consider the place which Newman assigns to religion in the liberal arts, considered as preparatory studies. Even in the formal concept of mental culture, the proper largeness of view, the proper inter-relationships of the sciences are not possible without the study of the final questions of religion. Theology in the liberal arts is not studied professionally but for fullness of knowledge and view point, for proper mental orientation of any man. A distinction is made by Newman between the teaching of theology as a spe-

culative science and the fostering of virtues which constitute religion in practice. True to his principle that mental culture is the aim of liberal education, Newman will include in its scope religion only in the former sense. The intellectual culture which results from liberal education not only has a bearing upon social and active duties, but upon Religion also. The liberally educated mind may be said to be in a certain sense religious; that is, it has what may be considered a religion of its own. A liberally educated individual or gentleman's religion is of a liberal and generous character and it is based upon honour.

What are the duties of the Church towards knowledge? Newman says that if knowledge is pursued as beauty or as power, to its furthest extent and its true limit, one can be led by either road to the Eternal and Infinite, to the intimations of conscience and the announcements of the Church. The Church fears no knowledge, but she purifies all; she represses no element of our nature, but cultivates the whole. Especially towards theology she has a distinct duty. It is one of the special trusts committed to her keeping. The formal object of the Church is certainly not the intellectual culture described by cardinal Newman, but the Church can use these gifts in its members to great advantage. Her work is the glory of God and the salvation of souls. The more noble the work and the higher the attainment, the closer must be the Church; for the more valuable is the talent, the more likely may be its waste in time, without interest in eternity.

The relationship of liberal knowledge to the sciences is also of chief concern to us. Newman maintains that all knowledge forms one whole, because its subject-matter is one; for the universe in its length and breadth is so intimately knit together, that we cannot separate off portion from portion, and operation from operation, except by a mental abstraction. A science is not mere

knowledge, it is knowledge which has undergone a process of intellectual digestion. It is the grasp of many things brought together in one, and hence is its power; for properly speaking, it is science that is power, not knowledge. Any particular science is an aspect of the whole. The bodily eye, the organ for apprehending material objects, is provided by Nature; the eye of the mind, of which the object is truth, is the work of discipline and habit. "The comprehension of the bearings of one science on another and the use of each to each, and the location and limitation and adjustment and the appreciation of them all is known as the science of sciences which will form philosophical habits of the mind".<sup>12</sup> This is also called by Newman by various names such as Philosophy, Liberal Knowledge, Philosophia Prima, Architectonic Science. How Newman conceives the relationship of sciences to the liberal knowledge has been very well interpreted by A. Dwight Culler. The power of knowledge to relieve pain, to ensure safety, to construct open and wholesome cities, to order society, to accelerate movement and to release great energy—all these powers are wonders and are important for us, but with which we are not concerned. We are concerned only with the power of knowledge which will perfect the human intellect. To open it, refine it, correct it, to discipline its powers and give it mastery over itself—this is the end which is served by liberal knowledge.<sup>13</sup>

12. *Ibid.*, P. 46.

To sum up: Liberal education gives mental power and breadth of vision. It frees the mind for the attainment of the truth. The type of liberal education can neither be identified with the ancient Greek ideal of a free man as contrasted by the slave, nor can it be identified with the medieval cleric; at the same time we should not identify the ideal of liberal education with the Renaissance Courtier or with the nineteenth century gentleman. The elements of liberal education can be seen in all these ideals of bygone eras. The liberal arts served for many purposes in the course of history. In Greece they prepared for Philosophy, in Rome for Oratory and Law, in the Middle Ages for Theology, in all ages for a fuller life of intellect, a greater power of expression, a knowledge of men and nature put in play daily. The value and significance of a liberal education have been recognized by the educationists in all ages. Theodore M. Greene says that "the more effectively a person is liberally educated, the richer will be his own personal life, the further will he be able to develop in his profession or vocation, and the more significant will be his total contribution to society."<sup>14</sup>

13. A. Dwight Culler, **The Imperial Intellect**, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1955, P. 216.

14. Theodore M. Greene, **Liberal Education Reconsidered**, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1954, P. 37.

## COMMUNITY LIFE IN NORTH WESTERN INDIA —INDUS VALLEY

KISHORE KUMAR SAXENA

In 1921 a new chapter opened in the history of world civilization and particularly in the history of India—it was the discovery of the Indus Valley Civilization\* and it pushed back the upper limit of Indian history to 2500 B.C. Till 1920 the starting point of Indian history was Vedic civilization and we knew about that only from literature. The importance of Harappan culture stems largely from the fact that it represents the first of the successful achievements beyond the bounds of the land that constituted the fertile crescent i.e. the valley of Eupharates and Tigris. The developed standard of society and material culture that face us is in such maturity at the dawn of Indian civilization that it not only challenge us to **investigate the process of their growth but also provide us with clues to facilitate the task.** Before we discuss its significance and uniqueness, it will be desirable to keep the following points in mind which are pertinently related to it :

- (1) How this culture attained such a magnificent grandeur ?
- (2) What were the 'forces' responsible for its rise ?
- (3) What stage of evolution does it represent ?
- (4) What were the antecedent phases of it ?
- (5) What process was involved in

\*The term Indus Valley has been substituted by Harappan culture after the type site, since it is not confined to Indus Valley alone.

the growth of civilization in India ? and, finally,

- (6) Where can it be fixed in the framework of civilization in India ?

Till now, in tracing the evolution of material culture, we have followed the simple answer that it was due to 'diffusion'. But then such an approach has tended to be patterned rather largely on that devised to explain the spread of the food producing economy, which was towards natural habitat zones (Braidwood, 61), which included a complex of potentially domesticable plants and animals capable of eventually serving as an annual dietary pattern for more or less permanently settled human groups. The zone itself appears to have been one with a fair degree of sub-regional diversity. Not all the elements of potentially domesticable plants and animal complex were necessarily represented in any one niche. As of now, we do not know the exact boundaries of this natural zone. The hilly flanks about the Tigris-Eupharates drainage basin alone will probably not prove to have included all the zones. The presence within this natural habitat zone of a certain level of sub-regionally adjusted and intensified or specialized food collecting procedure together with a tendency towards at least semi-annual open air settlement sites (Braidwood, 1961) indicate this. As this level developed the first hints of the incipience of cultivation and animal domestication were manifested. This settling down tendency probably had both new demographic and new social organizational implications, but we cannot see or trace them as yet.

In India the evidence of this stage is furnished by the 'open air sites' in Vindhya hills (Subbarao, p. 67, 1958), where men for the first time opted for plains, then the conventional mode of living in caves. This phase is of middle stone age and man was still mainly a food gatherer. It is worth mentioning here that now the needs of the men were different from what they were in the old stone age, as is clearly evident from the nature of the stone tools he made. The tools were tiny and were used in a composite manner. The change in the nature of tools is the only evidence with us for any postulation. One of the foremost reasons for this change in the nature of tools is that now the focus had shifted from hunting to agriculture and from the hills to the plains. These tools were for cleaning the skin and fishing. As to what were the other features of the people, it is difficult to answer at present.

Pre-pottery deposit at Langhnaj represents a step further, but here too fundamentals remained the same. Besides, the finds of similar types of tools in northern and western India suggest that people in hunting stage lived in and about the river valleys where game was easily available.

Now the proposition as regards these two major and inter-relating factors, as we put them here amounts to little more than saying that with a permissive environment with potentially effective resources, culture had to be ready for the change which was to come. The permissive environments and potentially effective resources had already been present for many millennia; the change was a cultural achievement (Braidwood, 1961).

We still do not have a very clear notion of the transition from the level of incipience to the level of the primary and effective village farming communities which appear to have burst open in a fully blown form. It has been the practice till recently to describe the emergence of

communities which in turn gave rise to bigger complexes, may be called cultures, to the natural process of evolution and the desire of men to improve upon the existing surroundings. To put in other words, we had the pre-conceived idea that man wanted progress and it is in the fulfilment of this urge, that he discovered new means. But it shall not be a convincing answer to the problem of material evolution and the process involved in it. As we have discussed above many factors—Geological, Geographical, Economical and Demographical, are involved in this process in which all these were interlinked. We shall discuss here how these factors worked together to give rise to the Harappan civilization. As referred to above, it was in the fertile crescent that for the first time men began to form settled communities due to availability of permissive environments i.e. facilities of irrigation and availability of fauna and game. In India, geologists have worked out, and it is otherwise also evident from other remains, that such facilities were present in the north-west frontier and in the Sindh region of India. L. Wooley has remarked that in the areas where conditions were favourable the whole manner of man's life was quickly transformed. The above mentioned areas were not arid as they are now and since all the facilities for forming settlements were available, naturally they attracted men.

As noted above, till now men did produce food but did not store. The next stage of evolution is of 'storage' influenced by, and as a result of various factors, such as increase in population and calamities. So, to tackle the problem of food men began to think of a device for the storage of food and it gave an impetus to the discovery of pottery, and thus he started moulding clay by hand or made pottery by hand. Till this stage the settlements were small and the economy remained as it

was earlier save the addition of pottery. But to make pottery by hand is a slow process. In the meantime the discovery of the wheel caused a revolution which ultimately had a bearing upon the general economy of the communities. This discovery is of first rate importance in the history of mankind.

Now let us revert to India and see how society and mankind further progressed. Though the picture of the development is not clear in India, yet we have certain patches which may help us to reconstruct the stages of evolution. The next phase after the stone age (already mentioned), is what is technically called Neolithic or new stone age. The best example of this phase is furnished by Burzahan (*Indian Archaeology—a Review*, p. 11, 1960-61) and Brohmagiri (Wheeler, *Ancient India* No. 4, Pp. 47-48). In this stage we have definite evidence of agriculture and settled communities. This period is further marked by the advancement in technological standards particularly in the field of agriculture which had an impact upon the economy—now it became easy to produce more with new inventions of implements. How the geographical factors influenced the process is best illustrated in pit-dwelling settlements at Burzahan. Yet men remained more dependent, as suggested by the nature of tools, upon game.

The evidence of food-collection to production stage in India, came from Baluchistan and Sindh, where the revolution occurred as evidenced by permanent settlements, agriculture on a large scale and the consequent emergence of villages. Human settlements in this region are likely to go back at least to the beginnings of the third millennium B.C. The abundant evidence of ancient occupation in Baluchi hills or the Indus plain implies less exacting climatic conditions in the past than at present (Piggott, p. 67, 1961). The Indus Valley with its ampler water supply, game and rich growth was attractive in those days

(Fair Servis, 1961). Here we find many settlements which have been classified and labelled under many 'cultures', each one having certain characteristic features and confined to some particular region such as Quetta culture, Amri Nal culture, Kulli culture and Zhob culture. The diameter of the habitation area vary from 130' to 600' in case of Quetta and Amri culture (Piggott, 1961). At Kulli Ghul Mohammad (Fair Servis, 1956) in the earliest period were found mud brick houses associated with chert and bone tools. There was also evidence of domestication of animals and of agriculture, but not of the use of pottery. In Amri Nal cultural phase a marked increase in the standards of life is seen. At Kulli a further technological advancement and new discoveries as of copper and other metals save iron is important. The above mentioned communities were confined to southern Baluchistan. In North Baluchistan Zhob culture of which a representative site is Rana-Gundai (Ross—1946) is the best index of the evolution of this culture. The lowest strata here has yielded frequent layers of ash and it has been suggested by the excavator Ross that intermittent but recurrent occupation of the site by semi-nomadic people with impermanent huts seemed likely. (Piggott, p. 121, 1961). The next phase is of short duration where one building level has been noted against none in the previous phase. In next two phases, settlements of quite good dimensions, came up with agriculture, well developed industries, many vocations, high technical standards and increase in population.

In view of the above discussion, it is evident now that the seeds of a civilization were already planted here. The influence of other civilizations as a result of fusion and diffusion, increase in population—which required more and more land and division of labour compelled men to extend far and wide where all the facilities may be available. It is this 'movement' in the pursuit

of the above factors that the 'Indus Valley' became the centre of men's activities in India.

It is obvious, when we contemplate civilizations of the world, to digress for a while, that they are of different kinds. The emphasis differ, in Egypt, upon local and state region, in Crete, upon the mercantile, in Sumner, upon Agriculture (Fair Servis, 1961) and so on. They are unquestionably unique though they share much in common. The fact that their uniqueness can be so readily defined, indicates that the basic traits of civilization centred around different factors. Thus, as Childe has pointed out, international trade and geographical factors created the Cretan civilization. The same causal factors that create a civilization also serve to identify it. Anthropologists generally define a civilization as a complex culture and use the word 'intensify' to signify the heightening of cultural activities so as to produce this complexity. Accordingly, we might say that all civilizations have an 'intensifying' factor that motivates them. In addition we could say that all cultures are influenced by a similar factor, but in the case of a civilization the 'intensifying' factors attain a greater magnitude. Thus to conclude a favourable geographical position is a pre-requisite but that the favourability of position depends on the 'intensifying' factor. The identification of intensifying factors that brought about the gathering of civilizing traits that produced the Indus Valley civilization is at present difficult to answer. Was it

- (1) dependent upon foreign trade ?
- (2) an empire complex ?
- (3) any control, political or religious?
- (4) based upon a rural economy ?

Probably none of the above mentioned factors worked individually as the intensifying factor. Let us leave it for a moment and see what are the characteristic features of Harappan civilization first, then we shall discuss and try to find out causal factors responsible for its growth.

The life of the Indus people, as revealed by excavations have been best summarised by Sir John Marshall (London, 1931). The people used stones and metals. Their society was organised in cities which had a careful layout of the streets with an absolute uniformity of building design and construction and an elaborate system of drains and sewers. Their main occupation was agriculture and trade with regions as far distant as the Persian Gulf (Rao, 1961) and Mesopotamia. They domesticated various animals. They knew spinning and weaving, made pottery on wheel and painted with encaustic designs. Ornaments of gold, silver, copper etc., and of faience, ivory, carnelian and other stones as also of shell and terracotta figurines and toys seem to abound. They were literate people and frequently made use of a particular script as evidenced from their seals. The civilization covered 'roughly' an area of 84,000 square miles (Sankalia, 1964) stretching from Alamgirpur (IAR, 58-59) in the east to Sutkangendor (Stein, 1943) in the west and from Rupur (IAR, 1954-1955) in the north to Bhagatrav (Rao, 1963) in the south.

The above brief description of the life of the Harappan people show that their culture was of a high order. In the following pages, we shall discuss the causal factor or intensifying factor, which gave rise to it and the factors responsible for the decay of this civilization.

When we talk of the origin of this culture, I feel we are not on sound footing. It did not 'explosively' begin as Wheeler has put it (Wheeler 1959, p. 108). It has 'evolved' all the way ; of course it attained high standards within comparatively a lesser period. It was an isolated phenomenon. It is thus submitted, that it was one of the phases of that movement which started in the fertile crescent and developed many characteristic features of its own, for which regional and geological factors were responsible. An analysis of the settlements

## COMMUNITY LIFE IN NORTH WESTERN INDIA

recovered and their nature shall reveal that essentially Indus farmers were villagers through whose labours the urban centres were nourished. It appears that the flood waters of the Indus and the broad alluvium of the valley permitted widespread easy settlement, requiring only limited irrigation and did not provide the impetus to centralization (Adams, 1960). Recent researches by geologists have brought to light that then the climatic conditions of the region under review were different as already discussed above. The problem was not to bring waters to the field but to take it away (Fair Servis, 1961). Moreover the pre-Harappan evidence in Sindh and our awareness of the increasing cultural complexities in the pre-Harappan Baluchistan and Sindh where many proto-types of Harappan traits occur, suggest that the Harappan civilization is but the latest phase in a long development (Childe, 1953, p. 183). Recent excavations at Kot Digi (Khan) and Kalibanga (IAR, 1960-61), in Rajasthan has revealed a different cultural complex below the Harappan levels. Though no overlap is there, yet many striking similarities in both make it clear that the earlier culture has something to do with the other.

However, the essential 'intensifying' factor which was responsible for this civilization, may be the regional and economic set up that is the dependence of cities (so-called) upon villages. The character of the Harappan religion is fundamental to this thesis which can be substantiated by the following facts :

- (1) Occurrence of female and bull figures in all Harappan sites.
- (2) Construction of large buildings at important points.
- (3) The formality in appearance of the seals and the characters of the seal writing.

Thus, as we observe, the Harappan civilization was religion oriented and dependent upon food, contributed by villagers. The 'mature' phase of this civilization

lasted for one thousand years from 2500 to 1500 B.C. At Harappa and Mohenjodaro it attained maturity earlier than at Kalibanga where the settlement came to an end by 2000 B.C. (Lal, Ancient India, p. 212, 1963) and slowly started decaying probably due to influx of people from the outside. Wheeler (1959) has used the word 'collapse', which is too dynamic a term for the end ; better we may call eclipse as suggested by Fair Servis, as it did survive at least in Kathiawad and on peripheral regions (Lothal in Saurashtra, Rupur in Punjab, and Alamgirpur in U.P.). Moreover, the ochre ware culture as believed, is not a separate complex but a last phase of the Harappans, where we notice a marked decrease in the material standard as well as technological.

Now an important question confronts us as to why Harappans survived on the peripheral regions alone and left the central portion. Many views have been put forward in describing the fall of the Harappans as,

- (1) Dessiccation (Stein, MASI. No. 43 ; Marshall, 1931) ;
- (2) Invasion by Aryans (Wheeler 1960 ; Piggott 1950) ;
- (3) Due to constant floods (Sahani 1952) ;
- (4) Over exploitation of natural resources (Dales 1962).

But none of them is singly responsible for either the fall of the Harappans or for their survival on peripheral regions. It seems that all the factors combinedly worked together and as a result weakened the Harappans to the extent that they lived in a very degenerated condition and merged with or were over-powered by 'incomers'. Moreover, we see the Harappan culture was a centrally dominated one, cities depending upon villages. In the ochre ware phase we find small settlements in contrast to magnificent big settlements as at Harappa, Mohenjodaro and Kalibanga. It may be



due to a change in the general economy of the Harappans—a struggle in villages and cities with the increase of population and limited resources at their disposal.

In the present brief survey of evolution of man's life, its different phases and stages till the down of Indus civilization, it shall be in the fitness of things to analyse the factors which were responsible and influenced the process of evolution. A variety of factors have worked together, influencing each other or depending one on another in this process which here we call cycle of evolution. To sum up, the history of man has been the story of struggle between man and nature ; former's desire to acquire control over the latter for survival ; for survival important are food and shelter which depend upon geological conditions. In time of intense cold, men lived in caves, remained a hunter, a change in geological conditions involved change of 'stage', i.e., from caves to plains, as we have seen in the case of open sites in Vindhya—occupation of plains gave an impetus to the discovery of agriculture for which suitable and favourable regions attracted. Settled life brought forth domestication of animals ; smaller settlements to begin with as in Sind and Baluchistan where favourable and permissive environments were present. Increase in population is partly responsible for the specialization in vocations and vocations did play some role in the growth of families. The specialization of vocation, agriculture, and constant increase in population had bearings upon each other and with their combination started rural and urban economy. Common interests of the people at large united them with, as for instance, religion, etc., in case of Harappans. Thus, we observe that Harappan culture was not an isolated phenomenon.

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## ARTS AND MEN

### Outdoor Art Shows in the U.S.

NORMAN SMITH

Art thrives almost anywhere, but there is something especially exhilarating about a display of paintings and sculpture under the open sky.

The pleasant air of informality, the artists who are often present to explain their works to the curious, and the eager, receptive public—these are the factors that have made outdoor art shows an annual tradition in communities throughout the United States.

Naturally, they vary widely in scope and content. Some are modest displays lin-

ing a sidewalk. Others are massive exhibits that fully deserve the designation of "festival." Still others are a part of a broader presentation incorporating the performing arts as well.

One of the most impressive events is the All City Outdoor Art Festival held in Los Angeles. The recently concluded 13th annual show at Barnsdall Park attracted over 2,700 entries by amateur as well as professional artists. Inevitably, in an exhibit of such magnitude, the level of artistry was uneven. Naive works by hopeful do-



Art by the Atlantic—a fast growing outdoor exhibition, stretching over a mile along the beach at Virginia attracts thousands of visitors and art critics every year.



A young couple, visitors at the Virginia Beach Boardwalk art show, inspecting works of sculpture. To buy or not to buy that was seemingly the question.

it-yourself painters contrasted strikingly with the sophisticated interpretations of professionals. But even in the amateur category there were some which caught the eye of the judges, bringing their elated creators into the winners' circle to share in the \$7,200 purchase and cash awards donated by the Home Savings and Loan Association.

Smaller but no less popular with the public was the art show held recently at a shopping center in Chicago. Entire families attended, watching some of the artists at work and discussing the suitability of this piece of sculpture for the hall table or that painting for the place over the mantel. With the wide variety of styles and subjects available, every family was sure to find just what it wanted.

One of the gayest arts festivals is the multi-faceted event arranged annually by a gallery in New Albany, Indiana. For five years this community of about 38,000 in the central part of the country has participated each July in a carnival that combines strolling minstrels, plays and music with exhibits of photographs and art. For all its atmosphere of merry-making, the festival maintains high standards and over the years has presented many fine paintings and sculptures.

Moving eastward to the coast, one comes to Virginia Beach, Virginia, noted for its colourful Boardwalk Art Show. Here, 494 artists showed their work this year on more than a mile of oceanfront boardwalk before thousands of sightseers, art critics and purchasers.

The first Boardwalk Show was held in 1955, when members of the Virginia Beach Art Association (a group of citizens interested in art) persuaded the city council to let its members exhibit their works on the resort's boardwalk. Eighty-two artists participated that first year and vied for a top prize of \$25. Sales totalled \$3,000. In 1965, the top price was \$1,000 and sales topped \$31,000.

"The first Boardwalk Show was conceived in a day when there was nowhere for artists to show except museums," explained Mrs. Gordon Atwill, one of the founders of the Virginia Beach Art Association. "Today, in this country, there are many outdoor shows, as well as art in supermarkets and department stores. Ten years ago there was none of this. No one then dreamed that art would burgeon as it has, or that this art show would grow to its present size."

What makes the Boardwalk Show so popular is the fact that there are no requirements for exhibiting in it, just a \$7.50 registration fee which assures the artist of about six feet (almost two meters) of display space. He may purchase as many spaces as he wishes.

Paintings are hung on chicken wire suspended along the boardwalk railing and on large easels on the lawns in front of the resort hotels. Artists are assigned spaces according to the date of their registration, and thus the rank amateur may be next to the most disciplined professional.

Many artists find the arrangement disturbing. They think that the show should be juried so that it could be kept to a more manageable size. At the same time, they feel, a juried show would raise the level of buyers as well as artists.

Richard Cossitt, a sculptor and art critic, disagrees, however. "It is fascinating to see good artists competing with less than good ones in the marketplace," he says. "Add to that the sea and sand and sun along with the incomparable carnival atmosphere and you have an effort that is well worth all the third rate genre work it generates. I am for keeping the entire affair just the way it is."

This year the exhibitors—263 women, 231 men—came from 19 states. Many were full time artists, but the occupation of the others ranged from air-line pilot to electrician. One, a Baltimore housewife, is the mother of 14 children. There were several college professors, many students, a retired

colonel and an insurance adjustor.

About half the artists were newcomers to the show, the others were regular exhibitors. Benjamin Riggs comes to the show each year from Florida. He is usually surrounded by a group of children who watch him carve and paint his beautifully detailed bird models.

Milton Snyder, another Boardwalk Show regular, displays his constructions of tin cans to the amusement of most visitors. This year the judges—J. Carter Brown of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, and Gudmund Vigtel of the Atlanta (Georgia) Museum—took him seriously and awarded him honourable mention for his flat black can construction, "Nude with Bracelet."

The best-in-show prize went to Bruce Fink, a young sculptor from Illinois. His winning work, titled "We are not all we seem to be," consisted of a lower half obscured by tinted glass and an upper part emerging into day as a defined form. Strong, abstract and provocative, it was not typical of most of the works in the show, for realism seemed to be "in" this year.

Critics were agreed that the general level of the show was better this year than before, and that the entire event was conducted with precision and good humour by the Virginia Beach Art Association and its volunteer assistants.

In one way or another, almost the entire community is involved in the project, which attracts not only artists but tourists from near and far. For a resort town, that is important.

Even more important, from the viewpoint of art appreciation, is the show's third contribution.

As the Art Association's Mrs. Atwill puts it, "It has done a great deal to raise the public's taste and to give the average person an opportunity to see and buy original art. We've found that many people who bought a small, inexpensive work at first, now have become collectors and buy with an increasingly discriminating eye."

And that, of course, is one of the major reasons why outdoor art shows are such a success.

## POST-MORTEM ON PAKISTANI REVERSES

B. C. NAG

The Pentagon has appointed a high-powered committee to inquire into the Pakistani reverses in the little Indo-Pakistani war of 22 days. The Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Forces in Europe (SHAPE) is also holding a similar inquiry.

When Pakistan crossed the international boundary to attack India in the Chhamb region in Jammu on September 1, all military attaches in the embassies of the Western democracies, stationed at New Delhi and Rawalpindi, were instantly alerted to watch and submit to their respective Governments confidential reports on the fighting. They were instructed to give, wherever possible, detailed accounts of every single engagement, specially in the air and in which Patton tanks were involved. They were also asked to report on the quality of the Indian-made Gnats which, contrary to the expectation in the British Press, were not falling down like birds before the Pakistani anti-aircraft guns, but competed favourably with the USA-made Sabre Jets and Star-fighters.

The committee, appointed by the Pentagon, is reported to have been entrusted with the task of finding out precisely why the Pattons failed so dismally on President Ayub's 'little stroll'. Was it due to the inadequate intellectual calibre of the crew, or their lack of training in handling such highly sophisticated armour? Or, was it because of the difficult terrain on which the battles were fought? Or, are the much-vaunted Pattons just not the right stuff?

The figures of Pakistani tanks put out of action are officially stated to be 471, including 38 captured intact. This includes 226 Pattons destroyed and 26 captured. In

comparison, the Indian tanks, a mixed lot, ranging from the heavy Centurions to Shermans, manufactured as far back as in 1942-43, and the very light MAX—fared quite well. India lost a total of 128 tanks. The Pakistani loss has seriously jolted the Pentagon strategists and tacticians.

### II

The SHAPE reports have been pooled and a tentative analysis is understood to have been made, though a full top-secret report is yet to be ready. The preliminary analysis reveals that Pakistan's performance, both with regard to men and equipment, has come as a surprise to the SHAPE military experts. For years now they have been led to believe that one Pakistani soldier is worth anywhere from five to ten Indians and that one Pakistani well-equipped battalion is practically invincible.

The SHAPE scrutiny has been undertaken as routine work to check on how arms and equipment, mostly made in Western countries—the USA, the UK, France and Sweden—stood up to actual battle conditions. The Punjab battle-field proved an ideal laboratory to test them. Most of the weapons used by Pakistan, such as USA-gifted M-47 and M-48 Patton tanks and also USA-gifted F-86 Sabre Jets, Supersonic F-104 Star-fighters, not to speak of side-winders, and all kinds of electronic equipment, are also used by the NATO forces.

The Pakistani performance has, therefore, come as a crushing blow to the SHAPE experts' vanity that they sadly over-rated the Pakistani soldiery. By the same token, a new respect is discernible for Indian

soldiers as well as Indian strategy in the SHAFÉ circles who have also agonisingly realised that Pakistani soldiers were incapable of handling the sophisticated weapons and that fanaticism is no substitute for technical know-how. Fanaticism may at times succeed in politics, but it cannot win a modern war which requires balanced strategy and highly scientific calculation.

Indian superiority almost in every field is still a puzzle to the SHAFÉ experts. Misled for so many years by Pakistani big talk, they had been privately expecting that Pakistan would severely maul India in the fight. They counted mostly on the superiority of the Pakistani arms. But after their dismal failure the Patton particularly is undergoing fresh tests at the Pentagon.

Curiously, Britain, despite its support to Pakistan, could not conceal its glee at the Indian achievement with old British-made Centurions against Pakistan's superior computer controlled guns. The performance of Indian Gnats and Hunters against the U.S.-gifted Sabre Jets and B-57 and F-104 Star-fighters has also been noted with satisfaction in military circles in Britain, because they had British engines.

### III

Western experts' evaluation of the Pakistani soldiery betrays their ignorance of Indian history and topography. Some of the Punjab battle-fields, especially the area around Kasur, were water-logged at that time of the year. The heavier tonnage of the Patton was a positive disadvantage on such terrain in which it bogged down more easily than the lighter Indian tanks.

As war correspondents also reported, at that time the fields of the Punjab were over-grown with sugarcane and thick grass, six to eight feet high, in the middle of which the low-slung Pattons had to operate blind. Indian infantry, in a particularly deadly

form of **shikar**, stalked the Pakistani tanks through this thick growth and, unobserved, were able to get within close enough range of them for their 106-mm recoilless anti-tank guns to be very effective.

The terrain also proved a disadvantage to the greater range of the Patton's guns. In this favourable ground, India's Centurions were able to close within shooting distance, when their guns proved to have the same hitting power as that of the Patton's guns. Besides, as the Patton is a complex weapon system, there were that many more gadgets to go wrong. This was specially true of the computer inside each tank, controlling its main gun into which information had to be fed.

These complexities proved too much for the Pakistani tankman. He is after all a solid simple peasant type who wants to look at his enemy down the sights of his gun. He belongs to that stratum of society where even today electricity, power-engine and modern gadgetry are looked upon as the work of some supernatural agency. "It was so much the worse for the Patton and so much the worse, in the broad sociological sense, for gadgetry," as a military expert commented.

As for the newer and faster Jets, they were unsuitable for low-level close support to the army; for strafing and as an anti-tank platform they were less purposeful; and also, when the targets were in most cases within the range of 20 to 30 miles or even less, they were too unwieldy for manoeuvring. Thus, it was the sheer modernity of these weapons that was their undoing, at least in the hands of unmodern Pakistanis.

Our Army took advantage of these weaknesses of the enemy and our men with singular courage stood up to the first Pakistani counter-attack and then went after and hunted them down. But it will be unfair to exaggerate the bungling of the Pakistanis. Nor should one over-emphasise

the importance of the terrain. All these are part of the normal fortunes of war that could favour one side or the other.

#### IV

The naivete and immaturity of the Pakistani leadership prevented it from realising that these sophisticated weapons were meant for soldiers born and brought up in a highly developed technological Western society and not for Pakistani soldiers, still living in a pre-industrial age and having had no benefit of the kind of education and training which a Westerner normally gets even from his environment. This is no reflection on Pakistani soldiers' fighting capacity, but is a question of the social milieu in which they live.

If Pakistan's patrons had any knowledge of the type of leadership Pakistan has, they would not have committed the mistake of over-estimating its military prowess. The fact is that in stamina and fighting capacity both Indians and Pakistanis are almost identical. For, only 18 years ago, they were of the same Indian Army. They still share the same military tradition and inheritance of history, geography and ethnology. It was, therefore, foolish to think that a Moslem Jat of West Punjab could be any different from the Hindu or Sikh Jat of East Punjab.

#### V

Modernity of weapons and unhelpful terrain were no doubt deterring factors for the Pakistanis, but their worst misfortune was the fanaticism and jingoism of their leadership which suffers from a kind of self-deception. Pakistani leaders, both political and military, believe that, because some moslems coming from outside settled and ruled in some parts of this vast sub-continent at one time or another, the Pakis-

tanis, 99 per cent of whom are really descendants of Indian converts to Islam, are of the imperial race of Chenghiz Khan (he was not Moslem but Buddhist), Tamarlane, Arab or Tartar conquerors of yore, and as such destined to rule India again. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's speech at the Security Council on October 25 reflects this **Herrenvolk** complex of the Pakistani leadership.

This study is not concerned with the abusive language used by Z. A. Bhutto to which our Education Minister Mr. M. C. Chagla has given a fitting reply. He reminded Mr. Bhutto of, among other things, the ethnic composition of his people. It may be pointed out here that a few years ago, their former President General Iskander Mirza also gave them a similar reminder. He said that the ancestors of 99 per cent of the Bengali Moslems were converts from lower-caste Hindus. The blunt General's classification may be incorrect and vulgar, but the figures he gave are incontrovertible. This is only by the way.

Reference to Bhutto's speech is made here only to show this peculiar psychology of the Pakistani leadership. His talk of 800 years of Moslem rule in India is more of a myth than part of history. It is a fact that prior to the British rule the Moslems had been in India for 600 years, but the question is how much of the Indian territory they had in their possession and that also for what length of time?

Even a casual student of Indian history will say that "real Moslem conquest of India did not begin until the last quarter of the 12th century" and that before the accession of Akbar in 1556 effective Moslem rule in India did never extend even over a fourth part of the country, except during the brief reign of Mohammed bin Tughlak. Only for about 150 years under the Mughals from Akbar to Aurangzeb (1556 to 1691) the Moslem empire was extensive in India. But even during that time it comprised only a little more than half the country. But a



half of that half also was not under direct Moslem rule but was virtually independent. The whole of Rajputana and many Hindu princely states in other parts of the country were completely sovereign, their rulers only occasionally owing nominal allegiance to the Mughal suzerainty. They made war or peace with one another without any reference to the suzerain power.

## VI

In the context of this incoherent, indecent and illegitimate claim to royal or imperial descent, an interesting fact which always goes unnoticed is that with the solitary exception of the ruler of Junagad, none who can legitimately claim to have descended from former Moslem rulers have migrated to Pakistan. They are all here as loyal citizens of India. Inability to understand the history of this racial and cultural fusion in India is responsible for the Pakistani leaders' bragadocio which led the Western experts to accept uncritically their thesis that a Pakistani soldier is equal to ten Indian soldiers.

These experts are so prejudiced against India that they had no patience to look at the record of the Indian army which is recent history.

If they had, they would have found that in the last two World Wars in which the Indian army fought in the three continents, the soldiers who drew the highest admiration for conspicuous bravery from friends and foes alike were the Gorkhas, Jats, Sikhs and Marathas. The Punjab Regiment was, of course, mentioned, but it was a mixed lot, composed of Moslems and non-Moslems alike.

So, it was not the case of a sparrow turning a hawk as the Indian Jawans were maligned in a section of the British Press when they attacked the Pakistanis. Nor was it a war between quality and quantity as was stated in a section of the Western, particularly the US Press, for the Indian Army fought the Pakistanis only with its left arm, its right arm having been kept tied to the northern and north-eastern borders against any possible attack from China.

## TEREDO—THE SEA'S MOST THREATENING "WORM"

Dr. N. Balakrishna Nair

A ubiquitous pest of all sorts of timber in the sea, teredo, the shipworm, causes damage worth crores of rupees every year all over the world. Hidden protectively within the heart of both fixed and floating timber and hardly visible from the outside, these borers work silently and steadily along the entire coasts of the continents and islands. Effortlessly rasping with their shells, countless batteries of these living drills reduce to soft saw dust timber of even the most resistant types and amazingly draw a major part of their nourishment from the hardy cellulose. Known to Pliny, Ovidius and Aristophanes, shipworms have been mentioned even by Homer. The accounts of the voyages of Dampier, Cook and Drake reveal that these early navigators dreaded the shipworm. Columbus lost all the ships of his fourth voyage, on account of the ravages of the shipworms. Thus unnoticed and unaware of the danger that lurks beneath them, ancient mariners have been cunningly and cruelly shipwrecked at mid sea through the rapacity of these wood eaters. Even the safety of a nation was threatened owing to the ravages of the shipworms on the wooden dykes of Holland. Despite the care and constant surveillance of harbour engineers, teredo successfully invaded San Francisco Bay about 1921. Unseen by any body this exotic menace worked ceaselessly converting solid pillars of piers into weak, flimsy and fragile honeycombs! Along the entire sea front, bridges collapsed, piers crashed and boat hulls and wharf-piling crumbled. Like an unseen typhoon it swept through the coast leaving a trail of destruction all along its path. By the time the first few waves of attack were over their insatiable gluttony cost the United States several million dollars. In a second serious outbreak in the same locality, their relentless attack destroyed property worth 21 million dollars!

For all maritime nations (this innocent looking, soft naked creature has been enemy number one since the dawn of history and

many of the governments have declared open war on this submarine menace. Though present in all the seas of the world, the shipworms are particularly destructive in the warm waters of the tropics where they eat up indiscriminately every material of plant origin. In India alone millions of rupees are spent every year for replacement of piles, jetties, fenders, boats, catamarans etc., destroyed by these organisms. Dr. Becker estimated that the periodic cost of replacement of fishing crafts alone destroyed by marine borers amounts to 25 lakhs of rupees. According to estimates by the U. S. Navy, the damage to boats, barges, bulkheads and other marine structures by borers in the U. S. exceeds fifty million dollars every year. The destructive habits of these worms have been the subject of much scientific interest as well as popular concern.

Only remotely resembling a worm and wrongly named as shipworm—the teredo is in reality not a worm but a distant cousin of the clams, oysters and mussels and belongs to the group of soft bodied animals known as molluscs. Unlike its relatives, teredo has a long, slender and soft body and the bivalve shell has lost its protective function and has become small but highly specialised as a drilling tool. Their unusual life within the wood has thus made them very different from their relatives both in appearance and in habits. The naked body projects out far beyond the shell valves and the only visible parts of the shipworm in its natural condition are the two tubes at the posterior end of the body called the siphons used for the inlet and exit of the water into and out of the body. These are seen displayed through small holes which represent the points of initial entry of the creatures into the wood. The shell is an irregular, sub-globular structure composed of two valves which are highly specialised as effective cutting tools greatly modified in these animals for performing the specific function of

the excavation of the smooth burrow. Thus the shell functions as a mechanical drilling organ and since the animal feeds on the saw dust thus produced, it can be considered as a feeding organ as well. Armed with numerous rows of sharp, microscopic, rasp-like teeth and powered by two unequal adductor muscles these valves are capable of rocking back and forth on special knobs for tunnelling into even the hardest varieties of timber. The foot has become almost circular and can be protruded forwards through the widely gaping shell and is used as a sucking disc at the blind end of the burrow while the animal is at work with the shell. The creature on entering a wooden structure feeds on the very material it bores into and grows in length with astonishing rapidity.



Teredo, ships' most threatening sea-worm

Entombed within the wood, the shipworms spend their entire adult life in the dismal darkness of the burrows, the only communication with the ambient water being through the pair of siphons. Meant for inhaling and flushing out the wastes, these siphons represent the only visible parts of the animal in its natural habitat. The animal fills its burrow and the soft outer skin called the mantle secretes a calcareous tubing between the body and the walls of the burrow to protect its naked body from any noxious substances present in the timber. The boring with the shell is effected at the blind distal end of the burrow.

The curious position of the animal within

the burrow demands that the saw dust scraped off during excavation must pass through the alimentary canal. As a major functional adaptation the animal has the rare ability of hydrolysing a part of the hardy, tough and resistant wood particles into excellent nourishment. Rare among animals, teredo is endowed with this remarkable power to convert cellulose into assimilable glucose with the help of effective enzyme systems. This digestive power is one more proof of the supreme specialisation of the shipworm physiology.

Another peculiar mechanism of the shipworm is a pair of calcareous pallets present at the posterior end of the body and found in no other creature in the animal kingdom. Composed of two pieces the pallet blades in apposition form a complete conical plug sealing the circular opening of the burrow when the siphons are withdrawn. Evolved to protect the soft animals within the burrow from poisons and enemies and to seal them off from outside in times of exposure these unusual shields have faithfully saved their owners from external danger. The only evidence of the presence of shipworms within a piece of timber is the innumerable tiny entrance holes that mar its surface. Apparently unnoticed by the layman the bores escape detection to continue their gnawing activity nonstop within the timber they attack.

While a few species of shipworms can grow to a length of more than a meter and the thickness of the index finger, the majority are small, hardly more than a foot in length. Despite their smallness their reproduction and growth rate are unbelievably rapid and the density of settlement is distressingly heavy. Attaining sexual maturity at a surprisingly early age they produce generations of offsprings in a single year in the favourable warm waters of the tropics. Blessed with this prolific fecundity and coupled with its astonishing tenacity for survival each shipworm during the boring phase destroys a column of wood of the dimension of its largest size. Thus in the tropics even the most resistant kinds of timbers succumb to the concerted onslaught of successive waves of borers. The problem is all the more complicated owing to the fact that this attack is not by a few species as in colder climes but by a frightening brigade

composed of more than 25 different species each having its own characteristic preferences, life histories and seasons of settlement. Further, the attack on fresh surfaces is not by shipworms alone but is a combined invasion by a heterogenous group consisting of bacteria, fungi, crustaceans and molluscs.

Notwithstanding the stationary, hidden life within the confines of their wooden burrows, the shipworms get distributed far and wide through their free swimming larval stages. While some species liberate eggs into the water where they get fertilised and developed into tiny larvae called veligers, others brood the eggs within their bodies from where the veligers are released when ready. During the free swimming period which may last from a few hours to even a month depending on the species and the region, the larvae get drifted about and transported to far off places with the help of the surface currents. During the latter part of free swimming life, if confronted by a piece of timber the larvae settle on it, select a suitable spot, throw off the swimming organs and transform into tiny timber boring shipworms. This period is the most important period of their life history from the point of view of man since it is at this stage that they come into contact with wood and begin their destructive activity. Depending for its very existence on a terrestrial product namely timber not naturally found in the sea except by accident or by man's activity, at a specified period of its free swimming phase, the life of the shipworm is indeed a very precarious one. Inability of the larvae to come in contact with wood when mature enough to metamorphose results in their death on the high seas.

Evolved from comparatively unspecialised and less adapted bivalves, the shipworms during their long history have spread and established in all the seas of the world. Where they had their origin and what induced them to choose this undependable substratum, is not clearly understood. Some believe that teredo was brought to Holland, England and other European countries by wooden vessels from the tropics probably from India. However, fossil records do not subscribe to this view. Wherever be their origin, there is no doubt of the fact that extended and intensive

intercourse between nations in the long years of maritime activity had contributed largely to the spread of this menace in widely separated places. Historical records show that marine borer attack has increased in Pacific coast harbours with the increase of shipping, the chief agents for the transport being the hulls of wooden ships, wooden sea water tanks of ships and log-booms. Rapid increase in maritime shipping in the past two centuries had helped their transport to far off places. The European teredo reached the American shores during World War I. Ships transported one species to get established in China, Japan, Australia, South Africa, New York and California. It is also true that the infested drift wood carried by the surface currents had also played a major role in their wide distribution. Floating nuts and seeds drifting passively in the surface currents, distributed at least one nut infesting species in the region between the east coast of Africa and the Philippines. From Philippines many species have reached Hawaii in drift wood. The whole Indo-West Pacific area contains many common species. This distribution can be explained either on the basis of passive dispersal of the free swimming larvae through prevailing surface currents or through active transport of adults by ships. It has also been noted that the larvae can get effective transport amidst the thick growth of foulers that accumulate on the outer bottoms of the steel hulls of ships. Yet another curious means of transport of the larvae of shipworms within the body of a fouling organisms has also been recorded. Larval teredos swallowed along with the feeding currents in one locality by a worm attached to a ship, passed through the alimentary canal apparently undamaged and emerged out alive along with the faecal pellets of the worm when the ship reached another locality. These observations reveal that several species of shipworms have been dispersed over wide areas of the oceans apparently limited only by conditions which are very unfavourable for normal activity. Edmondson reports that certain shipworms can spend their life cycles from larva to adult in the open sea, supported by some suitable floatsam without making contact with stationary structures in near shore waters.

The larvae of these seasoned ocean travellers can endure long enough to contact drifting timber and continue a chain of sea-faring generations.

With their characteristic boring habits and a boundless appetite for wood they attack vegetable matter of every description both living and dead. The record of their ravages reveals a long list of objects not only from the sea, but also from the brackish water and even from fresh water. Roonwal reports from the 24 Parganas Forest Division in the Sundarbans in West Bengal, that the shipworm *Bactronophorus* attacks several species of both living and dead forest trees in the mangrove swamps. The borer attacks trees "whose base it riddles with galleries so that ultimately although the trees remain green and outwardly healthy, they break at the base and topple over in strong wind." Similar destruction has been recorded by Moll from the Philippines. The depredations of shipworms are not limited to the sea and brackish water alone for Perceval Wright has described a shipworm inhabiting the fresh waters in the River Comor a branch of the Ganges. The attack of shipworms is not only confined to floating objects like boats, floats, buoys, barges, docks and dolphins or to fixed objects like pillars of piers and wharves, stakepoles, but also to such objects as wooden pipe lining, hemp ropes, corky seeds, cocoanuts and jute or guttapereha covers of submarine cables.

Preferring particular zones along a pile a group of unrelated borers may attack at the same time and conveniently share the restricted space available along this limited substratum. This represents a very vital adjustment of great survival value. In such a situation interspecific competition is reduced to a minimum leading to a satisfactory ecological adjustment at the expense of the timber on which they settled. In other situations the life histories are suitably tuned so much so the breeding period of one alternates with that of another to reduce competition for space.

In his desperate search to find a suitable timber that may resist the attack of shipworms, man had tried every type of timber known to him. The details of these elaborate

tests are recorded in the annals of harbour engineers from all over the world. These show that some species of timbers exhibit unusual resistance to boring animals, this factor being linked to certain specific properties of timber. This may purely be on account of the structure or hardness of timbers or owing to the presence in them of certain deterrent substances, resinous materials, alkaloids, poisonous inclusions, tannins, gummy deposits, waxy materials or oily substances. The apparent indemnity from shipworm destruction of the well-known Jarrah, Turpentine, Greenheart and Teak is generally attributed to the presence in them of one or more of the factors mentioned above. While these world famous timbers resist shipworm attack in the cold European waters reports from tropical harbours are disappointing and clearly show that the protective properties are only transient in these warmer waters being ineffective in course of time. The accelerated leaching of the repellent substances in timbers soon creates conditions favourable for the safe settlement and attack by borers.

Similarly the importance of the presence of silica in imparting durability to woods under marine conditions has been repeatedly stressed by investigators. Timbers with high silica content coupled with compactness of the tissue have been shown to resist the attack of borers to a remarkable degree. The Indian bamboo and the Manbarklak of Brazil have high silicious content. Unfortunately a given kind of timber from different localities may be very variable in its silica content which makes this factor an undependable one.

It is clear that timber resistance to marine boring animals is just relative. Timbers reputed as resistant from one locality may prove to be worthless in another depending on a number of complicated environmental factors.

The protected, entombed life of the shipworm has necessitated special and sometimes novel devices to detect their presence within a pile or a piece of timber. In their natural habitat they may be found out with the help of divers who can look out for the display of siphons which are their only visible

parts. Since these borers produce a characteristic rasping sound while abrading wood with their denticulated shells, engineers use electrical stethoscopes and microphones to pick up the noise during the inspection of piles. Recently 'X'ray has also been employed for the detection and study of shipworms. This facilitates not only the detection of their presence but also the details regarding the growth rates of their calcium lined burrows. In Ohio gamma rays (Cobalt 60 and Iridium 192) have been used for the radiographic inspection of underwater sections of piles.

Since the beginning of man's maritime activity, he has been confronting the ruthless rampage by these creatures. Men have, during this long period, been trying every possible kind of mechanical, electrical, chemical and biological weapon known to him to deter, discourage or destroy these pests.

As early as 1697 Dampier, in his account of the voyages round the world describes a method, believed by the natives of Mindanao in Southern Philippines to be effective to check the ravages of these pests. Drydocking the vessel soon after each voyage, they char the vessel's outer bottom with a view to dry it completely. This they claim to be a preventive measure. An identical method has been practiced by the fishermen of Bengal who suspend the boat infested by shipworms across two poles and light a fire beneath to destroy the mollusc. The charring of the bottom during the process assists to hinder further attack for some time. This method is based on the fact that dessication is fatal for these soft creatures and is widely practised in different parts of the world. This end is achieved by hauling the boats out of the water and this simple and effective remedy is employed in S. Crimea, England, U. S. A. and India and probably in many other places. Since exposure to fresh water is lethal for typical marine species, mooring the vessels in regions with fresh water influence has also been recommended as a measure to kill the worms. Unfortunately during such operations the borer can break off all contacts with the water and seal itself within its burrow and remain alive for long periods of time.

Introducing poisons in the surrounding

water, nailing, fixing shingles or glass particles over exposed wooden surfaces or completely sheathing them with metal or concrete or any such suitable wrappings; metal bands or pipe casings or collars for piles, piles with poison in core have all been desperately tried from time to time to get protection from borers. In Roman times ships in the Mediterranean were sheathed with metal and in the reign of Henry VI lead sheathing was employed for the protection of ships.

The discovery that a severe shock such as pile driver blow is detrimental to shipworms within a pile soon found application in the fight against teredo. Thus dynamite was employed in the vicinity of teredo infested timbers. It has been claimed that a blasting schedule of two month intervals increased the service life of piling to 3 to 4 years. The procedure consists of detonating from 10 to 20 charges of high explosives simultaneously in the water between pilings at low tide. Tests indicate that 75% of teredo infestation is destroyed by this procedure. This promising method is at present extensively used in the Canadian logging industry.

Electrolytic protection is yet another device. Here alternating rows of iron and copper nails or strands of copper and iron wire are used around a pile or wooden surface that needs protection. The electrolytic action taking place in the wood soaked with sea water results in the deposition of iron oxide in the surface layers of wood and this apparently prevents the entrance of borers.

Electrolysis of sea water and the liberation of chlorine as a measure to suffocate and poison the shipworms within their burrows, though suggested repeatedly with interesting modifications was subsequently found to have no appreciable effect on established borers in piles.

Scientists even tried electrocution as a possible measure to destroy the shipworm, by passing an electric current of high amperage and voltage with special devices. The real effects of these tests have not all been reported. Quite contrary to the claims of the inventors of electrocution, Nicholson got results in 1920, from Table Bay Harbour, his wired pieces proved to be more severely attacked than the control pieces!

Of the various methods used to protect timber against borer attack those which help to prolong the service life of timber by suitable chemical treatments are the most practicable and widely used. From ancient times wood preservation has been in practice using different empirical formulae with varying degrees of success. Egyptians with their expert knowledge in the preservation of dead bodies had also perfected effective methods for wood preservation. The submarine survey in the Mediterranean by the French Navy brought to light hulls of ancient sailing ships which had remained submerged for more than 20 centuries with timber still perfectly intact. Arabs and Indians have also been adventurous mariners maintaining large fleets of sailing vessels both for colonisation and commerce. Unfortunately we have no records of the ways by which they preserved their timber from the attack of borers. The best anti-teredo weapon known at present is impregnation of timber with creosote. In the United States tar is added with a view to prolong its effectiveness. But even these leach out in course of time leaving the surface exposed to borer attack.

Perhaps the most economical and effective method for checking the ravages of the shipworms may be the least tried biological control. This is a natural method using the well-known technique of setting a thief to

catch a thief. Several parasites, predators and associates are known for shipworms such as protozoans, planarians and polychaetes. Some of these are known to attack and devour them piecemeal. Dr. Ruth Turner of Harvard has recently suggested that certain species of marine flatworms eat the eggs of teredo and she believes that by letting the flatworms loose in badly infested areas, they might wipe out these destructive borers.

Despite his ceaseless fight against teredo with all the resources and techniques available at his command, their relentless destruction goes on unabated. A thorough reorientation in our techniques of warfare has become imperative to deal with the borer problem. The discovery of an effective panacea therefore, depends on a better understanding of the ecology of these creatures.

Detailed studies are being conducted in the Oceanographic Laboratory of the University of Kerala on the several aspects of the marine borers including the possibility of biological control of these pests. The associates of shipworms are closely watched and the exact nature and details of the relationship are followed with a view to understand the effectiveness of the predators and the parasites in checking shipworm activity.

## ACHARYA BRAJENDRANATH SEAL

DR. JADUNATH SINHA

I attended Dr. Brajendranath Seal's lectures on "Vedanta Paribhasa" off and on (1915-17) as a student of philosophy, M.A. classes, Calcutta University. I attended his lectures on "Realism and Idealism", "Theistic Proofs" and "Proofs for the existence of the finite self" (1917-19) in Calcutta University, which were open to the public, when I was an Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Ripon College, Calcutta. I was not a student of the Special Branch of Indian Philosophy (Sankhya-Vedanta). I was acquainted with him after my M.A. Examination. He examined my Essay paper in 1917 and gave me the highest marks. He gave me a letter for Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi in reply to his letter, on the strength of which I got a job at the Ripon College before the results of my M.A. Examinations were published. I often used to see him at his house, chose "Indian Psychology and Epistemology of Perception" in consultation with him for my P.R.S. and began to study the Sanskrit texts under his guidance. He dissuaded me from working on "Shankara's concept of Maya".

Once I heard him say in the class, "you have a splendid cultural heritage. Know it and act upon it if you love your country. What is the use of crying বন্দে মাতরম্ only in the streets without knowing your cultural heritage?" That struck a deep chord in my heart and has been inspiring me throughout my life in my intellectual activities. Once he said to me after leaving the Calcutta University "I have not yet been able to open the door to the mystery of the universe. It lies beyond all social conventions, religious dogmas, and philosophical concepts" (1920). Once he said to me (about 1928), "All my ideas are well arranged in my mind. It will not

take much time to write them out. Some Western philosophers' expected that a system of philosophy would come from me after Wundt. My philosophical thought is growing. What is the use of imprisoning it in a system?" In my presence he said to Colonel Denham White, "I am a martyr to the unity of knowledge." (1931).

I often heard him speak of "the concept of suffering God." He often said, "I am a communist as regards my ideas. My ideas are public property. Whoever likes may utilize them." Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee spoke of Dr. B. N. Seal as "omnivorous of cultural germs" when the honorary degree of D.Sc. was conferred on him at a special convocation of the Calcutta University. Prof. Harendra Coomar Mukherjee once said in my B.A. class, City College, when he was writing his thesis for Ph.D., "Whenever I am in need of rare books, I go to Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, and whenever I am in need of ideas, I go to Dr. B. N. Seal."

Dr. Seal sent me "The Syllabus of Indian Philosophy" with a letter (a reply to my letter) in 1926." I published it in the Uttara after Dr. B. N. Seal's death. He said to me once, "If you and I work in some big libraries for 6 months and collect references to the topics relating to Indian Philosophy, a few volumes may be published as the Source Book of Indian Philosophy."

Once Dr. Seal said to me, "Whatever you feel intensely, speak out boldly preferably in your mother-tongue. That will be originality."

He was an erudite and versatile scholar, an inspiring teacher, and an illuminating talker. He was a guide to numerous scholars in the different branches of humanities, viz., ancient Indian History and



Politics, English literature, Economics, and He was loving, affectionate, catholic, Indian and Western philosophy. But for his rational, non-sectarian, non-communal, and guidance many of the research works in humanitarian in outlook. He was simple, humanities would not have attained the and unassuming, humble and winsome, degree of excellence they claimed. He was and carried his vast erudition with ease. a loving inspirer of the young like He was in eternal quest of Truth. He was Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee and Sir P. C. Roy. a poet and a mystic, in his heart of hearts.

### Wealth and Culture

In ancient India a king or a very rich man often tried to be a master of all the sixty-four arts in order to be a respected and honoured person. This was also true of other ancient civilisations. Wealth, power and culture went hand in hand. But during recent centuries when immense fortunes were made by clever manipulations of land, labour and capital, a certain coarseness of outlook began to pervade the minds of the millionaires. The rich no longer tried to master the arts. And those who acquired knowledge and delved deep into the mysteries of nature had little wealth. It was a sad state of affairs and nobody knew how to make the wealthy cultured or the men of learning prosperous. The trouble was that those who amassed wealth had no time to develop the higher human qualities; and persons who had tasted the rare flavours of superior realisations just could not see the advantage of possessing excessive purchasing power. The crude folly of acquiring millions is obvious to those annointed by the muses. But to the crazy collector of riches the wonders of creation fade into insignificance when confronted by an endless array of money bags.

## THE VANARAS IN THE RAMAYANA AGE

S. N. VYAS

The Vanaras claim a fairly important place in the Ramayana. Some scholars are, however, inclined to regard them as a mythical tribe, and Valmiki's description of their doings as a "farrago of nonsense." Some others dismiss them as mere animals from the fact of the poet's furnishing them with the attributes of monkeys. But the civilization of the Vanaras as depicted by Valmiki belies these conjectures and shows that they were as much a human tribe as any other. They had a distinctive social organization and a peculiar culture of their own. Their civilization, although belonging to a lower plane, as compared with that of the Aryans of Madhyadesa and the Raksasas of Lanka, was grand in its native simplicity and untarnished by imperialistic ambitions. The Ramayana is the earliest and perhaps the only source which gives us a wide window on the Vanara culture.

### *Their Strength and Appearance*

The Vanaras are depicted as creatures of extraordinary strength and "proficient in performing miracles, heroic, swift as wind, skilled in polity, wise, equal to Visnu in prowess, unslayable, resourceful, possessing divine forms and skilful in the use of all weapons like the nectar-consuming gods" (I. 17. 2-4). They are repeatedly referred to as kama-rupinah (VI. 127. 25 ; I. 17. 18 ; IV. 19. 10 ; 39. 38), that is, capable of assuming forms at will. During his first meeting with Rama and Lakshmana, Hanuman had abandoned his Kapi-form and assumed the guise of a mendicant, and during his entry and stay in Lanka, he assumed different guises and forms to escape detection.

The Vanaras used their teeth and nails as offensive weapons, their teeth being sharp like those of a tiger, which presented a hideous appearance (IV. 31. 24) making the hair stand on end (*romaharsanah*, IV. 31. 23). They were of colossal dimensions (*mahakayah*), with golden

complexion (IV. 33. 2). Sugriva, one of their chiefs, was tawny like gold (*hema-pingala*, IV. 14. 19). The hordes of Vanaras invading Lanka are described as copper-faced, having golden colour (VI. 42. 14). The Raksasi guards of Sita at Lanka referred to Hanuman as "the copper-faced kapi" (V. 53. 24).

The bodies of Vanaras were covered all over with hair. Nevertheless, they were not entirely devoid of the element of grace. The palace of Sugriva, it is said, abounded in noble-looking (*priya-darsana*) Vanaras wearing unfading garlands and clothes. On entering the harem of Sugriva, Lakshmana found it occupied by numerous damsels possessed of youth and beauty (IV. 33. 6, 22). All the same, the Vanaras had, like the monkeys of today, "that delicate appendage attached to their body which goes by the name of tail," which, on Ravana's words, was the highly prized and favourite appendage of *kapis* (V. 53. 3).

### *Some Peculiar Vanara Traits*

The Vanaras had also some mental traits which distinguished them as a class from others.<sup>1</sup> The outstanding characteristic in their nature appears to have been *capalyam* or ligheness of mind as much as of body, and even Rama accused Vali of this "draw-back" in him (IV. 18. 5). According to Ravana, the Vanaras were by nature volatile, indisciplined and vacillating (IV. 57. 9). He laughingly enquired of his son, Suka, whether he had come under the sway of the "fickle-minded" Vanaras (VI. 24. 25-6). When Bharata did not find Rama returning to Avodhya from his exile at the scheduled time as given by Hanuman, he was led to suspect Hanuman's information as inspired by the fickleness of mind

1. Narayana Aiyar : *Valmiki and Vanaras*.

to which the Vanaras were so commonly prone (VI. 127. 24). Hanuman himself testified to this weakness in the character of his tribe (IV. 54. 9).

Another characteristic of the Vanaras was their irascibility. Suka described them as rough by nature; so, conducting any parleys with them was out of the question (VI. 24. 39). *Canda* or fierce is an epithet frequently employed to describe them (VI. 26. 29, 32). It was their proneness to mischief that enraged the sage Matanga who warned them all of his Matangavana (IV. 11. 54-9). Particular manifestation of this *prakritih kapinam* (apish nature, V. 10. 54) is elaborated by the poet with much rollicking humour while recounting the excesses committed by Vanaras in Madhuvana in sheer joy (V. 61).

By nature, the Vanaras were extremely emotional, and good luck or misfortune would find them at the heights of joy or in the depths of sorrow. Valmiki gives an exquisite description of the behaviour of Hanuman transported with joy at the sight of Mandodari whom he mistook for Sita (V. 10. 54). Again, the Vanaras physically manifested their unbounded joy on seeing Hanuman return successful from his mission to Lanka (V. 57. 24-34), and on finding Raghava brothers completely restored to health through the favour of Garuda (VI. 50. 61-4). But, at the same time, the Vanaras were readily moved to tears when they saw Rama and Laksmana in the toils of the snake missiles (*nagapasa*). Sugriva himself is described on the occasion as completely cast down by sorrow (VI. 46. 30). When Laksmana narrated to the lord of the Vanaras how Sita was lost in the forest, such dejection came over Sugriva that the poet could only compare him to his solar parent in the grip of an eclipse!

Inquisitiveness was yet another characteristic trait of the Vanaras. At the time the Puspaka came over the Ikshvaku capital, the Vanaras rose from their seats again and again to have a view of the city (VI. 123. 56). This inquisitiveness naturally produced in them a love of chatter and tale-bearing. When, during the thick of the battle of Lanka, they caught sight of Vibhisana, they were struck with panic; they perhaps mistook him for that bogey-man Indrajit and straightway began to whisper the secret into one another's ears (VI. 46. 42). Being voluble

by nature, they could not help chattering in and out of season. That is perhaps why Sampati had to warn them to cease their chatter and listen with undivided attention to what he had to tell them about Sita (IV. 60. 3). The Uttarakanda describes how even while setting out for heaven in the wake of Rama, the Vanaras could not help making sundry noises (VII. 109. 16).

Valmiki often depicts the Vanaras as seemingly gullible creatures by giving instances of their unfounded fears, characteristic credulity, absurd cowardice and grotesque conjectures. When Kumbhakarna made his first appearance on the battle-field, the Vanaras scuttled in all directions (VI. 65. 54). Vibhisana advised Rama that the only way to stop the rout was to tell the Vanaras that the giant was nothing more than an uplifted engine, a sort of "wooden horse" (VI. 61. 33). Angada, accordingly, shouted to the fleeing Vanaras that what they were running away from was nothing but a scarecrow (VI. 66. 6). He reminded them of their great and noble families and of their boasts in *janasamsads*, popular assemblies, and thus exhorted them to stand their ground and repulse the Raksasa onslaught: "Ye unmanned cowards, fleeing thus with weapons cast away, you will be laughed at and derided by your wives, and that will be death upto ye living" (VI. 66. 20). Though with great difficulty he and his colleagues succeeded in rallying them (VI. 66. 8). Indrajit accurately gauged the mind of these simple credulous allies of Rama and staged the slaughter of *maya* Sita on the battle-field with the object of terrorizing them. This ruse provided him the much-needed time for completing his Nikumbhila sacrifice which would render him unassailable. Hanuman himself was deceived by Indrajit's ruse and, though he tried to check his comrades from fleeing so precipitately, he soon gave up the effort in despair (VI. 82. 20-2). Also, on an earlier occasion, the otherwise intelligent Hanuman had deceived himself as to Sita's identity in Ravana's seraglio (V. 10. 53).

The Vanaras had a strong gregarious instinct, and they generally moved about in troupes. When they went in search of Sita, they always moved about in a body, never taking the risk of being separated from one another.

It was, indeed, on account of this gregarious instinct that the Vanara leaders like Angada, Hanuman and Jambavan never thought of splitting their company into sections, though that would have enabled them to search the extensive South more speedily.<sup>2</sup> Directly born of this instinct was the habit to follow their leaders blindly. When Hanuman espied the Raksabila cave and declared that there must be water inside, all the Vanaras repeated what he had said and at once entered the cave without further ado (IV. 50. 17). Again, when Angada, dismal and disheartened, squatted on *darbha* grass, resigned to his fate to perish of hunger, his lieutenants, prompted by their mimicking instinct, at once followed suit (IV. 55. 17, 19-20). Even the valour of the Vanaras, of which so much is said in the Ramayana, depended entirely on their leaders who led them to battle. For instance, finding it difficult to withstand the attack of Akampana (the Raksasa hero who poured his shafts on the Vanara host) they took to their heels, both captains and rank and file, and only when they saw Hanuman bravely encountering the redoubtable hero, did they gather courage and rallied round their leader (VI. 56. 10). But, of course, when properly led, the Vanaras could play havoc in the enemy ranks by their peculiar mode of fighting (VI. 14.3).

#### Numbers and Habitat

The town of Kiskinda was the stronghold of the Vanaras. From Sarana's estimate of the number of Vanaras there, it is seen that "Vanaras numbering 100 *vrindas*, 1,000 *sankus* and 21,000 crores were the immediate companions of Sugriva hailing from Kiskinda" (VI.28.4-5). Besides Kiskinda, various other places in the country (such as mountainous regions, forest tracts, river-sides and sea-shores abounding in trees and wild fare) served as their habitat (IV.37.26).

The Vanaras are described as living in a cavern (IV.33), which Laksmana is represent-

ed as entering to convey a message of remonstrance to Sugriva for his tardiness in aiding Rama. The cavern, however, is a cave only in name, as in the usual type of Indian poetry it is depicted as filled with trees, flowers, thickets, palaces, a mountain stream, etc. This feature of the Vanara life (their residence in caverns) may be either purely the poet's imagination intended to be in keeping with their other characteristics, or it may have a reference to the crude habits of the aboriginal inhabitants of the southern forests.<sup>3</sup>

From the numerous estimates of Vanara population in those days, as given by Valmiki at several places in the epic (IV.35.21-2 ; 37.20-6 ; 39.12-37 ; VI.26.11-46 ; 27.23-7), it can safely be taken that their numerical strength was considerable in the country, which may have probably influenced the exiled Rama to seek their support in his distress.

#### Social and Political Organization

The Vanara chiefs whom Sugriva summoned for the assistance of Rama were aboriginal princes who ruled over almost all the tracts to east and south of the Aryan possessions. They formed a distinct entity and their community was known by the common name of *hari gana*. *Hari* is another term for Vanara. The *hari ganas* could be divided into three classes—Raksas, Golangulas and Vanaras (I.17.19-20). Contrary to popular belief, the Raksas were not bears but a community of *haris* who lived on the Raksa mountain. With regard to the Golangulas, Sarana says that they were black-faced, terrible and powerful (VI.27.32). The Vanaras, on the other hand, were highly civilized.

The Vanara society was divided into different clans known as *yuthas*. The foremost among the Vanaras became the chiefs of different clans known as *yuthapas*. A few of such *yuthapas* were Durdhara, Kesari, Gavaksa and Nila. The clan-chiefs (*yuthapas*) were subject to the overall authority of a higher chief known

2. Narayana Aiyar : *op. cit.*, p. 2.

3. J. Muir : *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. ii, p. 416.

as *yuthapa-yuthapa* (VI.26.9). Two of these higher chiefs were Sannadana and Jambavan. Above such chiefs was the commander-in-chief known as *maha-yuthapa-yuthapa* (VI.27.11). The highest authority to which the entire Vanara community owed allegiance was the Vanara king who resided in the hill fortress of Kiskinda along with the principal clan-chiefs (VI.28.30). All the Vanaras, whether they lived in hills or forests, submitted to the suzerainty of Vali or Sugriva, directly or indirectly, through such chiefs as Nala, Nila or Hanuman (I.17.32-3). Every Vanara owed personal allegiance to his king. In times of peace, he worked for him in the homeland, while in times of war he was called upon to fight for him in far-off lands, personal loyalty being constantly maintained between the ruler and the ruled. This system is reminiscent of the feudal age of later times and in this respect the Vanara society resembled ancient German society.

The Vanaras had also some sort of political organization. The many references to *kapi-rajya* (IV.35.5 ; 36.5) point to the existence of a well-knit Vanara principality. The ideas of hereditary kingship, primogeniture, ministry, espionage, etc., were practically current among the Vanaras. On the death of his father, Vali, being the eldest son, was installed on the throne by the ministers of State (IV.9.2). Sugriva's coronation was duly approved by the important officials of the capital, and it took place in prescribed manner with royal dignity (IV.26). Sugriva having been without an heir, his eldest brother's son, Angada, was appointed heir-apparent (*yuvaraja*, IV.26.33). The fact of the alliance between Sugriva and Rama was reported to Angada by spies and by him to Tara (IV.15.16). Hanuman was well versed in the duties and functions of an envoy (*duta*, V.2.39 ; 30, 37). He made a reference to *kosa* or royal treasury during his sermon to Sugriva to rouse him from slumber (IV.29.11). All social and political organizations have for their foundation the ideas of ownership and property, and these fully obtained among the Vanaras also. Tara, in order to placate the enraged Laksmana, declared that for Rama's good Sugriva could renounce Ruma, herself, wealth, grain and cattle (IV.35.13). When the search-party of the Vanaras deputed

for the South was seemingly foiled in its efforts by the vast stretch of the ocean, Angada feelingly exclaimed : "Through whose favour shall we again behold, after the accomplishment of our objective, our wives and children and our hearth and home ?" (IV.64.17).

The Vanara kingdom enjoyed internal independence (*svarajya*), though it was a feudatory of the imperial Ikshvaku. Rama claimed the whole of Vali's territory as belonging to the Ayodhya empire, and justified this by the fact of having killed him (IV.18.6).

#### *Vegetarianism*

As admitted by Vali, the Vanaras, being an avowedly forest-bred race, subsisted on raw products of nature such as fruits and roots (IV.17.30). Tara's reference to grains in the course of her expostulation with Laksmana might indicate that some kind of grain too was an article of diet for the Vanaras (IV.35.13). Though the use of fire was known, it appears cooking had not made any progress in the Vanara society. In this respect, they lagged behind the Aryans and the Raksasas. However, in their proneness to intemperance, the Vanaras vied with the Northerners and Southerners, and the epic depicts both Vanara men and women kissing the cup.

#### *Dress and Ornaments*

Contrary to general belief, the Vanaras did not go about nude. They used to don elegant dress and ornaments. They usually put on two garments, as can be inferred from Sugriva complaining to Rama that he was banished by his brother Vali without allowing him a second cloth on his body (IV. 10. 26). The Vanaras are often depicted as girding up their loins before action. On the occasion of his first encounter with Vali, Sugriva, tightening his loin-cloth, belloyed challenge to Vali, tearing open the sky (IV. 12. 15). On the completion of the obsequies of Vali, high Vanara officials squatted about the grief-stricken Sugriva who was then wearing wet clothes (*kinna-vasanam*, IV. 26. 1). When Sita saw Hanuman for the first

time in Lanka, she found him with a white cloth on (V. 32. 1).

Ornaments were used in profusion by the Vanaras. The damsels in Sugriva's palace were well attired and richly ornamented (IV. 33. 23). Vali is described by Valmiki as *hema-mali* (IV. 11. 61) or wearing a necklace of gold. When Sugriva bowed at Rama's feet with great reverence, his ornaments are described as hanging down from his neck (*pralambikrīḍa-bhusanah*, IV. 12. 6).

The Vanaras possessed an aesthetic sense. They loved to use scents and flowers, cosmetics and unguents. The atmosphere of the streets of Kiskindha is described as surcharged with the sweet aroma of *aguru* and lotus flowers (IV. 33. 7). Laksmana found Sugriva in the midst of heavenly atmosphere, his limbs profusely decorated with ornaments and ointments, and surrounded by girls in divine ornaments and unfading garlands (IV. 33. 63-5).

#### *Manners and Customs*

The manners and customs current in the Vanara society did not differ materially from those of the Aryans. Whatever their early life and manners, these Vanaras at the time of Rama had adopted Aryan culture and Aryan institutions.

The art of hospitality and proper etiquette was meticulously practised by the Vanaras. Hanuman appears to have been an adept in the art of introducing oneself to strangers and winning their confidence. When he first approached Rama, Hanuman was in the guise of a *bhikṣu* or mendicant, and he gained his confidence by his humble salutations and profuse panegyrics (IV. 3. 2-4). Again, when in an alien land, he could inspire confidence in the suspicious and cautious Sita through his winning manners and well-devised conversation (IV. 33). That towards one another also the Vanaras behaved in a civil and polite manner is evident from the affectionate reception to Hanuman by his compatriots on his return from Lanka, (V. 57. 32-6). Sugriva is described as humbly approaching his father-in-law, Susena, bowing low at his feet and, with folded hands, requesting him to go to the West at the head of a large search-party (IV. 42. 1-6). Instances could be

multiplied to show that the Vanaras knew the proper mode of conduct in the presence of superiors. They knew how to behave cordially towards their Aryan allies. Sugriva, on seeing Laksmana in his palace, was up on his legs leaving his golden seat and, followed by his wives, proceeded to welcome him (IV. 34. 2-4). Again, when Sugriva went to see Rama for the first time after his coronation, it is said that, on arriving at the spot, he left his conveyance and, appearing before Rama, folded his hands, his action imitated by all the Vanaras present there (IV. 38. 15-9).

The custom of offering and receiving presents was well in vogue among the tribe. The messengers despatched by Sugriva to convey the general mobilization order are described as gathering heavenly fruits, roots and herbs from the sacrificial grounds of Siva on the Himalayas to win the favour of their king (IV. 37. 31-2). On the eve of Sugriva's coronation, Hanuman is said to have pressed Rama on his master's behalf to pay a visit to Kiskindha so that the grateful lord of the Vanaras might get an opportunity to return thanks by making presents of gems and garlands (IV. 26. 4-8).

Sugriva's coronation (IV. 26), which took place according to scriptural injunctions and the established usages of the country, demonstrates that the Vanaras observed Aryan laws and regulations. Vali's cremation (IV. 25) also makes it abundantly clear that the Vanaras had become completely Aryanized and that their outlook and spirit was Aryan. When and how this primitive community came under the Aryan influence, it is difficult to determine, but there is no doubt about that this had happened long before Rama arrived on the scene.

#### *Urban Prosperity of the Vanaras*

Kiskindha, the capital of the Vanara principality, presented a scene of great affluence and ease. The description of the city, when Laksmana passed through it on his way to Sugriva's palace, throws sufficient light on the economic prosperity of the metropolis: "The beautifully white mansions belonging to the various Vanara chiefs situated on the principal thoroughfare were several storeys high and were resplendent like

the clouds, adorned with sweet-smelling garlands, abounding in wealth and grains and embellished with superb women. The royal palace of Sugriva was surrounded by a white wall built of crystal stones; it was charming like Indra's own palace, white-capped like the summit of the Kailasa Hill, thickly planted with desire-yielding, flowering, fruit-yielding shady trees, closely guarded by strong Vanaras carrying weapons, adorned with unfading garlands and having a porch made of molten gold. Laksmana had to cross the seven apartments of the palace before he found himself in the *antahpura* or inner apartment. It was handsomely furnished with bed-steads and comfortable seats made of gold and silver. There he heard the strains of melodious music, both vocal and instrumental, rich in keeping time, wording and 'ornamentation'. The attendants of Sugriva appeared contented, ever ready to carry out orders" (IV. 33. 12-24).

### Marriage and Morals

Valmiki testifies to the existence of a certain amount of promiscuity in the sexual relations of the Vanaras. The circumstances relating to Hanuman's birth smack of this. It is said that once Anjana, the wife of the Vanara chief Kesari, was walking leisurely in human form on a hill-top. The wind-god, Vayu, gradually removed her fine wearing apparel—a circumstance which exposed the exquisiteness of the comely woman. At the sight of her ravishing beauty, Vayu could not restrain himself and the passion-ridden gallant at once violated her. Her feeble protests were pacified when she was promised a son as valiant, intelligent and swift as the wind-god himself. In due course, Anjana gave birth to Hanuman in a lonely cave (IV. 66. 8-20).

Although Jambavan described Hanuman as the natural (*aurasa*) son of the wind-god and the "deputed" (*ksetraja*) son of Kesari (IV. 66. 29-30); and although Hanuman himself prided in the fact (V. 35. 83), this instance can in no way be connected with the practice of begetting children "by deputation" which was otherwise a recognized institution in the Mahabharata age. Here, there was no one in

this case who "deputed" Vayu to produce a son for Kesari.

The marital lives of Vali and Sugriva exemplify sexual laxity among the Vanaras degenerating into incest. Rama thus admonishes the fallen Vali: "Transgressing the laws of eternal morality, you are guilty of an incestuous sin with your brother's wife—a reason which has led me to kill you. Impelled by passion, you have violated the chastity of the high-souled Sugriva's wife. Death is the only penalty recommended for sinners who violate the chastity of their natural sisters or their sisters-in-law" (IV. 18. 18-23). But it is surprising that Rama connived at a similar crime committed by Sugriva himself: When Vali, who was engaged in a contest with Dundubhi in the depths of a cave, did not come out, Sugriva, who waited patiently for full one year at its entrance, returned to Kiskindha and appropriated the extensive Vanara dominion along with Tara, the wife of Vali (IV. 46. 8-9). But when Vali returned victorious from the contest, he retaliated by exiling Sugriva penniless and appropriating his wife Ruma (IV. 10. 28). Finally, on the death of Vali, Sugriva reclaimed his own wife Ruma as well as Tara, the wife of Vali himself (IV. 29. 4 : 35.5). That here the wife of the dead foe falls as a natural booty to the conqueror is probably a reflection of primitive conditions prevailing in the community.

It is noteworthy that, on recovering his wife Ruma, Sugriva did not make her go through the fire-ordeal; he was not at all scrupulous about a wife who had gone away from him and lived with his brother in concubinage. He takes her back and when Laksmana goes laden with a terrible message from Rama, the latter finds Sugriva closeted with Ruma.

In spite of this promiscuity in sexual matters, the institution of marriage, in so far as it brought together a man and a woman as husband and wife and made the two attached to each other by bonds of love, fully obtained in the Vanara community. On their way from Lanka to Ayodhya in the Puspaka, Sita expressed her desire to be accompanied by Tara and the other beloved wives of Sugriva, as also the wives of other eminent Vanaras (VI. 123. 24-5). Sita would not have spoken of the wives

## POST-MORTEM ON PARITAM

of the Vanaras had there been no marital bond existing among them. Tara refers to the married (*saha-bharyah*) as well as unmarried (*a-bharyah*) Vanaras of Kiskindha (IV. 19. 16). Her lamentations at the death of Vali clearly postulates the notion of husband-and-wife relationship (IV. 23. 12-3).

The bond of family life and the memory of one's wife and children propped up the life of the Vanaras wandering in distant regions away from their hearth and home and kith and kin. Hanuman warned Angada during the search for Sita that the fickle-minded Vanaras, having been long separated from their wives and children, may even make light of his commands (IV. 54. 9). Valmiki understandably stresses their keen perturbation consequent upon their long separation from their kith and kin (IV. 54. 17).

Lofty moral ideas are also sometimes given vent to through the lips of the Vanaras. Thus, Angada reproached his uncle, Sugriva, for his ignorance of *dharma* on account of his carnal enjoyment of his (Angada's) mother, Tara, during the life-time of Vali (IV. 55. 34) - a standpoint which in its nobility of conception is more akin to the Aryan attitude. Again, when Vayu

lovingly embraced Anjana with his long arms and when "the soul had met the soul" (*gatatma*), the she-Vanara remonstrated against this by saying: "Who is it that dares to lay violent hands on my chastity?" (IV. 66. 16). A rare moral utterance unique in its grandeur is made by Hanuman when spying about Ravana's harem in search of Sita. There he comes across a whole galaxy of beautiful women sleeping with their dishevelled dress under the intoxication produced by liquor. At this sight, Hanuman's inner voice remonstrated that he was transgressing the moral code in feasting his eyes upon the sleeping inmates of an unknown person's harem, for "never have I deigned to cast my eyes on women belonging to others" (V. 11. 37-9). He, however, took consolation in the fact that "I did see minutely the wives of Ravana at a time when they did not expect me, but all the same my mind was unpolluted. The senses project themselves and fasten upon particular objects only if the mind (*manas*) directs them to do so. That *manas*, which directs the senses, in right ways and wrong ways, is under my full control" (V. 11. 41-2). How Vali's wife criticizes Rama - stands good as a masterpiece of moral argument even today (IV. 17).



# PAZHASSI RAJA AND FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN KERALA

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

Every year on the 30th of November the people of Kerala pay their homage to Pazhassi Raja who sacrificed his life for liberating Kerala from foreign yoke.

The East India Company attained political supremacy in Bengal towards the end of the 18th century. But the foundation of the British Empire in India suffered a rude shock in the 1st decade of the 19th century in the South at the hands of Pazhassi Raja, Velu Tampi and Paliat Achan, who may be rated as the pioneer freedom-fighters of India. The Pazhassi Raja's name is a legend in the chequered history of the Freedom Movement in India. Imperialist historians have not done enough justice to this pioneer freedom-fighter, for his freedom movement has been labelled as 'Pychy rebellion.'

## Political background

The Zamorins of Calicut, who were the sovereigns of ancient Kerala till the advent of the European nations, had become powerless by the beginning of the 16th century. The rise of Cochin and Travancore Rajas eclipsed the political supremacy of the Zamorins.

The principality of Kottayam in the North Malabar was subordinate to the Zamorins till the beginning of the 15th century. The Kottayam Rajas asserted their independence by the beginning of the 16th century. The dominion of the Kottayam Rajas extended from the coastal town of Cannanore to the north and further inland up the lofty heights of Wynad when the English merchants first came to India. The Kottayam Rajas controlled the

rich hinterland producing spices, especially pepper and cardamom in the northern parts of Malabar. The territories of the Cotiote Raja or the Colastris, as the Kottayam Rajas are called in ancient and early English records, constitute the fabled "Spiceland" which was frequented by the Romans in their heydays and for the discovery of which many an expedition was despatched. The credit for discovering these spicelands goes to Vasco da Gama.

The East India Company set up its first factory on the Malabar coast at Tellicherry in 1735 in the dominions of the Kottayam Rajas. The Company became prosperous by monopolizing the lucrative trade in spices. The Company's trade in Malabar would have been an utter failure, but for the protection and help of the Kottayam Rajas. The Zamorin had not taken the Britishers into his confidence.

The Kottayam Rajas, like other chieftains of Kerala, disliked the political ascendancy of European nations in their sacred soil. So long as the Englishmen remained content with trade and commerce and respected their sovereignty, there was no trouble. The Kottayam Rajas had granted the Company all facilities for their trade, but when the Company began to meddle in the local politics, they tried to check it at any cost.

## Pzhassi, an ally of the Company

Kerala Varma Raja of Kottayam who is popularly called Pazhassi Raja and Saktan Tamburan in Kerala was a man of no mean achievement in his literary talents. His Kathakali pieces are widely read and performed even today.

The Prince Kerala Varma was called Pazhassi Raja as he used to reside at the Pazhassi Palace, about 4 miles to the south of Mattannoor on the road from Mattannoor to Koothuparambu in Calicut district of Kerala. He is called Saktan (—bold) Tamburan (—King) for his valour and sacrifice for the motherland. His birthday used to be observed as a holiday in Kerala.

When the British Empire was caught in the maelstrom of the American War of Independence (1774-1783), Kerala Varma stood by the Company. The repercussions of the French Revolution (1789-1805) was also not felt seriously in Malabar. The Company did not attain political supremacy in the South till the fall of Tipu (1799).

#### **-Mysorean Wars**

During the Mysorean invasions of Hyder and Tipu (1766-1782) the Kottayam Raja helped the Company substantially. The Raja, though estranged by the Company, stood by the Britishers, because the marauding depredations of Hyder and Tipu were intolerable. He extended all possible help when the Company was in need. He felt it below his regal dignity and statesmanship to embarrass the Company when it was in straits. The Raja could have easily arranged a combination of all the chieftains of Kerala during the Mysorean invasions if he wished to put the Company into a sore plight.

#### **Political Background of Wynad**

Wynad, which is the northernmost Taluk of Kerala, stands unique in its political history. This was the only Taluk which never bowed its head to the Mysorean yoke and which defied the British power until its ruler fell fighting against the troops of the British Government. "There never was", wrote Duke of Wellington to Lieutenant-Colonel Kirkpatrick on the 7th of April, 1800, "a country which from its nature, its

situation, the manners of its people and its government, so well calculated for turbulence; but the fall of the Pyche Raja, and the reduction of Wynad, will curb it considerably...The whole country is one jungle, which may be open in some parts, but in others is so thick that it is impossible to see objects at the distance of two yards... From Malabar into Wynad there are many passes, and it has been the constant practice of all those who have disturbed the peace of the Province, when they have been pressed by the troops below the ghauts, to slip into Wynad....." Wynad, which has got an area of 999 so miles, forms a continuation of the tableland of Mysore and is indented by 8 rivers. There are 8 passes which connect the Wynad with the low country.

Hyder Ali's marauding hordes devastated Malabar in 1766 and members of the Kottayam family had to seek political asylum in the ruling family of Travancore Raja. Kottayam Rajas looked upon Wynad as their dominion and the excellent support given by the Kurumbar, Kurichiar and other hillmen during the protracted guerilla warfare of the Przhassi leaves no doubt that the inhabitants of Wynad were as loyal as any other people living in the low countries. Wynad remained undisturbed till 1773 when a Mysorean army passed through the country by Tamarasseri ghaut on its way to Calicut.

In 1780, on the outbreak of the Second Mysorean War, Kerala Varma assisted the British factors at the siege of Tellicherry with a powerful army of 2000 Nairs. Tipu exacted from the then Senior Raja, Ravi Varma, of Kottayam, in 1786, a deed of relinquishment of his sovereignty over Wynad which the young Pazhassi resented to the utmost, and he was in constant warfare with the Sultan from 1787 till the beginning of the Third Mysorean War in 1790.

#### **The grant of Cowle**

The chief of the English settlement at

Tellicherry, Robert Taylor, granted a **cowle** (grant) on the 4th of May 1790 to Kerala Varma in recognition of his meritorious services to the Company's cause whereby the Company agreed to assist and do everything in its power to undo the mischief perpetrated by the fraud of Tippu.

The war with Tippu was waged by the Governor-General Lord Cornwallis himself taking the field at the head of a powerful army, having the Nizam and the Mahrattas for his support, besides the princes and people of Kerala. The allies effected a junction under the walls of Seringapatam on the 16th of February, 1792, and on the 22nd of that month Tippu capitulated. Tippu ceded the whole of Malabar district as per the terms of the treaty of Seringapatam concluded on the 18th of March 1792.

#### **Pazhassi betrayed**

Wynad, which remained always part and parcel of the Kottayam dominions, was claimed by the Company contending that had it not been included in the Treaty, the revenue of the Malabar district would not have been rated so high by Tippu. Duke Wellington admits in his letter of 26th February 1800 to Col. Sartorius that the 'Pyche was in actual possession of the Cotiote district'. However, the Company was not prepared to hand over Wynad to its legitimate ruler, in utter disregard of the **cowle** of 1790. The political motive behind the seizure of Wynad was that Tippu would be difficult to defeat if he made an alliance with the Pazhassi. The Company did not want to give up the lucrative spice-crops of Wynad. Nothing stood in the way of the Company's entrustment of the Pazhassi's dominions to Kurumbranad Raia for collection of revenue. The Kurumbranad Raia, though a distant relation of the Pazhassi, had no influence over the Kottayam dominions. Kerala Varma felt himself deceived by the Company and its **avaricious servants**.

Besides this pronounced British **chicanery**, the Raja also took exception to the British high-handedness in the administration of law and order in his territories. Collection of land-revenue was difficult in the whole of Kerala, as the Nairs who formed the militia did not pay it. The Company's assessment and realization of land-revenue from the Kottayam dominions was resented by the Raja, who himself did not dare to take such an unprecedented step. The Raja, a far-sighted man, saw the lengthening shadows of British Empire in India and felt himself bound to check it.

#### **Company prostrates**

This 'most untractable and unreasonable of all the Rajas' of Malabar, Kerala Varma, maintained his sovereignty over his territories, and his 'conduct continued to be distinguished by a contempt for all authority' of the Company. The Company's servants at the helm of affairs in Malabar (Supervisors Stevens Senior, J. Agnew and others) were avaricious and did not hesitate to extort a lakh of rupees from the Zamorin. Subsequently, they were found guilty of extortion in trial at the King's court and suffered imprisonment at home.

Kerala Varma took a bold step by putting a stop to the collection of revenues from his territory and defied all authority of the Company in the affairs of his dominions. Orders that came from Bombay for realization of arrears of revenue were disregarded. The servants of the Company tried their utmost to take possession of the Kottayam territories after patching up their differences with the Zamorin, but failed miserably. The British army suffered reverse after reverse and courted 'very gallant retreats' with 'melancholy loss' in officers, arms and ammunition.

The Raja with his powerful indigenous troops held against the Company for more than 5 years, from 1793 to 1798, in the first instance. The Company lost very heavily

in five years' operations. Pazhassi could always cut off the food-supply. The whole Wynad was deadly against the British imperialists. The Company began to realise the futility of opposing the Pazhassi's guerrillas. Peace had to be purchased at any cost. Negotiations were, therefore, opened by the Governor of Bombay and the Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Malabar in 1798. The price paid for purchasing peace with honour was "an act of oblivion to the Raja for all that he had done towards the Company". The Kurumbranad Raja was dislodged from collection of revenue from the Kottayam territories. Even confirmed bandits were pardoned in the Kottayam dominions. The Raja was granted a pension of Rs. 8000 for Company's direct collection of revenues.

The Company's reinstatement of the Raja to his district and property was due to several reasons. First, to throw him to the embrace of Tippu would have proved disastrous. Secondly, the French Revolution was looming large over the horizon of England and the continent. Thirdly, the Company had to withdraw the whole of the troops from Malabar to prosecute the Third Mysorean War.

#### **Final Fall of Serinapatam—4th May, 1799**

During the Mysorean operations the Malabar Rajas including the Pazhassi rendered unconditional assistance to the Company. A rumour was spread by means of Company servants to the effect that the Chirakkal Raja and the Pazhassi were carrying on a clandestine correspondence with Tippu, which later on proved to be baseless. Malabar was left without any military forces during the Mysorean wars. Had the Kottayam and Chirakkal Rajas any intention to take recourse to underhand dealings, Malabar would have been lost. This fact is testified to by Wellington who wrote from Tellicherry on 10th April 1800 to Lt. Col. Close that "the fact (is) that there is not a soldier either in Canara or Malabar who can be moved. There are

300 sepoy and 120 Europeans at Managalore; of the latter there will be 400 more in about 10 days when they will have reached that place from hence".

#### **Second betrayal of Pazhassi**

'The Right Hon'ble General-General having resolved to get possession of Wynad', the Company's servants again claimed Wynad, after the treaty of Serinapatam in 1800. Another concrete instance of double-dealing. The Raja was ready to defend the integrity of his dominions and the people rallied under his flag and the last scene of the drama of freedom fighting was enacted.

The victorious British army in the Third Mysorean War was commanded by the veteran Duke Wellington. Troops and officers from other Provinces were massed in Malabar. In fact troops outnumbered the inhabitants of Malabar. The system of communication was streamlined in 1800 and Wynad was opened up for military traffic. Military and civil administration of Malabar which hitherto remained in the hands of the Governor of Bombay, was transferred to Fort St. George. Political Officers were posted in Travancore and Cochin. The administrative system was thoroughly overhauled. Wellington adopted all conceivable tactics to overawe the Raja and his people by taking the low country and by cutting all communications.

As Wellington felt that 'Malabar can never be reckoned upon excepting as a country ripe for insurrection', more and more troops were requisitioned from other parts of India. The people of Malabar rose en masse in 1803 against the military dictatorship. The insurrection was put down with a heavy hand. Duke Wellington himself ascended the heights of Wynad, but with no success. Neither the Raja, nor any of his followers, could be traced. In spite of heavy odds, the Pazhassi and his troops inflicted crushing defeats to the British troops. The "Iron Duke" tried all his tactics to outmanoeuvre the Pazhassi, but the Raja

and his followers were beyond the Duke and his troops. From his Wynad havens he took away the lives of hundreds of thousands of Englishmen. It was no mean achievement on his part to hold against the Duke and his troops for five years with the assistance of Nairs, Kurichiar and Kurumbur. The Duke lay prostrated before the Pazhassi.

### Fall of Pazhassi

The military genius of Wellington was not a match to the Pazhassi's indigenous troops. The whole of Wynad was combed several times; still the Raja could not be captured. The downfall of Kerala Varma was brought about by Thomas Harvey Baber, who was a Sub-Collector of Malabar in 1804. With his select band of **Kolkars** (indigenous militia), not only was Baber able to collect all the lethal weapons from the hands of the people, but also succeeded in getting secret information of the Raja and his followers. Rewards for capture of the Raja and his followers proved futile. Baber, inadvertently attacked the haunts of the Pazhassi at Mavila Tod (a small stream) near Pulpally, 20 miles from Sultan's Battery, on the Mysore Border. The Raja was killed in **cognito** by the Kolkars. Thus ended the life of the Pazhassi, whose name is associated with the Freedom Movement of India, on 30th November, 1805.

### An estimate of Pazhassi

"This extraordinary personage", Baber has recorded," even at the moment of death called out in the most dignified and commanding manner to the Menon (Canara Menon, one of Baber's Cutchery servants) not to approach and defile his person." Baber paid high tributes to the Raja for his extraordinary and singular character. "The inhabitants", Baber continues, "entertained towards him a regard and respect bordering on veneration which not even his death can efface".

Duke Wellington, who defeated Napoleon, the greatest military genius the world ever has seen, felt himself defeated

before the Pazhassi. The experience he got in fighting against the Pazhassi stood in good stead with him in his campaigns against Napoleon in Spain. The block-house system of warfare which was adopted in Wynad proved successful in Spain. Thus, Wellington is indebted to the Pazhassi in many respects.

### Conclusion

It is admitted on all hands that but for the obstinacy and duplicity of the Company's servants and their persistence in perpetrating an act of utter injustice, this powerful Raja of Malabar would have remained an ally of the Company. But this opinion is baseless. The Raja's sinking of all differences with the Company was to avoid a much greater evil which might have befallen on Malabar had Tippu annexed the country. He was not content with anything but freedom of his country. He alone had the courage to fight single-handed for freedom, while the rest of the chieftains of Malabar remained spectators. But the torch of freedom lighted by him was not allowed to die out. Velu Tambi and Paliat Achan took up the torch immediately after his martyrdom. The struggle for freedom continued in one way or other till the imperialists finally packed off in 1947.

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## ECONOMICS OF UNACCOUNTED INCOMES

B. M. L. Nigam

For some time past the unaccounted or black money is very much in the air as it should be as the major issue of financial law and order. Faced with a host of difficulties all-round when the Government was finding it difficult to manage even one wife, it has been charged with the responsibility of dealing with two wives—the white as well as the black. It appears as if the Government has been overpowered by the black owing, perhaps, to her freshness and clever craft of love making, though in the heart of hearts the husband knows fully well the infidelity and seditious character of the newly wed. Without carrying this analogy any further, it should be understood that after baby boom if there is any single factor which is frustrating the economic plans and policies in the post-planning period, it is black money. The fiscal measures of the Chancellor of Exchequer and the monetary measures of the Central Banking authority are not unoften brought to a nullity by the under-currents of black money. Overawed by its seriousness, the Finance Minister says, "It is a curious paradox of our situation that money for worthwhile investments and public purposes is in short supply ; there is a great deal of unaccounted money circulating in the economy in search of further under-cover gains."<sup>1</sup> In the same tone, Kautilya the great Indian economist-statesman, mentions the misuse of money and misuse of language as the most common afflictions from which a society suffers and comes to the conclusion that the former is a greater evil than the latter. The injury caused by misuse

of language can be healed with money but he could not suggest any remedy for the misuse of money. As such, I may be permitted to make this sweeping statement that black money has existed in almost all developing countries, be it 18th century Britain or the 20th century Afro-Asian countries and in some size it exists even today in the industrially advanced countries of Europe and North America. In the present form in India the evil can be said to have started since 1943 when controls—physical and financial appeared on the scene, though in spirit it can be traced back to the hoary past.

### *Magnitude*

Since such monies are kept secret and are unrecorded, *prima facie* it is not possible for any one to make a correct estimate of them. The estimates range between Rs. 1000 crores to Rs. 3,000 crores. So far, as the first figure is concerned, it certainly appears to be an under-estimate inasmuch as according to Nicholas Kaldar—the British expert, who was specially invited in 1956 by the Government of India, loss of revenue through tax-evasion alone was of the order of Rs. 200-300 crores per annum, and by now quite likely this amount would have gone up still higher. Further the under-invoicing of export bills amounts to about Rs. 50 crores a year. About the unaccounted money being in the neighbourhood of Rs. 3,000 crores or more is again improbable, when the notes in circulation as on 30th June 1965 were

Rs. 2621. 41 crores and money supply with the public Rs. 4172. 20 crores.

Will it not be a knavery of the first rank to assume that black money exceeds the white or all Reserve Bank money in circulation is idle? But it is not easy as well to challenge the imaginary figure of Rs. 3,000 or even a multiple of it; once it is understood that unaccounted money is in general converted into unaccounted assets and properties. With such a large overlay of financial resources, it is not difficult to visualise the havoc it can cause to the economic, social and political fabric of the country. The people with hush money hardly weigh its economics and are tempted to indulge in lavish expenditures on lands, buildings, flats, gold, diamonds and pearls and in this process they not only raise their prices to fantastic levels but also encourage their smuggling through novel means, and thus overstrain the already vulnerable position of balance of payments. The easy and ill-got money is used in hoarding and cornering commodities which hits at the very base of selective credit and fiscal controls making Government itself the prisoner of its liberty. The mode of living of the earners of such money and their children gets out of tune with the accepted standards of decency and decorum which paves the way for an all-round moral deterioration where virtues begin to be put at a discount and vices at a premium. The honest and law-abiding citizens are made to pay more than they would have been required to do but for the cheating committed by the brave. In short unaccounted money provides finance for corruption and a general moral degeneration affecting thereby not only the present generation but also posterity on whose integrity depends the future of the Bharat of our dreams.

### *Definition and Forms*

Etymologically unaccounted money is that money which has not been accounted for in the books of account. It is kept secret and unrecorded in the account-books either because it has been illegitimately earned on which tax could not be paid unless the earner was prepared for other punishments as well, or because it has been acquired legitimately but tax has not been paid. The instances of the illegitimate incomes are the gratifications, multifarious memorial funds raised under the great names, various kinds of extra payments called in this country as nazaranas, pugrees and presents. The legitimate incomes are too clear to need any elaboration but it would be useful here to mention the six heads under which income has been categorised under the Income Tax Act, 1961 viz, salaries interest on securities, income from property, profits and gains from business and profession, income from other sources, and capital gains. This little discussion makes one thing clear that all unaccounted incomes are tax-evaded incomes, whether the evasion has been practised for its own sake or for the sake of securing *exemption* from other punitive provisions, and this tax evasion is intentional and deliberate. Once the tax due is paid, the residual gets out of bounds of unaccounted or black money, otherwise the whole lot is branded as such. This definition should remove one more misunderstanding that all black money is held in currency or notes. The truth is that most of the black money should be and is held in tangible assets like land, buildings shares and stocks, gold bullion, ornaments, pearls and jewellery and, what is more, bogus hundis (i. e. false and fictitious borrowings). It is only in the initial stage that a good portion of it is in legal tender money, otherwise for obvious reasons it is

held in assets and properties. As such, it is advisable to refer to these resources as unaccounted gains or incomes rather than as unaccounted money which gives only a partial view of the total image. That is, after a convenient interval black money does change itself into white by covers provided by howala business or unofficial bill market, hundi market or the indigenous credit exchange and the like, and some professional name lenders have been detected in leading trade centres who have no other business except to provide the necessary cover for their customers to evade the incidence of tax.

## *A Fund and a Flow*

Unaccounted incomes represent both a fund and a flow. The contractors, suppliers, big businessmen, high-ups in the bureaucracy, professionals pursuing intellectual occupations, the ministers and legislators and the army of juniors engaged in public-relations departments who are the so-called main benefactors of black money, once they acquire a taste it is hard to lose it. Once their game of cooking the books and evading the tax starts it becomes difficult to cry a halt. Hence, at a particular point of time it is no doubt a fund comprising the total accumulations, but like a reservoir it is being continuously fed by a numberless rivulets of ill-gotten gains. The fund is depleted by the amount of spendings on consumer articles and hoardings beneath the earth or in lockers, but for the fear of detections as natural, the fresh accruals outbeat these depletions. The result is what it should be that every month and every year the fund goes on fattening and joined by new tributaries.

## *Causes*

As just seen, the principal characteristic

of unaccounted incomes is tax-evasion or tax-dodgment and that too in the neighbourhood of Rs. 200-300 crores a year. Do the people not understand that it is both a legal and social crime which makes their innocent and law-abiding brethren to pay greater than they would have otherwise been required to do? They know it fully well because these unscrupulous hands, are not among the small fry but big fish who have the requisite intelligence or else the resources to hire it with the bait of their money. Then why do they indulge in such a heinous activity? Obviously for two reasons: firstly, because they know that in this democratic country despite a long list of anti-corruption laws, none is effectively enforced and they can with impunity carry on their nefarious trade and roll in riches. Secondly, because they have no faith in the efficiency and honesty of the Government, and none of these can be refuted. The schemes like community projects, panchayati raj, harijan welfare, cultural affairs, and even some of the industrial and defence projects have turned out to be a pack of waste and misutilisation of public money, but still go on unabated. One can find the elite often asserting that they would be prepared to pay steeper rates of taxes than ever before if the Government could guarantee that their sacrifice would yield positive results. In fact, a feeling is gaining ground that 'democracy and planning could not go together',<sup>2</sup> and the planning to be effective would have to be centrally controlled by some sort of dictatorship. Totalitarian planning does away with the problem of unaccounted or black money as it exterminates private property and an acquisitive society for a supreme soviet which the people believe can commit no wrong. No wonder in Communist countries, the land revenue in the initial years has been as high as 50 to 80



per cent and but for the minor difficulties, there has been no such problem of threats, agitations, fasts unto death, self-immolations and evasion of tax. This is not to recommend that India should go communist and strictly follow Leninist and Mao doctrines, but this does suggest that the administrative machinery has to be so geared that it achieves, nay exceeds the targets set in the five year plans and thus exhorts and stimulates the people to produce more and pay more and make themselves spit at their face if they resort to tax evasion. It is only then that the basic cause of black money shall be eliminated and other subsidiary causes which give rise to it like price controls, licences, quotas and permits, issue of bogus purchase vouchers and sale memos by certain intermediaries, bribes and political corruption, sales tax, smuggling, etc, can be countered since all these involve administrative integrity and capability.

#### *Measures X-rayed*

While unaccounted money is being heard of for a pretty long time, in the post-planning period<sup>3</sup> no specific measures had been taken till about a year back. It is, only the trio of Shastri-Nanda and Krishnamachari that has tried to comb the infiltrators of such money both at the fund and flow level. To begin with, a Press Note was issued in November 1964 for voluntary disclosures. It was given a statutory shape by amending section 271 of the Income Tax Act which inter-alia provided for reduction or waiver of the penal provisions at the discretion of the Commissioners of Income-Tax, provided the disclosures of unaccounted money were : (i) full and true and voluntarily made in good faith prior to its detection by the taxing authorities, (ii) the assessee has given all possible co-operation in any inquiry relating

to its assessment, and (iii) the assessee has paid or made satisfactory arrangements for the payment of the tax or interest thereon. As expected this immunity from penalisation could hardly induce the people to come forward with voluntary disclosures as it in no way simplified the procedure involved in such disclosures and it remained the same lengthy and complicated one. It was left to the budget of 1965-66 to insert clause 68 and thereby evolve what is known as 'Pay 60 keep 40' scheme upto May 1965 with a further concession of 5 per cent if the disclosure was made before 1st April, 1965. This scheme has been availed of by some 2,002 persons and has unearthed about Rs. 52.13 crores of unaccounted incomes till June 30, 1965. During the same period, some 205 searches were carried out in which besides incriminating documents, jewellery worth Rs. 22.62 lakhs, bullion worth Rs. 6.44 lakhs, shares scrips and bonds worth Rs. 308.00 lakhs and cash totalling Rs. 25.29 lakhs have been obtained, and 82,042 new assesseees discovered. But all this is nothing against the magnitude of black incomes noted above. Further, most of these disclosures and discoveries have been made by the medium-size income earners<sup>4</sup> and high income brackets remain as unconcerned as ever.

These shortcomings, have been sought to be removed by the fresh scheme of voluntary disclosures introduced in the supplementary budget in the beginning of the second-half of August, 1965. Under the new scheme which will remain in operation until March 31, 1966, tax will be charged on the whole of disclosed income taken as a single block (as if it were the total income of the declarer) at the rates prescribed for personal income or corporate income as the case may be. If it thus removes the ad hoc concessional rate

which favoured the bigger assesseees. Another improvement is that facilities will be allowed for the payment of tax in appropriate instalments extending over a period not exceeding four years, subject of course to a down payment of not less than 10 per cent of the tax due and furnishing of security in respect of the balance. The latest scheme thus appears to be more realistic than the former, but in essence it is more stringent and discriminates in favour of people with relatively small amounts of undisclosed incomes. For individuals upto Rs. 50,000 the effective rate of tax will be 34.50 per cent, upto Rs. 1 lakh 49.6 per cent and 59.8 per cent if it exceeds Rs. 1 lakh, in addition to surcharge as if the entire income was earned income. The effective rates for Indian companies and those foreign companies which distribute dividends in India shall be 50 per cent if the public is substantially interested in it, 60 per cent if the public is not substantially interested and 65 per cent for the foreign companies which do not distribute dividends in India. Other assesseees, viz., Hindu Undivided families and partnership firms shall also be charged at the graded rates prescribed in Para A of Part one of the First Schedule to the Finance Act. In addition to the announcement of this scheme, an Intelligence Unit has also been set up in the Income-tax department, manned among others by nine Assistant Commissioners of Income-tax specially trained in the United States of America.

The revised scheme though attractive in many respects does not hold out much promise for unearthing black money as it—

(i) is too harsh on the people of higher income brackets, and (ii) does not grant relief to companies from the provisions of sections 209, 211, 217, 628, 630 etc. which

provide punishment to the managing agents, secretaries and treasurers, managing director, manager, directors etc. extending to two years or a fine upto Rs. 2,000 or both. It is unlikely, therefore, that the big chunks of black money from individuals and corporate sector will be unearthed, and unless modified it will be yet another flop in the annals of the Finance Ministry.

The revival of the Gold Bond Scheme can be said to be another measure to bring forth black money invested in gold, brilliants, ornaments and jewellery which for the purpose is valued at Rs. 53.58 per 10 grammes. Since this is too low a price considering the market rate, it has tended to immobilise the existing gold holdings, and encouraged the people to make fresh purchase of gold in the market out of their black money and invest in gold bonds without in any way being involved in the declarations regarding name, address and signature of the declarant and the amount and its form as also further inquiry or investigation for ascertaining whether disclosure has been made in full or not. The scheme is no doubt commendable as for the first time in the history of this country, an attempt has been made to utilise gold holdings, for productive purposes, it has in effect meant a further push to the already high prices prevailing in the market and increase in smuggling.

*What next?*

With such bleak success of the disclosure and gold bond schemes, and few raids and seizures here and there, what has been done to contain the present fund of unaccounted gains and check its cancerous growth in future? In view of its horrors, the present policy of 'let us pretend' has to

be concluded and a really realistic policy evolved, keeping in view that by temperament and psychology logically an Indian like any other individual of the world is honest and remains so unless forced by circumstances—social or legal. A number of suggestions have been put forward like blanket confiscation of all unaccounted money, amnesty for the present hoarded wealth, arousing the patriotic feelings of the people, demonetisation of high denomination notes and reduction of unduly high rates of taxes. While the first three suggestions are easy to offer, they are impractical and hardly assure any success. The demonetisation of high value notes will also not do inasmuch as about 80 per cent of such money is reported to be kept in notes of Rs. 100-1000 and only about 2 to 3 per cent in higher notes. Thus even if we sacrifice the sanctity of the promise to pay, no substantial gain is going to accrue when the thief has also turned wiser, after this much of publicity to the demonetisation move. However, there is much sense in slashing down the tax burden and no less an authority than Nicholas Kaldor suggested a ceiling of 45 per cent with a view to giving a chance to every one to return to the path of civil responsibility. What is the use of a high rate of income-tax, supertax (now merged) and a series of other taxes and surcharges, which leave so much room for tax avoidance and evasion? No doubt avoidance of tax is legal and within the prerogatives of the assessee to benefit out of loopholes and depletion of his means in practice, it, too, leads to tax evasion and other evils.<sup>5</sup> "There is, of course, no doubt, that they (i. e., the taxpayers) are within their legal rights, but that is no reason why their efforts, or those of the professional gentlemen who assist them in the matter, should be regarded as a

commendable exercise of ingenuity or as a discharge of the duties of good citizenship".<sup>6</sup> It will be, therefore, in the fitness of things for the Government to fix an upper limit of 50 per cent on direct taxation and a lower limit of 30 to 35 per cent for the past unaccounted incomes. This concession for past undisclosed incomes should remain operative upto March 31, 1966 as under the new scheme and after that the unexplained assets should be attended to by a most heavy and ruthless punishment.<sup>7</sup> However, so that the Government gets hold of a substantial portion of unaccounted incomes for economic development and defence build-up and for controlling the inflationary spiral, I stand for taxation to the extent of one-third of such incomes, freezing of another one-third in the form of Government bonds at about 4 per cent rate of interest and repayable after 5 years or even longer, and allowing the balance to be credited in the books of account or dealt with in such manner as the assessee thinks fit. These are Gandhian methods and fully fit into the democratic framework of the country as with lower rates of taxes on the one hand and provision for deterrent punishment on the other, they, it is expected, will cease to think in terms of tax evasion and really become trustees of the nation. However, I would go a step further for the purpose of dealing a death blow to the menace of unaccounted incomes by prescribing that all payments above Rs. 10,000 will be illegal unless made through cheques as also the holding of cash balances above Rs. 25,000. Along with these radical and far-reaching measures, the issuance of a cheque without sufficient bank balance will also have to be made a cognisable offence, lest there is any hesitation in acceptance of cheques in day-to-day transactions.

## **ECONOMICS OF UNACCOUNTED INCOMES**

All said, however, it will have to be admitted that a permanent and lasting solution of the problem of unaccounted incomes lies in increased production so as to leave some margin of surplus over consumption. It is only the abolition of scarcities in agricultural and industrial commodities that will ensure the burial of the problem once for all.

1. Statement on Economic Situation in the Parliament : December 16, 1963.

2. S. L. Kirloskar : Luncheon Address at the Andhra Pradesh Chambers of Commerce and Industry, August 23, 1965.

3. In the pre-planning period, black money was tried to be mopped up by Excess

Profits Tax, 1940, demonetisation of notes in 1946, appointment of an Investigation Commission in 1947 which unearthed about Rs. 48 crores of concealed incomes and the Disclosure Scheme in 1951 which disclosed some Rs. 70 crores.

4. Finance Minister's answer in Lok Sabha : August 19, 1965.

5. Lord Normand, 1949.

9. Vicount Simon, L. C., 1933.

7. "One important reason for the prevalence of evasion is stated to be that in actual practice no deterrent punishment like imprisonment is being meted out to tax-evaders when they are caught."

—Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee.

## MODERN REVIEW SPECIAL

From The **Bharat Jyoti**, Dec. 19, 1965

**THE MODERN REVIEW (Ramananda Centenary Number) Calcutta, 1965 Pp. 196 Rs. 2.00.**

**PRABASI (Ramananda Centenary Number), Calcutta, 1965 Pp. 165 Re. 1.00.**

Ramananda Chatterjee, whose centenary was celebrated earlier this year, is a respected name in the history of Indian journalism.

His life is worthy of emulation for more than one reason. He was a successful editor and promoter of magazines. He was a fearless patriot and objective commentator, always ready to run necessary risks to uphold truth and the codes of journalism.

It was because of his personification of a good many rare qualities that he succeeded in casting his influence not only within, but also far beyond the confines of the country—at a time when communication was far less developed than at present and the country was under foreign subjugation. It is only in the fitness of things that the PRABASI, the Bengali monthly which is now in its 65th year, and the MODERN

REVIEW, which is now in its 59th year, should have come out with special numbers to celebrate the centenary of their founder and editor.

These special numbers contain valuable information on the life and activities of this great son of the motherland as well as supplementary materials of value to students of Indian history, culture and journalism. It may not be out of place to quote what Ramananda Babu wrote on editorial policy in 1925 :

“Regarding the charge that **The Modern Review** suffers from lack of ‘editorial policy’ we can only say that we care only for truth and principles, not ‘policy’ and we try always to decide what ought to be said, not what we may have written before, but in the light of the knowledge and experience we possess at the time of writing. We are not guided by any mechanical adherence to what is regarded as consistency, but by regard for truth and principles.”

This is sound advice even for those who are in the profession now.

# Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is entertained.

## *Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :*

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

**SRI AUROBINDO AND THE NEW THOUGHT IN INDIAN POLITICS :** By Drs. Haridas and Uma Mukherjee, with a foreward by Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee ; Published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta ; D/Demy 16mo Pp. 393, Price Rs. 12/-.

The book under review is an exposition and unfoldment of the New Thought which inspired the Swadeshi Movement as revealed in the writings of Shri Aurobindo. Shri Aurobindo along with Bipin Chandra Pal have been acknowledged as the foremost prophets of the New Spirit which informed the New Thought that brought about the epochal revolution in India's political ideology and aspirations during the opening years of the present century and which found a concrete platform of expression in the Swadeshi Movement in 1905—following Lord Curzon's partitioning of Bengal. The new ideology had begun to emerge as early as in 1901 when the **New India**, under the Editorial tutelage of Bipin Chandra Pal, boldly declared in its inaugural issue that India did not just desire a share of the high offices under the British Government which seemed to

epitomise the ambition of the Indian National Congress under its then so-called liberal leadership but desired to earn the right to determine the policies that the Government had to carry out into effect ; to be master in her own home in which case she could afford to employ British servants. It was a radical and a revolutionary departure from the thinking of elder national leaders and was considered by the latter to be positively heretical in both outlook and content. During the years 1901 to 1905, which may with justice be called the "Age of the **New India**" in Indian political evolution, the ground would appear to have been prepared for the vigorous emergence of the New Spirit and the New Thought which would seem to have inspired and informed the Swadeshi Movement.

The Swadeshi Movement, as its nomenclature and practical methodology might possibly suggest, for boycott of British merchandise and development of indigenous Indian industries were one of its principal expressions, was not merely a struggle for emancipation from the strangleholds of

British industry and trade which have been increasingly paralyzing indigenous enterprise and commerce, but a struggle for basic political emancipation at its very core. Its watch word was **Swaraj** or "self-determination" independently of British political domination, an expression which eventually came to be accepted into the vocabulary of official Congress thinking. It may seem extraordinary that the leader who, for the first time, induced the acceptance of the expression into the official transactions of the Indian National Congress, was that most liberal among liberal Indian leaders, a man wedded by bonds of unbreakable loyalty to the British Crown, the late Dadabhai Naoroji, while presiding over an annual plenary session of the Congress in Calcutta in 1906. This would, to a certain extent, illustrate the measure of influence that the New Thought behind the Swadeshi Movement had begun to universally exert over the political thinking of the country.

Aurobindo came to Calcutta from Baroda in 1906 and immediately took charge of the daily **Vande Mataram**. The paper had only a brief career of just over two years (August 1906 to October 1908) but in its dynamics and outlook it comprised almost an ageless revolution in the thought and

outlook of our leaders and the people. The work commenced more than five years earlier (1901) by the **New India** found fuller consummation and more universal expression in the **Vande Mataram** under Aurobindo. Both the **New India** and the **Vande Mataram** would, therefore, contain indispensable material for an adequate and factual analysis and presentation of India's early political evolution towards a vigorous, self-reliant and renascent national emancipation. Dr. Haridas Mukherjee and his able consort and collaborator, Shreemati Uma Mukherjee, would deserve the grateful acknowledgment of all future researchers into the history of the period for having so painstakingly collected the rare materials which are the principal contents of the book under review and having so dispassionately and objectively presented them here.

The introduction which, again, has sought to very painstakingly and more or less comprehensively collate and integrate the historical background, evolution, consummation and implications of the material presented in the later chapters are, likewise, a valuable guide to an understanding of the thought movement that was symbolized in the Swadeshi Movement.

Karuna K. Nandi

# Indian Periodicals

## How to Achieve Food Self-Reliance at Block Level

Shri M. Y. Ghorpade, Member, National Planning Council, writing in the *Yojna* of November 21 last, has something to say about the problem of food self-sufficiency which would appear to contradict official views on the matter and would seem to conform more to what we have been saying on the subject from month to month over the past several months in the columns of *The Modern Review*.

Thus, he says: "PL 480 imports are more a measure of our inefficiency in distribution than of dire physical deficits (emphasis ours)." "Taking the country as a whole" he continues, "at the existing level of nutrition, we can do without imports of grain....."

The subject and, especially the treatment of it by the above writer, is of more than ordinary interest, having especial regard to the fact that the *Yojna* is an official organ of the Planning Commission and the writer a member of the National Planning Council and we feel its reproduction in our columns would be of corresponding interest to our readers:

The Prime Minister has given us the call of "farms to back arms." What should be done to translate this vital message into action? There is great need to give practical content to this question and draw up an operational strategy.

Better production and better distribution of food-grain form two complementary parts of this strategy. P.L. 480 imports are more a measure of our inefficiency in distribution than of dire physical deficits. Taking the country as a whole, and at existing levels of nutrition, we can do without imports of grain if only all the State Governments really subscribe to a national food policy, based on

the principle of per capita equality in the availability of food. This implies a scientific assessment of State-wise deficits and surpluses and its effective equalisation through an automatic, agreed process. A compulsory levy at a purchase price, fair to both the producer and the consumer, has already been suggested for this purpose.

A statutory maximum price, at which the Government is not able either to purchase grain in the open market or to supply it to the consumers, has no meaning and can cause great hardship to the consumer. In a situation of scarcity, a maximum price cannot be implemented in an otherwise free market. It brings in its wake unnatural restrictions and corruption defeating its own purpose.

It is well known that prices of food-grains during the lean period of three to four months every year are almost double the harvest prices. In the last two years, the price of jowar during the lean period in Mysore State ranged from 80 to more than 100 paise per kg as compared with 50 to 60 paise per kg immediately after harvest. The cost of stocking grain for a period of about nine months in a co-operative society godown cannot be more than about 10 paise per kg including local transport, interest and administrative charges. The rest of the difference between the harvest and lean period prices represents the trading profit which could be cut down. The problem of non-availability of grain during the lean periods even at high prices in the rural areas can easily be solved by stocking sufficient grain at the taluka or block level for distribution during the lean months. In Sandur taluka (Bellary district Mysore State), the Taluka Marketing Society which stocked about 2,500 quintals of food-grains in the post harvest months, has been



able to introduce informal rationing for a rural population of approximately 50,000 by issuing family ration cards to every family through the village panchayats and the co-operatives, and guaranteeing a supply of half kg per week per person, including children, for a period of ten weeks. It was able to issue jowar against family ration cards at 70 paise per kg when the market price was about 90 paise per kg and when, even at high prices, grain was not readily available. Some jowar was purchased by the marketing society at Rs 60 a quintal when the market price was Rs 70 on the condition that this grain would be kept for the specific purpose of local distribution. Every village was allotted, for distribution on a family card system, 5 quintals of food-grains per week for every thousand of its population. If on a family card there were ten persons, the card holder could take his quantity of 5 kg on any day of the week. This eliminated the need for queues and nervous, disorderly grabbing of available stocks.

A rather explosive situation was brought into control in this manner last year. Those producers or traders who were holding stocks in order to maximise their profits had gradually to bring out their stocks and lower their prices. From our experience at Sandur it is obvious to us that any *taluka* marketing society which stocks some 5,000 quintals of grain at harvest time for distribution during lean months to a population of about a lakh can easily hold the price line and give tremendous security and satisfaction to the people. Self reliance implies basic self-sufficiency. Co-operative finance of about Rs 2 to 3 lakh for each community development block or *taluka*, as key loan for this purpose, is quite sufficient. And a storage

capacity of about 5,000 quintals for every lakh of rural population at the *taluka* and district level is also well within our reach.

### Repay Loan in Grain

Such a purchase-and-distribution programme can be effectively linked with increasing production. All that we have to do is to insist that the cultivator returns the co-operative agricultural loans, including the value of such scarce inputs as fertilisers, good seeds and insecticides, in grain at Government rates, i.e. the purchase rate fixed for purposes of the compulsory levy (assuming of course that this purchase price is not very much below the harvest prices and is fair to both the consumer and the producer). The economics of these operations are quite simple. Take for instance hybrid jowar. Crucial inputs such as hybrid seeds (5 kg per acre), fertilisers (Rs 100 to 150 an acre depending on water facilities), insecticides etc., of the total value of about Rs 200 to 250 an acre can increase production by about 10 quintals per acre, under conditions of assured and timely rainfall (about 30") or light irrigation. With hybrid jowar seed (CSH-1), some farmers in Sandur were this year able to produce 15 to 20 quintals per acre as compared to 5 to 10 quintals previously. The yield on one acre in my farm was 26 quintals with well-irrigation and fertilisers. Even 30 quintals an acre is not impossible under ideal conditions. With CSH-2 hybrid jowar, it would be possible to grow 40 to 50 quintals per acre. A farmer who has been enabled to achieve such high yields by timely supply of crucial inputs will not grudge parting with some 4 or 5 quintals of his produce at Government levy rates (apart from the grain levy which everybody has to give) by way of returning the agricultural

loan including the cost of inputs. If even about a 1,000 acres are taken up under this intensive, integrated programme in each development block, it will be easily possible to get some 5,000 quintals at Government rates for distribution in the block during the lean months.

Such an intensive, integrated programme for about 5000 acres, on an average, for a population of every one lakh or one community development block, will make a quick and significant impact on both production and distribution. Hybrid jowar, bajra and maize, including improved varieties of ragi, could be taken up in the predominantly millet producing areas, preferably under well-irrigation and conditions of reasonably assured rainfall. Such an intensive millet programme in about half the number of development blocks in the country (on the same lines as the package programme in the paddy areas) would involve about 10 million acres for 20 crores of people on the basis of 5,000 acres for every lakh of population. The fertiliser needed, at an average rate of 2 quintals per acre, would be only about 2 lakh tons. The resultant increase in yield, at the rate of 10 quintals an acre, would be of the order of 10 million tonnes. If we got grain from this increased production to the extent of even 4 quintals per acre, in return for an agricultural loan and input assistance of Rs 200 per acre, on an average (which works out to Rs 200 crore for 10 million acres), it would amount to about 4 million tonnes of grain for planned distribution. It will work out to one kilogram per head per week a period of 10 weeks for a population of 10 crores. It means half a kilogram per head per week for for 5 months (20 weeks) for the whole country, or for 10 months for half the population mainly dependent

on these coarse grains. As already stated this is not a full ration but a crucial minimum distribution on a per capita family card basis, to hold the price line.

As a matter of fact we should adopt a general policy of grains in return for all agricultural loans and inputs. The village co-operatives could advance loans and supply crucial inputs such as seed, fertilisers and insecticides on the condition that the farmer follows the cultivation practices recommended for the area and closely supervised by the village level worker (as in a Package Programme district) and agrees to repay the loan and the cost of inputs in grain at the agreed rate. The grain so obtained could be deposited in the *taluka* marketing society, which could pay cash enabling the village service co-operative society to return the loan it has taken from the district central co-operative bank by way of short-term loans and cash credit facilities.

Taluka marketing societies and large-sized co-operative service have godown facilities. These could be supplemented by certified local storage facilities. Indigenous methods of storage which have stood the test of time should be suitably adopted for this purpose. Underground grain pits are still the best known and the cheapest method of storing jowar. We must get out of the habit of thinking of the food problem only in terms of the wheat and rice. Greater emphasis must be placed on the production and distribution of coarse grain, which is the staple food of the bulk of our people, especially the poorest section who labour hard on land and suffer most.

Such an operational strategy will immediately make us more input-output conscious, which is the need of the hour. Scarce inputs, especially fertilisers, must be used to maxi-

imum benefit. At present the growers of food crops find it extremely difficult to get fertilisers in time and in relatively reasonable quantities. There is an imbalance with regard to the supply of fertilisers crop-wise and region-wise, and quite a bit goes into clandestine channels at exorbitant rates. Growers of cash crops such as sugarcane are in a much better competitive position to purchase available fertilisers. What is to happen to the food crops? Hence the need to allocate fertilisers towards specific programmes on a priority basis.

Similarly, there is great scarcity of hybrid jowar, bajra and maize and other improved seeds. Much has been said about the wonderful Mexican wheat seed. But how long will it take for this seed to travel from Delhi to the States and then to the progressive farmers? In Mysore it was authoritatively stated that the hybrid jowar seed being produced in the State for the next Kharif season would suffice for only 10,000 acres which does not cover the jowar acreage even in one development block out of about 100 jowar-growing blocks or *talukas* in the State. Why cannot each block be enabled to have a hybrid seed producing farm? Twenty-five acres in each community development block could easily produce hybrid seeds sufficient for 5,000 acres. Adequate supply of parent seeds for supply to progressive farmers in a position to produce hybrid seeds should get the highest priority. This is merely a question of efficient organisation. There are no technical and scientific problems or bottlenecks. But this obviously cannot be done on an adequate scale (i) if we are going to waste a lot of valuable time before we take positive administrative steps in setting up these nucleus seed producing farms; (ii) If we are not going to train persons in

the simple techniques of growing hybrid seed, at least at the rate of one person per block; and (iii) if we are not going to trust the progressive farmers to produce the hybrid seed in each community development block. Should this not receive the highest priority? So also, the supply of a bore well unit and a tractor to each block on a hire purchase basis would be a great help in solving the problem of food on a war footing. Community wells and State tubewells and rural electrification on massive scale are essential for this purpose.

This is a practical plan of achieving block-wise self-sufficiency in food, by using a part of the purposively planned increase in food production to solve the distribution problem and holding the price line by assuring every person a minimum supply. Half a kg per head per week is by no means a full ration but it has some minimum relationship to the real purchasing capacity of the poorest sections of the people for food-grains. These quantities could be gradually increased depending on local effort and need. The richer sections can supplement this meagre ration by purchases in the open market. Moreover, everybody benefits by the effective maintenance of a reasonable price level. The scheme would operate as a minimum guarantee against starvation and put new confidence in the people. If this is done, the rural people will co-operate enthusiastically with Government in their general levy of food-grains, which is necessary to ensure adequate supplies in cities and labour areas throughout the year and for inter-district and inter-State equalisation. It will activate the extension service staff, village panchayats and co-operatives by placing before them a specific programme with dynamic content. It can become a movement in no time.

# Foreign Periodicals

## Discovery of Chinese Painted Tombs

Richard C. Rudolph, Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of California, Los Angeles, and a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of *Archaeology*, writing in the same magazine in its Autumn, 1965, number speaks about some newly discovered Chinese Painted Tombs—'fairly large corpus of hitherto unknown pictorial material' that may add significantly to one's knowledge of China's early culture and painting :

"Aside from the interest the art historian will find in these paintings, which vary in quality from crude folk art to a quite sophisticated style, the cultural historian will perhaps find in them an even more fertile field for study. At least one Han mural, for example, appears to be linked to a historical event, while some of the T'ang paintings provide new pictorial evidence of cultural influence from Central Asia and the Near East. Many others illustrate various aspects of daily life and material culture not found in the contemporary literature.

"From remains of the royal tombs of the Shang period, the first historic dynasty of China, we know that the interior walls of the large wooden chambers protecting the coffins were sometimes decorated with paintings. These fragmentary remains, dating from around 1500 B. C. and similar to the formalized designs on contemporary ceremonial bronze vessels, were painted in red, yellow, black and white. And a recently discovered

tomb of the Warring States period ( Ca. 400 B. C. ) of the Chou dynasty had its simulated wooden architecture painted as it would have been in an actual building above ground. Although we still lack sufficient material to illustrate fully the transition from this type of painted architectural decoration to representational art, it is obvious that these decorated Shang and Chou tombs were the prototypes of the Han tombs of some four or five centuries later which were decorated with murals illustrating daily life. One tomb, thought to date from about 50 B. C., which combines painted architectural embellishment with a few panels of murals, appears to be a further step toward the fully painted tomb. . . .

"More than ten painted tombs dating from the Later Han dynasty—the first two centuries after Christ—have been excavated. The most impressive of them is the one found in Wangtu county, western Hopei Province, about one hundred miles south-west of Peking. It was accidentally discovered in 1952 by villagers digging clay for bricks. The tomb, which lies under a tumulus about eleven meters high, is a massive and complicated structure, 20.35 meters long and 14.75 and 5.15 meters respectively at its greatest width and height, lying on an approximate north-south axis with the opening toward south. Constructed of large (40×19×10 cm.), well made baked bricks, which in some cases appear to have been individually trimmed to assure a perfect fit, it consists of a vaulted entrance, three main chambers, four side chambers and a deep niche in the north wall of the rear chamber.

The roots of the chambers are barrel-vaulted and are connected with each other by vaulted corridors. . . .

"A number of other T'ang dynasty painted tombs with the same four architectural elements as the Yung T'ai and Wei Tung tombs have been found recently in northwest China. One of the most interesting paintings of this period is a vivid dancing scene in a modest tomb... (of) simpler construction. . . .

"...A dancer is in the center between balanced groups of musicians. In the group on the right three musicians are seated on a yellow rug and two are standing. One of the latter sings and gestures toward the dancer or the singer in the opposite group. They all wear light colored gowns, black caps and black belts. The group on the left is similar, but contains an additional figure. The dancer, obviously not Chinese, is performing on a green and yellow fringed rug. He wears a long, tapering, 'foreign' white cap, a long-sleeved white gown, black belt and yellow boots. Chinese poets writing at the time when this painting was made frequently mention the popularity of things foreign, including music, dances and cosmetics. It is well known that this part of China had a large foreign population which came into the country by the caravan routes from central Asia and the Near East. Two poems of this period describe a specific foreign dance which could well be the one depicted in this scene. It seems to be related to a place called Shih Kuo, 'Stone Country', which is identified as modern Tashkent....."

### 'Washington Joins with Peking'—

until the gloom descends.

Andrew Kopkind writes under the title 'Washington's War Fever' in *New Statesman*, 3 December, 1965 :

"The day after 30,000 people marched in Washington to plead for peace in Vietnam, the Johnson administration began planning for the next leap forward in the show of violence. And that, for the moment, seems to be that. The chances of influencing policy by demonstration and protests have never seemed so remote. What came out of the march of the thanksgiving weekend was deep pessimism. Instead of protest, the anti-war activists have begun to talk about America in the post-war period. That is not a very happy subject either.

Why have the protesters failed? At bottom, there has been nothing wrong with their efforts : it is simply that the war is not stoppable. The President is determined to push it through to the destruction of both North and South Vietnam if necessary, and the involvement of the rest of South-East Asia if that is the only way. American Government and Society does not lend itself to the effective use of pressure by a small and alienated minority of the population. The marchers—especially the polite middle-class ones who staged the Washington Monument Gala last week—do not threaten that fired old consensus. Nor are serious threats likely to develop : no mass movement is developing against the war, no large civil disturbances likely, no powerful political bloc will assume a position of opposition.

In a peculiar way, Washington joins with Peking as a repository for the last remnants of true Marxist ideology. President Johnson's view of international politics seems to be not very much different from Chairman Mao's. Both see the peoples of the third world rising up against their capitalist controllers ( Mao would call them 'enslavers' ; Johnson calls them 'leaders' ). Both believe, evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, in the inevitability of the conflict. One can easily imagine

the perfectly logical fantasy of a roomful of administration advisers, inside hipsters and intellectuals all, sitting around the war room in Pentagon. They all agree that the 'under-developed countries' will be lost to the US one day. The only policy short of capitulation (and states cannot consciously commit suicide) is to smash the next uprising that occurs, counter all revolutions, and buy a few generations until the gloom descends.

### War on the Beatniks

Beatniks are always 'news' and always 'will be', as some one may feel. But the war on the much-publicised and much-talked about Beatniks started in St. Ives, set neatly between "the romantic cliffs of Clodgy and the distant golden sands of Hayle, and is one of the most beautiful spots in Britain. Handful of Beatniks first appeared here in 1962, grew appreciably in 1963, and by 1964 the beatniks could be counted in several dozens and indeed made something of a tourist attraction. And about this war writes Denys Val Baker from Cornwall writes in the *Spectator* of Nov. 5, 1965 :

"For generations there has stood along the wharf at St. Ives, just across the road from the famous old pub, the 'sloop', a low granite wall. Primarily the wall was intended to keep the sea from sweeping over the roadway at certain high tides, but over the years it had become a very popular place for sitting on, or leaning on, to survey the view. Here, in the summer of 1964, the beatniks also took to sitting, sometimes for hours on end—until they became like a red rag to the bull so far as St. Ives tradesmen were concerned. Emphasis is laid on the tradesmen, for it is they who have been to the forefront in all the ensuing vendetta against the beatniks. At the instigation of its preponderantly

trading members, the St. Ives council hastily passed a resolution that, in order to prevent beatniks from sitting on the wall ( and hence by implication causing offence to passers-by ) —the wall should be pulled down.

But the wall could not be pulled down—it was allowed to remain and in pursuance of the object 'an ugly iron railing, useless for restraining the sea, uncomfortable for leaning on' was set, but, of course, it came in the way of anybody's sitting on the wall.

'Presumably pleased with their rather hollow victory, the local tradesmen, through their members on the Council and their own organization, the Chamber of Commerce, were quickly on the ball at the beginning of the 1965 season, urging local restaurants and hotels not to serve beatniks. Publicans, too, were sternly approached—with the rather comic result that for months *anyone with a beard could hardly get himself a drink* in St. Ives, unless personally known to the landlord. On one occasion, the refused 'beardie' turned out to be the perfectly respectable captain of a large cargo boat in the bay, who returned with several angry officers to tell the publican exactly what they thought of him.

"After the preliminary skirmishes many St. Ives councillors had assumed that they had somehow frightened the beatniks away, but in fact, of course, their provocative behaviour had the opposite effect. During 1965, one imagines, it became almost a point of honour for any self-respecting beatnik to make his 'pad' in St. Ives. As the invasion increased, so the reprisal grew. Restaurants shut their doors, all pubs except one refused to serve drinks, policemen spent hours touring the vicinity of the beaches, even, in due course, removing any belongings found lying around.

It was perhaps, unfortunate that around

this time gangs of rockers and mods from the north country invaded St. Ives and were involved in several outbreaks of rowdyism, resulting in the importing of extra policemen and even Alsatian dogs. Nevertheless, the fact remains that such outbreaks had nothing to do with the beatniks, who are well-known as being quite without any aggressive aims.

'From the criminal point of view beatniks are inoffensive', admitted the town clerk of St. Ives...and police will confirm this.

Anyway, the chief constable of Cornwall has said : "If men are ready to act as vigilantes and if they are enrolled as special constables, it could be a great deterrent to the beatniks.'

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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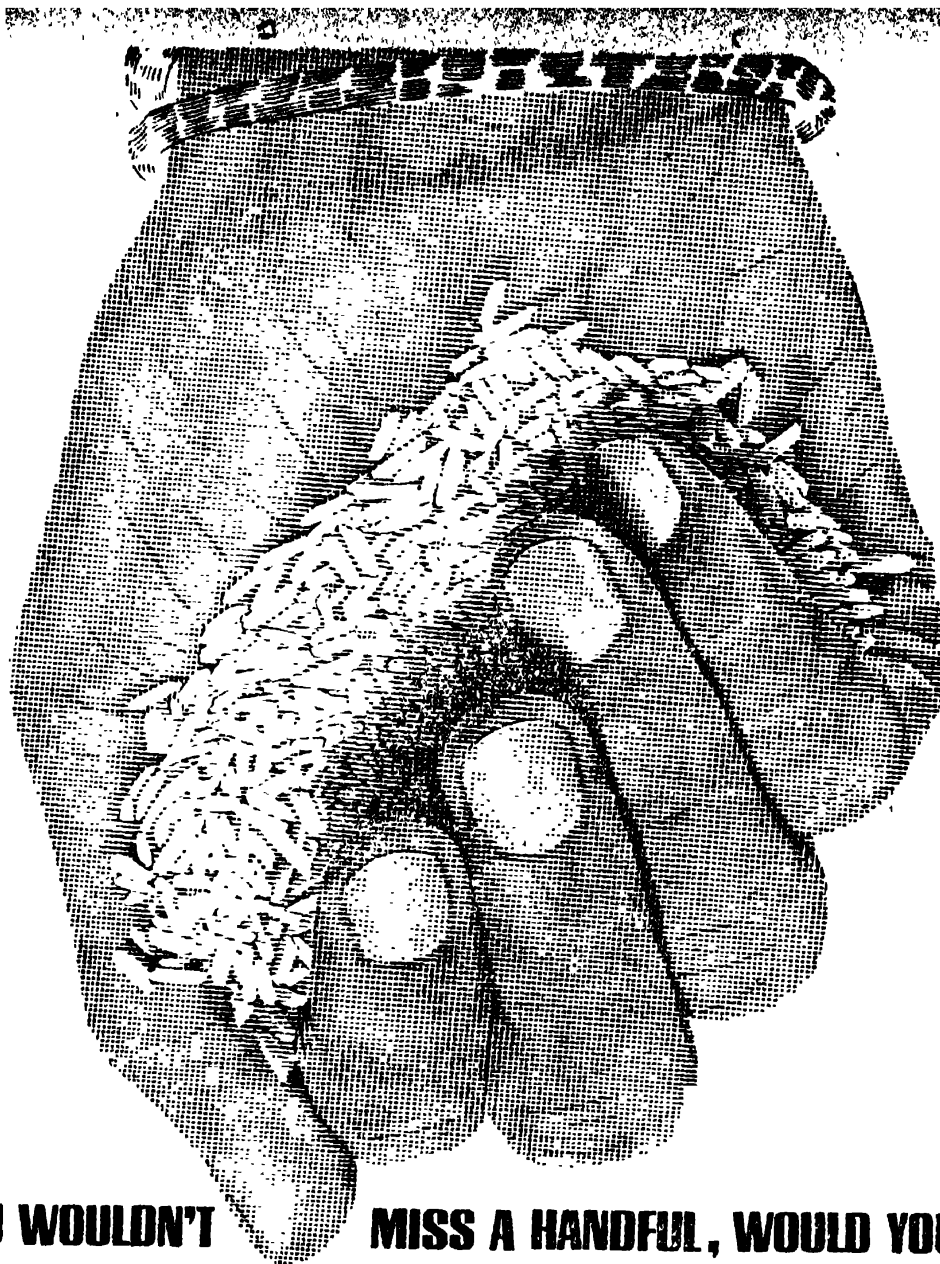
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**"YOU WOULDN'T MISS A HANDFUL, WOULD YOU ?"**

As a child I often watched my grandmother prepare the family meal. Every time she'd take out 3 "tipris" of rice, then remove exactly one handful, and keep it aside. I was curious and asked her about it. "Well", she said, pointing at three bins full of rice. "Just see how much rice I have been able to put aside without anybody feeling it. Perhaps next year the harvest may not be so plentiful. Then the rice I've saved will certainly come in handy." "But grandma, why don't you keep the rice aside directly?" I asked. "It's like this son. I take out enough rice for everyone. Then I remove just one handful. You wouldn't miss a handful from so much, would you?" **Miss a meal a week.**



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## NOTES

### Career Politicians

There are some people in every country who make politics their career. In democratic countries they try to achieve their aspirations by entering legislatures through competitive elections or, if they aim at political careers of the administrative and diplomatic variety, they go in for competitive examinations to take up service under the Home, Foreign or other Ministries. We do not know exactly what happens in totalitarian countries, but we are fairly certain that career politicians are now replacing the "fighters for freedom" in Russia, Poland, Hungary, China and other Communist countries. How they make their way up the ladder in the parties, coteries or cliques, is a matter of speculation, for no set rules of procedure could be expected to be laid down for achieving political success in the circumstances that prevail in these lands. One thing is certain, however, that success in career making depends in all countries upon ability of one kind or another. Success in examinations, elections or work in the parties would be always related closely to scholarship, knowledge, technical qualifications, artistic merit, physical prowess and talent of one kind or another. No person can expect to make his way up the

steps of success in politics without having more than ordinary ability in a fully human and living sense. That is how the world of politics goes on wherever we might go in foreign countries. If one analyses the qualifications and weighs the various talents that one finds in members of legislatures and the incumbents who carry on the work of the Home and Foreign offices of different countries one will no doubt find differences from country to country. One will also find that the legislatures provide greater variety than the functional centres; but one will not find men and women lacking totally in qualifications, talent and technical ability in any political establishment of any kind in most of the countries which are organised in a civilised manner.

In India, we are making progress in the political field in the sense that we are emerging from the vortex of agitation, conflict and emotion and are coming down to those steadier considerations which determine the quality of a nation's political life. Our legislatures, ministries and minor bodies of a political nature will soon cease to display political suffering or scars of battle and will pick and choose from those who have other measurable and recognisable qualifications. It will, perhaps, be

impossible very soon for any one to enter parliament or seek office on the ground of parental or personal sacrifice or suffering as a fighter for national independence. We have thrown away eighteen valuable years in order to worship at the altar of political sacrifice. This was inevitable; but nation building requires real builders with manifold talents. War veterans can be honoured and cherished, but they cannot man the army, navy and the air force. The best soldiers in war, revolution or combat of any nature do not necessarily make the ablest administrators, law makers and nation builders. We must look for real talent and ability now and stop living in the past.

### Democracies

India is acclaimed as the largest democracy in the world. By a democracy we understand a country which is governed by its people. What does that mean? Some people think that if the actual rulers of a country can be proved to be the freely elected representatives of the people, the technical requirements of being a democracy will be fully satisfied. What is a free election? Surely an election which is free from all make believes, subterfuges, dodges, secret pressures and unethical or illicit practices. For, if the elections are vitiated by induced, purchased or fake voting, the elected persons will not be then the freely elected representatives of the people. That is why it is unfair to spend too much money at elections. But the ceilings of expenditure are not observed by anybody, who has money, in India. Election funds are also obtained from industrial and commercial concerns and in various other ways some of which are unfair in essence. After a democracy is set up one has to see if it runs for the greatest good of the greatest number. If the rich become richer in geometrical progression and the poor, poorer or at least not richer noticeably, then the democracy will be undemocratic in spirit and fact. If

most people in a democracy feel that their wishes remain unanswered and desires unfulfilled, then again, one can question the genuineness of the democracy.

### Romain Rolland

Romain Rolland, the famous pacifist intellectual was born on January 29, 1866. His birth centenary falls on that day of January 1966. We are therefore publishing some special facts and appreciations about the life and work of Romain Rolland in this number. Towards the beginning of his life Rolland was in Italy for some years. In 1895 he became professor of history at the **Ecole Normale Supérieure** and later he joined the Sorbonne and became well-known as a research worker in the history of music. Among his best known works are **Les origines du théâtre lyrique moderne**, **Histoire de l'opéra en Europe avant Lully et Scarlatti**, **Des causes de la décadence de la peinture italienne** and **Le théâtre du peuple**. He was an authority on music and art and his studies on Beethoven, Michael Angelo and Millet are quite remarkable for their critical appreciation of the great composer and the famous artists. He wrote many other books of great literary merit which were at the same time famed for their scholarly handling of his subject-matter. The most famous of these books were **Jean-Christophe**, **Jean-Christophe à Paris** and **La Fin du Voyage** (also of the same series). He wrote these books during the period 1904-1912. The books deal with the life of a musician and have the nature of a biography depicted with wonderful expressiveness.

Romain Rolland opposed war in all shape and form. During the first World War Rolland wrote some articles which were hailed by all pacifists as a fine exposition of the fundamental principles of true humanism. Rolland thought that nationalism was the cause of international conflicts. He was condemned by the war-mongers of

France and he made his home in Villeneuve on the Lake of Geneva in Switzerland. His unpopularity among certain sections of people in France was more than counter-balanced by his fame in other parts of the world. He had already attained great popularity among German intellectuals in 1909 by the performance of his *Danton*, *Le 14 Juillet*, *Les Loups* and *Le jeu de l'amour et de la mort*. Among his other works one must mention his *Mahatma Gandhi* which is perhaps the strongest defence of the Indian leader by a foreign *Savant*. One should also mention *Voyage musical aux pays du passe*, *Mere et Fils* and *Beethoven the creator*. Rolland was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1915. He became personally known to many Indian writers and intellectuals. The Poet Rabindranath Tagore was greatly admired by Rolland and that admiration was mutual. The founder of this *Review*, the late Ramnanda Chatterjee, visited Rolland in 1926 when he was invited to Geneva by the League of Nations. His appreciations of Rolland has been reprinted elsewhere in this number. Dr. Kalidas Nag was greatly attached to Romain Rolland who considered him as a very near and dear friend. Romain Rolland died in France in 1944 and numerous Indians mourned his death. The birth Centenary of Rolland is being celebrated in many places in India and the younger generation of Indians will get a chance now to get acquainted with this great friend of India.

### **The New Prime Minister Of India**

Sm. Indira Gandhi, daughter of the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been nominated by the Congress to be the Prime Minister of India. She thus becomes the third Prime Minister of India by nomination. Pandit Nehru, her father, became the Prime Minister of India when the British handed over power to the Congress after dividing India in 1947 into Two States. The

late Lal Bahadur Shastri was nominated to succeed Pandit Nehru after the latter's death. And now Sm. Indira Gandhi succeeds Lal Bahadur Shastri. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, though nominated to power initially, later retained his power by contest in elections. Lal Bahadur Shastri did not live long enough to do this, but he earned the universal admiration and respect of all India by his courage, selflessness and sincere devotion to duty. He was brave in War and braver in Peace. The people of India will forever cherish the memory of Lal Bahadur Shastri as a great defender of his nation and as a top ranking humanitarian. He built his reputation by his undaunted fight against aggression; but he gave his life to establish peace on earth and goodwill among warring communities of closely related people. Sm. Indira thus has to rise to great heights in order to emulate the example of her predecessors. She has no doubt been put into her exalted position by her supporters in the Congress viz., Messrs. Kamraj, Jain, Jogjivan Ram, Nanda, Ghose and others. But she must justify their action by acting independently for the advancement and glory of her country. It is possible to start on a career by nomination but one can only achieve success through persistent action of the right kind. This ancient land of ours is now in the throes of aggression by foreign enemies, insufficient production of essential commodities with food at a dangerously low output, utter lack of a sound balance of trade and foreign credits and general want of ethical behaviour in all fields of national life and government. In such a setting the lady Premier will find things very difficult to manage, and unless she struck out along a new line of approach to a solution of the numerous problems that face her, boldly, tenaciously and without responding to those who would induce her to let things be; she would find it impossible to make history. For vice is rampant and India needs large scale cleaning operations at a

steady pressure over a long period to achieve a return to healthy conditions. And that is over and above fulfilling the urgent requirements of national defence and economic stability. So that, those Congress V.I.P.s who have put Mrs. Gandhi on the **gaddi**, would also have to work hard to make her regime successful. If they do not do so and rest satisfied with existing conditions they will not earn the thanks of the Indian people or of Mrs. Gandhi.

### **Lal Bahadur Was Different**

Lal Bahadur Shastri was not like other politicians in many ways. He was unassuming, soft spoken, and polite; but that did not prevent him from being courageous, strictly attached to his principles and unyielding to those who tried to make him change his mind. He was true to his friends but was not addicted to granting favours to his own family members or close followers. For he was a true sportsman. He was highly conscious of the rights of others and of his own obligations. He did not think of his own rights so much, nor of what others should do for him. After his death his family members found that he had left them quite poor. If one makes a survey of the financial position of India's politicians one will not find many who have been in positions of importance and yet remained poor. Wealth and power just go hand in hand. And there is something remarkable about the powerful who remain poor. Lal Bahadur Shastri was a remarkable man. He was one of the strongest and most trusted assistants of Pandit Nehru for many years. But his life was entirely devoted to the service of the country. He amassed no wealth; for he had no desire for money making. Agencies, licences, permits, contracts and all those other things that yield profits could have been his if he so much as thought of such things. But he did not and remained poor. He was genuine and true in his patriotism which

pervaded his being. Petty selfishness found no place in his make up.

### **C. F. Andrews**

The late C. F. Andrews devoted his life to relieve the suffering of millions of poor and exploited toilers in the fields, plantations and factories of Africa, West Indies and India. His fight against the employers of indentured labour in the little known corners of the British Empire is a matter of history. Wherever the poor suffered so that the rich could become richer, C. F. Andrews raised his voice to expose the injustice done to the workers. No one has assessed the real and ultimate value of his work; but one can see the result in the lives of the descendants of those miserable men and women who were taken away to the far off colonies to work in the plantations and factories. These children of the poor workers of those days are now prosperous traders and owners of property in many parts of the world. They are the living memorials of the humanitarianism of C. F. Andrews.

When this selfless man came to India and joined Rabindranath Tagore who was then working hard for universal peace and goodwill among the various races of mankind and had formed the Viswa-Bharati, he worked hard to carry the message of Tagore to different countries of the world. Those who moved in the inner circle of the Viswa-Bharati, knew the value of the work done by Andrews. He was also doing his own work at the same time and organising schools for Santhal children and setting up institutions for the benefit of the poor. This is why he was called **Dinabandhu** or friend of the poor. He made India his home and he worked harder for mother India as her adopted son than most of us who were born Indians. There was real greatness in C. F. Andrews which should be properly recognised by those who erect memorials to the benefactors of the nation.



We can only remember with gratitude this great man, who after an aristocratic bringing up, adopted the way of life of the poor Indian in order to give proper expression to him truly Christian feelings. The British will not remember Andrews with gratitude, for he did not subscribe to their national weaknesses. The Indians should remember him for he was a true friend of all poor and oppressed Indians. He was also a great admirer of India's genius and he spent his life to improve the position of India and the Indians.

### Dr. H. J. Bhabha

The death of Dr. H. J. Bhabha in one of the most terrible and tragic air accidents of the world has created a gap in the scientific world which it will not be easy to fill. Dr. Bhabha was not only the greatest nuclear physicist that India possessed, but he was a leading scientist of the world in the field of atomic research. He was comparatively young and had a good part of his life before him. His work in connection with the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes was developing and the world expected much from him in this line of scientific endeavour. The fearful air crash which killed a hundred and seventeen persons has thus caused greater harm to the world by cutting short the life of this eminent scientist, than could be gauged by the death and destruction it has caused.

Dr. Homi Jehangir Bhabha was one of the best products of the University of Cambridge. He was in Gonville and Caius College of that University and obtained his B.A. and Ph. D. from there. The academic distinctions attained by Dr. Bhabha included the Rouse Bell Travelling Studentship, The Isaac Newton Studentship, The Senior Studentship of the Exhibition of 1851, the Adams Prize and the Hopkins Prize. Dr. Bhabha was at first a Reader in Theoretical Physics in the Indian Institute of Science Bangalore and later he became Chairman

of the Atomic Energy Commission and Director Atomic Energy Establishment Trombay. He was Secretary to the Government of India Department of Atomic Energy, Director and Professor of Theoretical Physics Tata Institute of Fundamental Research and was elected President of the Indian Science Congress and the International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1941. He was a member of the International Atomic Energy Agency's Scientific Advisory Committee and of the U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee. He was made a Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and he was a Fellow Member of the World Academy of Arts and Sciences. The U.S. Academy of Sciences elected him a Foreign Associate and the New York Academy of Science made him an Honorary Life Member.

### Romain Rolland and India

Romain Rolland was a great lover of Indian culture and civilisation. Some excerpts from his **Life of Ramakrishna** will give the reader a clearer understanding of Rolland's attitude towards India.

"Ramakrishna lies very near to my heart because I see in him a man and not an 'incarnation' as he appears to his disciples. In accordance with the Vendantists I do not need to enclose God within the bounds of a privileged man in order to admit that the Divine dwells within the soul and that the soul dwells in everything—that Atman is Brahman: for that, although it knows it not, is a form of nationalism of spirit and I cannot accept it. I see God in all that exists. I see Him as completely in the least fragment as in the whole Cosmos.....The very greatest of men is only a clearer reflection of the Sun which gleams in each drop of dew."

So, Rolland was not a blind follower of

any Indian faith or creed. He stuck to logic as a true descendant of Socrates and did not aspire to get any closer to the Creator by trying to share His glory. Yet, he loved Ramakrishna, after he had tried out the teachings of many others who differed from one another, more or less.

"At this distance from their differences I refuse to see the dust of battle; at this distance the hedges between the fields melt into an immense expanse. I can only see the same river, a majestic '*chemin qui marche*' (road which marches) in the words of our Pascal. And it is because Ramakrishna more fully than any other man not only conceived, but realised in himself the total Unity of this river of God, open to all rivers and all streams, that I have given him my love; and I have drawn a little of his sacred water to slake the great thirst of the world."

Rolland thinks deeply and profoundly. And in his thoughts spirit merges into matter and matter creates spirit out of its own latent powers.

"I belong to a land of rivers. I love them as if they were living creatures, and I understand why my ancestors offered them oblations of wine and milk. Now of all rivers the most sacred is that which gushes out eternally from the depths of the soul, from its rocks and sands and glaciers. Therein lies Primeval Force and that is what I call religion. Everything belongs to this river of the Soul, flowing from the dark unplumbed reservoir of our being down the inevitable slope to the Ocean of the conscious, realised and mastered Being. And just as the water condenses and rises in vapour from the sea to the clouds of the sky to fill again the reservoir of the rivers, the cycles of creation proceed in uninterrupted succession". Here we see the thoughts of our Rishis interpreted in material terms without losing any of their fundamental truth. Rolland says, with every claim to the truth of what he says, "I am no dilettante and I do not bring to

jaded readers the opportunity to lose themselves, but rather to find themselves—to find their true selves, naked and without the mask of falsehood. My companions have ever been men with just that object in view, whether living or dead, and the limits of centuries or of races mean little to me. There is neither East nor West for the naked soul; such things are merely its trappings. The whole world is its home. And as its home is each one of us, it belongs to all of us."

### The Dangers of Party Politics

When a prophet becomes the chosen man of his followers, he attains that distinction by virtue of his wisdom, spiritual fervour, profundity of thought and the forcefulness of his moral outlook. The prophets cannot therefore do any spiritual or ethical harm to their followers. The danger comes later through the formation of cults and creeds and by the growth of priestcraft. In the political field too, in the beginning the originators of new thoughts and ideals are accepted as leaders by reason of their wisdom and ability. And the people never suffer a moral loss until minor leaders begin to cluster round the central figure and take to party politics. The minor leaders usually have no greatness nor any genuinely high principles. So they try to capture power and create positions of advantage for themselves. Quite ordinary men, even useless types, can thus achieve their objective by becoming important in the party. Importance can be attained by money, by cunning and by various other means not all of which would be for the greatest good of the greatest number. Political leaders should therefore be very cautious in selecting their lieutenants. For a great leader may suffer ignominy because of the character of those who do odd jobs for the leader. Just as a man is known by the company he keeps; a political leader will be judged by the people who form the inner circle of

minor leaders. It is therefore necessary for a leader to choose underlings with great care. Bad followers can do great harm to their leader. And political parties are usually packed with self seekers. A political party without any undesirables will have few members.

### **Tashkent**

The Tashkent Conference was sponsored by the Russian Premier Kosygin to bring about a settlement between Pakistan and India. These two countries had stopped fighting officially under a cease fire agreement initiated by the U.N., but fighting had been going on sporadically and there was every chance of its spreading more extensively. At first the Pakistanis refused point blank to come to a conference unless it was agreed to discuss the Kashmir question. India objected to this on the ground that the only thing one had to discuss was stoppage of fighting and the restoration of the status quo. Kashmir was an integral part of India and there was nothing to discuss about Kashmir. The Pakistanis eventually gave way and agreed to come to the Tashkent Conference without the inclusion of Kashmir in the agenda. This was a great gain and although Pakistan did not agree to sign a no war pact, she signed a joint communique about maintenance of peace and withdrawal of all armed personnel to the pre 5th August 1965 positions. This was definitely an improvement in the attitude of Pakistan which had remained uncompromisingly bellicose so far. But the insistence on plebiscite in Kashmir was no longer kept up. The communique that was signed by president Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Shastri also stuck to the facts of fighting, cease fire and the restoration of status quo without going into the causes of the fight and their removal. Whatever the reasons the matter could be dealt with in a peaceful manner.

Tashkent therefore was a real cessation

of hostilities and not merely a technical cease fire. And it was the beginning of a change of outlook in favour of absolute peace. It was a breakaway on the part of Pakistan from the Sino-Pakistani war-mongering. It was also a sign of the weakening of the Anglo-American hold on Pakistan. Generally speaking, a Pakistan which agreed to come to terms with India in a Russian arranged meeting would be a friendlier Pakistan than an Anglo-American-Chinese guided Pakistan. These little changes were in fact very fundamental in the matter of Pakistan's conquest of her war fever. The atmosphere of the capital of Uzbekistan—Tashkent—has certainly proved salutary. The Pakistanis have recovered their balance of mind and are not inclined any more to fight India for a thousand years or to stake everything on this single gamble of Kashmir. The Russians have won a great diplomatic victory. The Chinese, the Americans and the British have not. Asia has become stronger and the world a safer abode of peace. The hero of Tashkent was Lal Bahadur Shastri who, unfortunately did not live to see the fullest realisation of his dreams of total peace.

### **Dishonesty Destroys a Nation**

A great British intellectual and literary genius once described the economy of a country, satirically, by saying that the people of that country lived by taking each others washing. It is no more possible for a nation to be all laundrymen than it is to be all thieves, cheats and bribe takers. For, if all persons belonging to a nation devoted their entire time to make illicit gains and no one did any productive work, there would soon be nothing to steal or acquire in an immoral manner and the nation will cease to exist. So that to build up a healthy economy a nation must do productive work honestly and justly. Workers must get properly paid, be fully employed and the distribution of the wealth produced has to be

equitable and fair. The nature of the production should also satisfy the consumption needs of the nation, either directly or through trade and commerce. But if too many persons in a nation try to make unearned and unlawful gains and incomes, then things soon fail to function in a healthy manner. Professional men begin to use their talents not to render service yielding the highest value, but to make money without reference to any gain for the nation. The police do not maintain law and order to the maximum of their ability, but begin to allow offenders to go unpunished and to harass the innocent. Railways suffer losses due to non payment of their dues. Posts, telegraphs, telephones, etc., work in a slipshod manner; taxes are not collected in full and all departments of Government function not for the greatest good of the greatest number, but to a great extent for the benefit of the ungodly. Thus the nation slowly destroys itself.

#### **Abuse of Emergency Powers**

The following report is reproduced from **The Statesman**, Calcutta of January 30, 1966.

"Presiding over the Calcutta Convention of the West Bengal Regional Centre of the Bar Association of India on Saturday, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee M.P., said that no civilized

Government could claim to be civilized if it destroyed civil liberties and basic human rights. He said: 'Today we feel that emergency is being used as a pretext by the Government to perpetuate itself and suppress the adversaries and harass decent and innocent citizens in various walks of life. The only effective check on the abuse of emergency powers was judicial review.

"Giving another instance of what he called 'deprivation of freedom' Mr. Chatterjee said that criminal justice was being administered in such a slovenly manner that instead of protecting the just and punishing the wrong-doer it had become, by reason either of inefficiency in the administration or of some clog in the judicial machinery, an instrument of oppression. 'For an alleged offence committed in 1950 the trial has not been brought to an end till this day. In the Calcutta High Court many appeals of persons who have been in custody since 1962 have not yet been heard', he added."

A very fine state of affairs no doubt! Mr. N. C. Chatterjee who is an eminent lawyer, knows what he is talking about. Should not there be a few five year plans for improving the work of Government? The police, the administration of justice, the management of railways, post and telegraphs, telephones, etc., etc., all can do with some improvement.

## Romain Rolland Birth-Centenary Feature

THE MODERN REVIEW has been fortunate to count the great World Savant and Humanist, the Late Mon. Romain Rolland, among its most valued contributors. To commemorate the centenary of his birth on 29th January, 1966, THE MODERN REVIEW has the privilege of carrying a Romain Rolland Centenary feature in the following pages.

We have made a careful selection of his old writings on a variety of subjects published in THE MODERN REVIEW over a period of more than a decade and reproduce them here. These writings, like their author, present such a DEATHLESS and immutable quality, that they will, we feel, bear reading over and over again. Apart from two articles from Dr. Kalidas Nag, who has been intimately associated with this great savant over a period of very nearly two decades and who had translated many of his writings from the original French into English, and a short excerpt from the writings of the Late Ramananda Chatterjee, the feature consists entirely of writings from Romain Rolland's own pen.

With one notable exception. We are reproducing two remarkable letters, one from Mon. Rolland to Count Leo Tolstoy written in 1887 when Rolland was in the early adolescent age of only about 21 years, and the other from Tolstoy to Rolland which is a reply to the former's letter to him. As the morning would show the day, this letter from Rolland, in the early sunrise of his life, would seem to have contained within it all the promise of his later mental and moral development. No less remarkable, we feel, is the mentally and morally mature Tolstoy's reply to his early adolescent correspondent which, instead of dismissing out of hand Rolland's deeply inspired inquiries as being impertinent and precocious, takes his young correspondent with the seriousness and devotion which Tolstoy would devote to any of his maturer correspondents. When two great minds meet, one in the height of its mature glory and the other still only in the earlier stages of its making,—such is the inevitable impact of one upon the other !

À mes amis de l'Inde

L'Europe et l'Asie sont un même vaisseau. L'Europe  
en est la proue. La chambre de veille est l'Inde, empire de  
la pensée aux yeux innombrables. Mais à vous, mes yeux !  
Car vous êtes maîtres. Et mon espoir est votre. Nous ne sommes  
qu'un seul être.

Romain Rolland

29 janvier 1925



Romain Rolland and Ramananda Chatterjee



Romain Rolland

Tagore

Romain Rolland and Rabindranath



Romain Rolland and his friend Maxim Gorky

### His Holiness Sri Krishnaprem

Sons of an intellectual age, we weigh  
The aspiring heart, outlawing, haughtily,  
Its golden saltus, accepting Folly's sway  
To miss the clue to Gleams that never can die.  
The more we probe, the more will mind mislead,  
For reason is no astrolabe on earth  
Of starry secrecise : it can but plead  
For the reign of temporal truths of no high birth,  
Aye, truths that are by dust-born senses held,  
Fool shadow-dances of elusive Time,  
Whirling in Kate's dark orbits—oft derailed  
By their aimlessness from spirit's rhythm and rhyme.  
This is the message you brought back to Ind,  
And a vision that was ours but long forgot  
By our gyre-intoxicate, God-deriding mind  
In its own snare of purblind pride now caught :  
You diagnosed this fatal malady  
With an insight born of loyalty to love  
Of Krishna, branding the intellect's revelry  
In suicide no soul-sight can approve  
O Reason's elect, now made a citizen  
Of the Eternal Brindaban where is no Night :  
Who saw your radiant face could never again  
Doubt faith's deep power of invoking Light.

November 21, 1965

Dilip Kumar Roy (In deep homage)

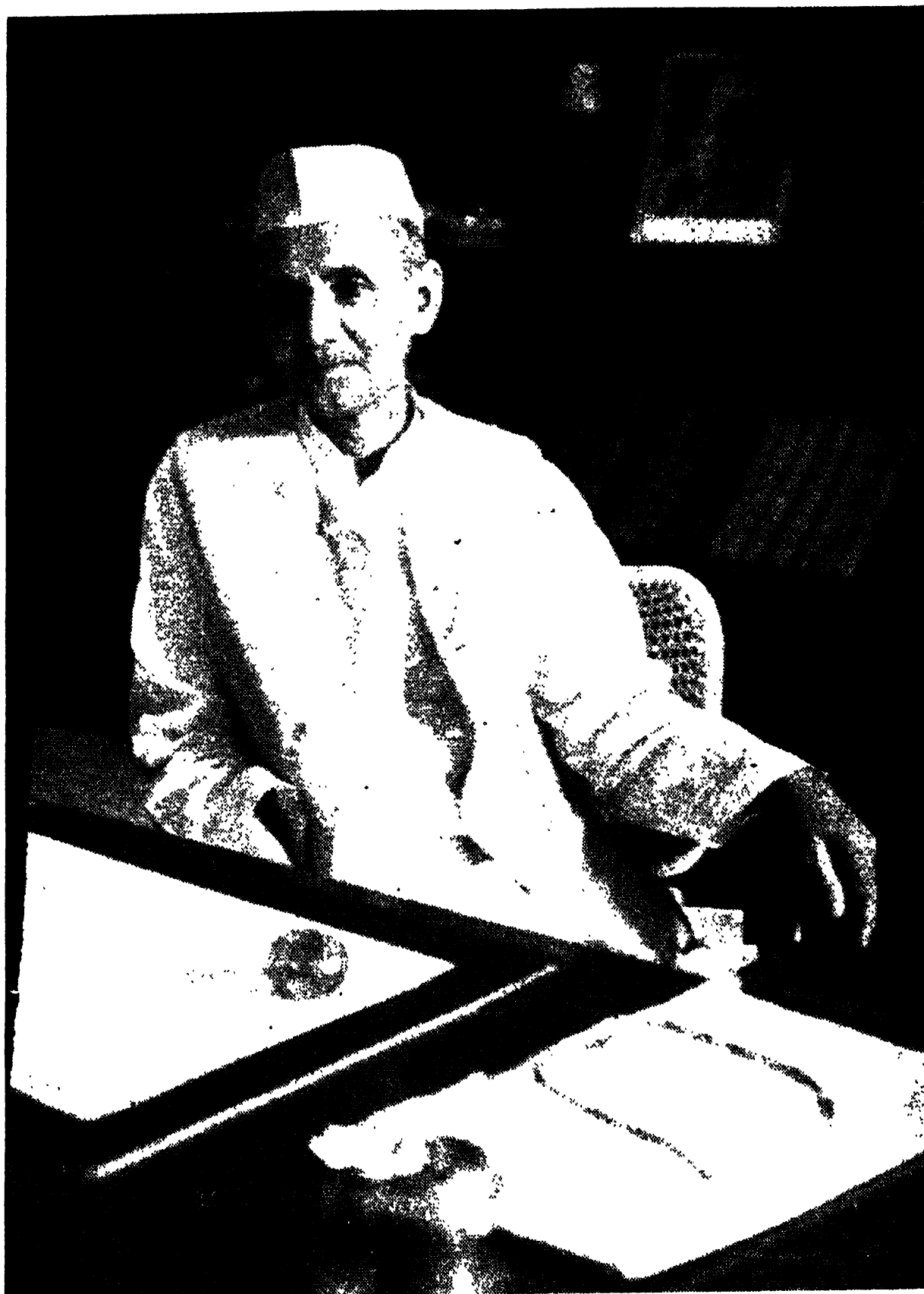
Dr. Richard Nixon, a deep scholar and a devoted theosophist, first came out to this country many decades ago, at the instance of his friend, the late Dr. Jnanendranath Chakravarti, who was then Pro-vice Chancellor, to take charge of the Department of English literature at the Benares Hindu University. His was a wholly voluntary service to the institution, because he would accept no more than merely a token salary in lieu of his labours.

It was during one of his summer vacations in the hills of Almora that Dr.

Nixon renounced society and started his novitiate as a sanyasi. He soon passed the period of his novitiate and was given the name Sri Krishnaprem, a **nom de guerre** under which he came to be far more widely known in this country than ever before. He passed away to the Great Beyond last November.

The above ode in homage, one from the celebrated Indian savant, Dilip Kumar Roy, would give some idea of the character of this great **sanyasi**





The Late Lal Bahadur Shastri



M. Kosygin and President Ayyub Khan, among others, carrying the body of Lal Bahadur Shastri to the air craft on its flight back home

# LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI : THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE

## A TRIBUTE

To succeed to the highest public office in the gift of his country which was held throughout a long period of very nearly eighteen years by a glamorous Jawaharlal Nehru and to measure adequately upto to its myriad and onerous responsibilities, would not have been easy for any man. Much less for a simple man of the people like Lal Bahadur Shastri who had no sort of a background to sustain him in the expectations and the traditions left behind by his predecessor. Indeed, it has been rare in the history of this or any other land that such a high office as that of the Prime Minister has been adorned by a man so singularly free from any flair for adornment. It would be true to say that the late Lal Bahadur Shastri was almost wholly untouched by the drama of his own elevation and yet he was able to fill this high office to its fullest proportions and, in so brief a period as hardly more than eighteen months, made it an even greater force than he had found it at his own succession.

One is reminded of the almost hesitant start he had made and, contrasting it with the later days of his mastery over the office which he accepted at the initial stages with an apparent measure of trepidation and uncertainty, one is only filled with amazement by the unsuspected reserves of strength that must have been latent in his character and make up.

And this strength was the one thing that the country needed at that dire hour of void. An ideological fanatic albeit of a lovable genre, Nehru left behind a confused and rather an involved political and administrative heritage for his successor to cope with. And, certainly, the problems he had to face were almost without end. Foremost among these were the failures of Plan implementation, especially on the food front, and almost immediately after he took over as Prime Minister, he had to cope with the threats of a near famine building up on the back of a raging spurt of accelerating inflationary spiral. The threats to the country's security, especially on our northern boundaries had already assumed an endemic

aspect over a period following the Chinese invasion in 1962, which remained unresolved and constant and unrelieved pressures on many points of the long Indo-Pakistani frontiers in both the Eastern and Western sectors had always been there. Above all, he had to cope with a fast pace of deterioration in the people's confidence and trust in the Government ; he did not, perhaps, believe that the measures of corruption in the higher echelons of the Government were quite as deep and widespread as it was popularly suspected to be, but he clearly believed that it was essential that the Government he headed must so acquit itself that it should be able to win back much of this lost confidence and trust even if it had to be composed of a team of people that were not quite known for their brilliance and extraordinary talent.

This was amply demonstrated when he had to deal with the resignation of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari almost on the very eve of his impending flight to Tashkent,—incidentally one of the very last of the decisions he had to take on the composition of his Government. It is now well known that the basic difference between the Finance Minister and his Chief consisted of the disagreement on the manner the Prime Minister wished to deal with the accusations against his colleague. It looks very probable that Shastri did not seriously believe that there was much substance in the accusations preferred against Krishnamachari. Had he done so, he would, honest and straightforward as he himself was, surely have considered it necessary to take **instant** action. But he obviously felt that a clearance from a political colleague—that is, from himself—would hardly inspire confidence in his judgment by the people ; it was not enough, he obviously felt, that justice was done, it was also necessary to carry conviction with the people that justice actually had been done. Carrying the trust of the people was, to himself, as the Prime Minister of the country, a paramount obligation. Much though it might have hurt him to part company with an old colleague, especially at a juncture when he was just about to leave on a very tricky

and difficult foreign relations mission, he did not hesitate, with characteristic coolness and quiet determination, to accept Krishnamachari's resignation when it was submitted to him. With equally characteristic coolness he appointed a successor to this crucial office, a person who, so far, appears to be a wholly unknown and, perhaps, an unpredictable quantity.

During the all too brief period during which fate invested him with the onerous responsibilities of the country's Prime Minister, Shastri demonstrated a measure of creative approach to the obligations of his office which few, who had been as deprived of advantages in their early youth as he was or who did not have, like him, the advantages of liberalising contacts with the outside world, would have been able to do. A penurious childhood and the struggles of his early manhood appeared to have endowed him with a broadening humility from which he extracted an unusual measure of liberalism and understanding, an ability to understand and appreciate the other man's point of view which is not usually given to a man who finds himself suddenly pitchforked into the high office that he assumed. Conceit was not in the nature of the man, bigotry of any kind was wholly foreign to his nature, and while being extraordinarily accommodating and flexible, he had demonstrated how firm and tough he could be when the occasion demanded it.

If within the brief span of his office Shastri has not been able to do much towards removing the causes of the widespread misery, distress and poverty of his people, it was not because he was impervious to the need, but because try as he might, it was physically not possible to eliminate those causes which had been building up into a huge, cumulative and intractable mass, already stupendous in proportions when he first assumed office, within so short a time. It is necessary to appreciate that most of the problems related to the country's economic distress were inherited by him

from his predecessor. But that he had been able to diagnose the root cause of all these troubles with unerring precision was amply demonstrated when he counselled that even if it were necessary to slow down and attenuate the pace and size of the Fourth Plan, quick-yielding agricultural programmes, especially those related to the production of foodgrains, must have the highest and the clearest priority.

The problems of the country's relations with her neighbours, especially with Pakistan which was really an inseparable part of India herself although a separate sovereign country, were likewise inherited by him from the time of his predecessor. When this neighbour forced upon him the inescapable necessity of getting to a solution through blood and tears—although only a short few weeks earlier he was prepared to be as indulgent and reasonable as was humanly possible and, in the process, made himself considerably unpopular with his own people and even among certain sections of his own political party—he measured up to this unpalatable choice with a measure of determination and toughness which must have confounded many of his admirers and detractors alike. This short-lived but terribly expensive experience on both sides may, possibly, have been the door-opener which led to the historic Tashkent declaration, in which both the contending parties,—and one must not ignore the crucial contributions that the Soviet Prime Minister made to the process—Shastri and Ayub, demonstrated a measure of statesmanship which ensured peace and good neighbourliness with their respective national honour maintained unattenuated, which may well be an object lesson to the rest of the modern strife-torn world. And, in earning this peace Shastri has laid down his life. But he was of the stuff of Immortality that transcends physical existence. Shastri, the man of the people, will have earned, one has no doubt, a glowing though, perhaps, not quite a glamorous page, in the Book of the history of his times.

## RHODESIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Dr. BHARAT BHUSAN GUPTA

Rhodesia lies between 15°36' and 22°25' S and 25°14' and 33°4' E in the continent of Africa. It covers approximately 152,000 square miles separated from Northern Rhodesia, now known as Zambia, by the Zambesi River.<sup>1</sup> At present, the total population of Rhodesia is about 4 million, out of which 38,00,000 are Africans and 2,30,000 are white settlers.<sup>2</sup>

Rhodesia was ruled by a local ruler till 1888. It acquired its present name after Cecil Rhodes, the first General Manager of the British South Africa company in May 1895. It was formally annexed to the British Crown in 1923. The new constitution granted by the British Crown by Letters Patent on October 1, 1923 introduced self-governing institutions in Rhodesia for the first time. The constitution, however, was so devised that the white settlers alone could enter the bicameral legislature and form a government. The first ministry was formed after the general elections on April 29, 1924.<sup>3</sup> In 1953, Northern Rhodesia and the self-governing Southern Rhodesia were united with Nyasaland. This Federation was dissolved in 1963.<sup>4</sup> Northern Rhodesia became free under the Presidentship of Mr. Kenneth Kaunda. In November 1964 elections were also held to

decide the issue of transfer of power in Southern Rhodesia on a limited franchise. In this election all the whites enjoyed franchise but only 14,000 non-whites were given voting rights. This election was held on the basis of the 1961 Constitution and voted Mr. Ian Smith to power.<sup>5</sup> The 1961 Constitution denies the principle of 'one man, one vote' in Rhodesia and permits 2,30,000 whites to rule over 38,00,000 Africans.

The United Nations Charter devotes articles 73 and 74 to non-self-governing territories like Rhodesia. Under Article 73 the general obligation of the Member States administering non-self-governing territories is to "recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories."<sup>6</sup>

Article 73 has been expanded into subsections to explain the significance of the Article in greater details. According to Article 73 (a) of the Charter the obligations of the Member States administering non-self-governing territories were to include "political" and "educational" advancement as well as "economic" and "social" advancement of the peoples concerned. The administering States also undertook to ensure "their just treatment, and their protection

1. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 19 1947, p. 263.

2. V. R. Bhatt, "The Rebellion in Rhodesia" in *The Hindustan Times Weekly*, 14 November, 1965, p. 7.

3. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 19, 1932 Pp. 264-266.

4. *The Reader's Digest Great Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, Vol. I, 1964, p. 756.

5. *General Knowledge Digest*, XIII Edition 1965, p. 576.

6. Emil J. Sady, *The United Nations and Dependent Peoples*, 1956, p. 25.

against abuses." Article 73(b) seeks to impose the obligation for developing not only "self government" but also "to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions" with the explicit understanding that "this obligation be carried out" according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying degrees of advancement. Articles 73(c), 73(d) and 73(e) impose further obligations on the administering States and make them accountable to the Secretary General of the United Nations. Under Article 74, the Member States administering non-self-governing territories recognize that other countries have social, economic and commercial interests in dependent territories and promise that their policy with respect to the territories will be based on the principle of "good neighbourliness."<sup>7</sup> The administering States of the non-self-governing territories are expected to act according to the directions of the General Assembly. A situation on a non-self-governing territory threatening international peace and security could be and has been brought before the Security Council.

The present Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the white minority Government of Rhodesia on 12 November 1965 has been condemned by the General Assembly at an emergency session on 13 November by 107 votes to 2 with five abstentions. The two nations that voted against the resolution were Portugal and the Union of South Africa. The United Kingdom and Uruguay were two of the non-participating countries. The resolution also invited Great Britain to implement immediately the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council to put an end to the rebellion of the "unlawful authorities in Salisbury." It also recommended to the Council to consider the situation "as a matter of urgency."<sup>8</sup>

7. Emil J. Sady, *The United Nations and the Dependent Peoples*, 1956, p. 25.

8. *The Hindustan Times*, 13 November, 1965, p. 1.

The Security Council also condemned the Rhodesian rebel regime and declared it an illegal entity which all States should abjure. All members voted for the resolution except France, which cast an abstention on the ground that the Rhodesian crisis was an internal affair between Britain and its colony.<sup>9</sup> The Security Council again asked Britain to quell the white rebellion in Rhodesia and called on all countries to institute an oil embargo against the white minority Government there.<sup>10</sup>

As against these resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, Prime Minister Harold Wilson proclaimed that the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Mr. Ian Smith in Rhodesia was an act of rebellion against the Crown and that the penalty for treason as laid down in the 1814 Act was death.<sup>11</sup> Sir Elwyn Jones, Attorney General of the United Kingdom, agreed with Prime Minister Wilson and said: "There is abundant authority for the conclusion that conduct of the kind that has taken place is treasonable."<sup>12</sup> Prime Minister Wilson did not fail in emphasizing "the British responsibility to re-establish the rule of law in Rhodesia so that in due time that country may enjoy not only the name freedom but the full freedom of all its peoples."<sup>13</sup>

In fulfilment of the above declarations, the Wilson Government has withdrawn the diplomatic status of the Rhodesian diplomats in the United Kingdom and outside. It has also armed itself with emergency powers.<sup>14</sup> The only tangible action that the British Government has

9. *The Hindustan Times Weekly*, 14 November 1965, p. 1.

10. *The Hindustan Times*, 22 November 1965, p. 1.

11. *The Hindustan Times Weekly*, 14 November 1965, p. 1.

12. *Ibid.*, 14 November 1965, p. 2.

13. *Ibid.*, 14 November 1965, p. 9.

14. *The Hindustan Times*, 17 November 1965, p. 1.

taken against the Smith Government is the imposition of economic sanctions. These comprise stoppage of all British aid; removal of Rhodesia from the sterling area; suspension of Commonwealth preferences for Rhodesian goods; no further purchases of sugar and tobacco; no sales of arms and no export of capital.<sup>15</sup>

Prime Minister Wilson further referred to Mr. Ian Smith as a confused, unhappy man under intolerable pressure of the unreasoning extremists who were determined to seize independence.<sup>16</sup> He described his decision regarding Unilateral Declaration of Independence as an 'avoidable, unnecessary tragedy'.<sup>17</sup> He refused to consider 'a major military invasion' for the purpose of imposing a constitutional solution in Rhodesia.<sup>18</sup> This is unprecedented language in relation to the leader of the rebels.

Does Mr. Wilson think that by these acts of economic and political sanctions the white settler regime in Rhodesia will be brought to its knees? It is undeniably true that political and diplomatic isolation in this close-knit world is a handicap. In this case, however, the Rhodesian regime will not be an outcast. It has Portugal and the Union of South Africa under similar circumstances in close neighbourhood. These three countries are likely to be very close to each other. In fact, Portugal stands denounced for its colonial policy and a sort of white hegemony exists south of the Fifteenth Parallel in South Africa. The economic sanctions are also not likely to produce the desired results. Eightyfive per cent of Rhodesia's exports are to Britain, Canada and the United States and the neighbouring African countries.<sup>19</sup>

If there is unanimity about economic sanctions in Britain, Rhodesian exports would be cut by 70 per cent.<sup>20</sup> This unanimity, however, is not likely to continue. Lord Salisbury's opposition to the enforcement of economic sanctions against white settlers in Rhodesia is a clear indication. Again, Mr. Wilson's one-vote majority Government may topple down any moment. In such an eventuality Mr. Edward Heath's Government may alter or even reverse the policy in days to come. Besides, the Union of South Africa imports 9 per cent of Rhodesia's export. This may weaken the effect of economic sanctions. If economic sanctions are prolonged and leakages occur via Portugal and the Union of South Africa, the Rhodesian regime may not be crippled. Further, these economic sanctions may hit the Africans more than the Europeans and perhaps they may have to be lifted sooner or later in the interest of Africans whom nobody has a mind to harm. Thus the Smith Government is not likely to yield to political, diplomatic or economic pressures. In fact, the Smith Government has already promulgated a new constitution,<sup>21</sup> and has appointed Mr. Clifford Dupont as 'Officer Administering the Government' in place of Governor Sir Humphrey Gibbs.<sup>22</sup> Mr. Smith has also appointed a panel to counter economic curbs. The organization to meet the sanctions has been broken up into separate committees for commerce and industry, agriculture and mining. It will also aim at developing the national economy.

Having examined the inadequacy of political and economic sanctions, the only other course open to the United Nations is that of military action against the white settler regime of Mr. Ian Smith. In fact, the United Nations is at present torn between these two views. One group of countries like Britain,<sup>23</sup> U.S.A.,<sup>24</sup> Holland,<sup>25</sup> West

15. *Ibid.* 13 November 1965, p. 1.

16. *Ibid.* 13 November 1965, p. 1.

17. *Ibid.* 13 November 1965, p. 12.

18. *The Hindustan Times Weekly*, 14 November 1965, p. 1.

19. V. R. Bhatt, "The Rebellion in Rhodesia," in *The Hindustan Times Weekly*, 14 November 1965, p. 7.

20. *Ibid.* 14 November 1965, p. 7.

21. *Ibid.* 14 November 1965, p. 1.

22. *Ibid.* 19 November 1965, p. 8.

23. *The Hindustan Times Weekly*, 14 November 1965, p. 1.

24. *Ibid.*, 14 November 1965, p. 9.

25. *The Hindustan Times*, 13 November 1965, p. 3.

Germany,<sup>26</sup> and Denmark,<sup>27</sup> believe that political and economic sanctions are adequate to meet the crisis in Rhodesia. France out herods herod and treats the matter as Britain's internal affair and thinks that no action by the United Nations is called for.<sup>28</sup> The other group comprising a majority of Afro-Asian countries demand military action against the white minority Government in Rhodesia. The statements on behalf of some African countries are typical. The Senegalese representative Ousmane Socé Diop expressed serious doubts on the real efficacy of economic measures.<sup>29</sup> Ambassador Arsene Assouan Usher of the Ivory Coast proclaimed the readiness of African States to send military forces against Rhodesia and declared "The threat to peace is certain."<sup>30</sup> Mr. John W. S. Malecela, the Tanzanian delegate, said that if the Council 'lets us down, or if this Council does not insist that U.K. take military measures to avert this threat to peace and security then Africa must act'<sup>31</sup> Mr. Quaison-Sackey, the Ghana Foreign Minister, demanded that the Security Council itself should take

enforcement measures under Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter.<sup>32</sup>

Real peace lies through the adoption of the second course. If the United Nations could act in Korea against an invasion from a neighbouring country, there is no reason why the United Nations Force cannot be deployed in fulfilment of Article 73(b) of the United Nations Charter.

No single country can quell the rebellion in Rhodesia. The Rhodesian Armed Forces are more than a match for any other single African State or a Confederation of States.<sup>33</sup> The Cause is just. The acting President, Mr. James Chikereina of the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU)<sup>34</sup> and a representative of the rival Rhodesian African Party, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) demand it.<sup>35</sup> It is upto the United Nations to throw its weight on the side of justice and fairplay and 'stop the atrocities that are being perpetrated daily in Rhodesia or allow its fair name to be tarnished by half-hearted or delayed measures. The United Nations is again on trial.

26. *Ibid.*, 13 November 1965, p. 3.

27. *Ibid.*, 13 November 1965, p. 3.

28. *The Hindustan Times Weekly*, 14 November 1965, p. 1.

29. *Ibid.*, 14 November 1965, p. 9.

30. *The Hindustan Times*, 15 November 1965, p. 1.

31. *Ibid.*, 15 November 1965, p. 9.

32. *The Hindustan Times Weekly*, 14 November 1965, p. 9.

33. V. R. Bhatt, "The Rebellion in Rhodesia" in *The Hindustan Times Weekly*, 14 November 1965, p. 7.

34. *The Hindustan Times*, 13 November 1965, p. 12.

35. *Ibid.*, 13 November 1965, p. 12.



## TAGORE : PIONEER IN ASIAN RELATIONS

Moving amongst the delegates of the Asian Conference, I was agreeably surprised to notice how many of them remembered our national poet Rabindranath not only as the greatest luminary in the literary horizon of Asia, but also as a pioneer in reviving inter-Asian relations in modern times. I propose to recount here briefly some of the specific contributions of Rabindranath to the cause which found such glorious vindication in the Delhi Conference.

The earliest so-far-traced reference to Tagore's interest in Asian affairs is to be found in his Bengali article on *Death Traffic in China* protesting vigorously against the inhuman Opium trade of the European merchants. The article was published in 1881 before the foundation of the Indian National Congress, and it should be re-translated into Hindi, Urdu and other Indian vernaculars. Rabindranath's saintly father, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, undertook, in an advanced age, a sea-voyage to China : though, unfortunately, his diary of that voyage is now lost, fragments were published in his famous Bengali journal *Tattva Bodhini Patrika* 1875-76 which printed articles on Taoism Confucianism and other systems of Chinese philosophy as well as some vivid description of the temples of Canton which was apparently the terminus of his China tour.

Rabindranath naturally inherited from his father a deep appreciation of Chinese culture and it will be news to many that in his later years, when he read that brilliant vindication of Eastern idealism by Professor

Lowes Dickinson in his *Letters of John Chinaman*, Tagore was the first to popularise the book in Bengali through his essay, *Chinamaner Chitthi* ( 1905-6 ).

The Republic of China was established in 1911 and Tagore, after his 50th birthday, started on his momentous tour with the English version of his *Gitanjali* which brought the first Nobel Prize to Asia ( 1913 ). In his third foreign tour of 1912-13, the Poet came in contact with many oriental students and some of the early translations of the *Gitanjali* were in Chinese and Japanese.

In 1915, Mahatma Gandhi returned from South Africa and brought home to the Poet, at their first personal contact, the tragic history of race-hatred in South Africa. The Reverend C. F. Andrews and W. Pearson, two of the most loyal British friends of the Poet, who were also professors at Santiniketan had already been to South Africa to help Mahatma Gandhi. Naturally, the Poet received with open arms the members of Mahatmaji's family and his disciples in Santiniketan.

In 1916, Tagore undertook a voyage through China and Japan to America and suffered humiliation from the Japanese for his trenchant criticism of nationalistic chauvinism which was the cause of the first world war. He repeated the same warning to Japan through his letters to the Poet Noguchi (1938).

In 1920, I had the privilege of travelling with him through France and other European countries. I saw how in his sixtieth year,

Tagore plunged with the enthusiasm of a youth, into the planning of an Asian Research Institute at Santiniketan. He had already inspired Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri to learn Tibetan with a view to restoring some of the forgotten Indian texts, luckily preserved in Tibetan translations. While in Paris, he came to learn from my venerable professor Sylvain Levi that a large number of valuable Indian texts, now forgotten by India, would be recovered, if some Indian scholars could be induced to learn Chinese. And although the financial resources of the Santiniketan School were very low in 1921, Rabindranath at once decided to invite Professor Sylvain Levi to inaugurate the department of the Sino-Indian studies at the cost of over ten thousand rupees. Thus Professor Levi spent some of the happiest months of his life in Santiniketan and the Visva-Bharati was founded in December, 1921, as the first institute of Asian Culture, developing under the joint collaboration of the scholars from the East and the West.

In 1923 when I returned from the University of Paris to join the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University, I had the rare fortune to be invited by Gurudev to join his Visva-Bharati mission to China and the Far East. The Poet had received a cordial invitation from eminent leaders of the Chinese Republic, led by the renowned Liang Chi Chao. Details of this memorable tour have already been published by me in many articles, and recently in the booklet, *Tagore in China*. His appearance in China opened a new chapter in the collaboration between China and India in modern

days.\* Pandit Kshitimohan Sen explored the possibilities of organising a comparative study of Chinese and Indian religions and cultures. Acharya Nandalal Bose, who also was a member of the delegation, charmed artistic China by his magic brush and brought back to India valuable hints and suggestions regarding the assimilation of the techniques of Chinese and Indian arts. And I, in my humble way, hoped to integrate the studies of South-East Asian art and culture into our university curriculum; thanks to Dr. Tagore and to the support generously offered by the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, I could organise the Greater India movement which completed its Silver Jubilee in the year of the Asian Relations Conference.

On my way back from China and Japan, I visited in 1924 our ancient cultural colonies of Champa ( Viet Nam ) and Cambodia in Indo-China, as well as the islands of Java and Bali. In 1927 Tagore sailed for Indonesia and established relationship with the Indonesian leaders of Java and Bali; on his return journey he spent some time in Siam, Malaya and Burma as well. Some of the significant poems that he wrote in this period should now be translated from original Bengali into different Asian languages. The entire East Asia with its rich legacies of Sino-Japanese art ( mainly inspired by Indian Buddhism ), the art and culture of Indonesia, Siam, Burma, in fact, of the whole of South-East Asia, was made for the first time real

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\* *Vide : Visva-Bharati News*, June 1947 : "First Asian Convention of 1924"; also *Christian Science Monitor*, October 3, 1924.

to our consciousness by the exploratory zeal and the creative genius of Rabindranath.

My friend Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, a pillar of our Greater India movement, who accompanied Tagore in 1927, has given a very valuable account of this cultural odyssey in his Bengali book *Dvipamoy Bharat*.

Another learned colleague and a dear friend at the University of Paris, the late Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi, opened a new chapter by proceeding to the National University of Peking as a visiting scholar ; and he remembered, with gratitude, the fact that he got in touch with Professor Sylvain Levi for the first time in Santiniketan where he was initiated into the various branches of Sino-Indian studies in 1921-1922.

In 1930-31 I had again the privilege of travelling with the Poet through Europe and America. We watched how the venerable Poet, almost in his seventieth year, was still dreaming of exploring fresh field of cultural collaboration. Visiting Soviet Russia in 1930. Tagore was deeply moved to find how eager were the rural folks of Russia, specially of Soviet Asia, to come to the aid of our unfortunate exploited rural population. Tagore's *Letters from Russia* written in Bengali ( but not then permitted to be published in English ), should now be published by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, pioneer of inter-Asian Relations, for the benefit of all those who cannot read them in the original, and specially for the numerous nations of Soviet Asia who sent such a large and brilliant delegation to the Asian Conference. When in 1931-32 I had the privilege of assembling and publishing *The Golden Book of Tagore*, messages flocked in from his admirers of

Europe and America as well as from Soviet Russia, China, Japan, Indonesia, the Middle East and the Far East.

Tagore's relations with the Near Eastern countries were most cordial. He passed often through Egypt and King Fuad presented him with a set of valuable Arabic manuscripts for the Islamic Department of the Visva-Bharati. The celebrated Near Eastern poet Bustani personally visited Santiniketan ; and I was glad to note that he completed the translations of some of our Sanskrit classics into Arabic. In 1932 the Poet received a personal invitation from the builder of Modern Iran, Reza Shah Pehlavi. Tagore then in his seventy-first year, flew to Teheran and to Baghdad and amidst the glorious roses of Iran, his birthday was celebrated with banquets and poetic recitals, evoking truly Iranian grace and glamor. The Shah also made gifts of enduring nature to the Poet by sending in his party to Santiniketan the celebrated poet and scholar Pouré Daoud, together with some rare manuscripts from the Royal Library. Thus Iran also joined hands with India. And Iran and Iraq were the last foreign countries which the Poet could visit in his declining years. But even in his sick-bed, whenever he would hear about an Indian going to some outside country, specially to some Asian cultural zone, he would give enthusiastic blessing.

I remember vividly, in this connection, the evening when the venerable Poet was giving readings to us from his Bengali manuscript of *Chhelebel* ( *My Younger Days* ) and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru quietly came into the lounge, had a few moments' conversation,

and with his warm benedictions, started on his first voyage to the Chinese Republic. The Poet had the satisfaction of seeing firmly established, through the devoted zeal of Professor Tan Yun-San, the China-Bhavana, where a regular cultural exchange between China and India has been established. Scholars and students not only from China, but also from Japan and Java, Siam and

Burma, Ceylon, Afghanistan and Iran and far-off Palestine, have been visiting the International University of Visva-Bharati. This account of Tagore's practically unaided efforts in reviving inter-Asian relations will, I hope, inspire us to undertake our responsibilities in a proper way and on an adequate scale in Free India.

( *Discovery of Asia* by Kalidas Nag )

### ROMAIN ROLLAND ON ART

... *Art is sublime play.* It is not disinterested play either (What play is quite disinterested?). Art is the supreme play of the spirit which, liberating itself from the cruel laws of life, becomes by itself the creator of life and master of the laws which govern the Universe modelled by the spirit in the image of Reality. From the plains of Simois where the warriors confront one another, the human spirit wafts itself upto the god Zeus, who is observing and feeling their passions serenely from a distance and without the poisoned sting of passions. But compared with Zeus the human spirit is more deeply moved for it knows that it is sheltered only for a moment and it enjoys more ardently that recess accorded in the interval of life's agonies; it must plunge into that agony very soon and it knows that the condition of existence in that world is death. Only for an instant is the human soul invulnerable and looking down upon the arena with eyes half shut, it contemplates, as it were in a dream, the trials and struggles of brother spirits with a passionate emotion which secretly recalls their struggles to his own, and with a smile of relief which reminds it of the fact that the soul is only dreaming. The more tragic is that dream, the more anxiously does the human soul scrutinize, on the features of its poetic "double" the shudders of sufferings and the force of resistance which its brother spirit brings to the struggle. In fact, it is a sentiment like that of the Romans who rushed to the gladiatorial circus propelled by the same sort of desire unavowed... The tragic art creates its spectacle quite entire, out of the substance of dreams and not out of living flesh; it is woven out of man's combats, his joys and sorrows; it is always the bloody game, but he knows that it is only a game and that here all is dream.

(THE MODERN REVIEW, January, 1926, p. 25)

## ROMAIN ROLLAND AND INDIA

Dr. KALIDAS NAG

The great French nobel Laureate Romain Rolland, not only created a new literature in his native country France, but has written valuable books, pamphlets etc., on India, her religion and culture.

But, alas, owing to the difficulties of translation from French into English or into other Indian languages, the valuable contributions of Rolland still remain unknown not only to the common people of India but even to our Colleges and Universities, where the publications of Romain Rolland are rarely to be found.

Thanks to the kind interest of the Late Sri Ramananda Chatterjee, I as a humble desciple of Rabindranath and Romain Rolland, worked hard for years to publish articles on and from Rolland, in Bengali in **Prabasi**, as well as in English in **Modern Review**.

Rolland was born in the very heart of France on the 29th of January 1866. So, we have decided to hold an all-India Centenary meeting at the Mahajati Sadan on 29th January 1966. We are glad to note that Mahatma Gandhi's city of Ahmedabad and Bombay P.E.N. centres, will celebrate with Calcutta, the Centenary of Romain Rolland.

Romain Rolland was born in a small village known as Tlamecy, north of Nievre. His father was a humble lawyer—Paul Emile Rollond (1836-1931), and his mother was lady Marie Courot (1845-1909). As I found from his diary, Rolland, who died in 1944, kept regular diaries, only part of which has been published, but large portions of the diaries remain unknown. So there is plenty of scope for original research on the life and writings of Rolland.

I was overwhelmed with the volume

of letters from different parts of the world, in different languages and also by unpublished manuscripts of great value. His native village is located in the historical province of Burgundy famous all over Europe and while analysing his works, I shall try to give topographical details, starting with his memorable book **Colas Breugnon** (Paris 1914-'15)—where he describes his native village and his ancestors in this superbly published volume, illustrated by the famous French wood-block maker and painter Gabriel Belot. He kindly presented one copy of this book with his autograph on it—dedicating the same to me and to my wife Santa Devi.

He spent his early life (1866-1889), nearabout Tlamecy and then migrated to Paris to complete his lectures at the famous National High School—L' Ecole Normale. Getting a Government scholarship, Rolland joined the French research centre in Rome, Italy (1889-1891), where he studied music thoroughly and published two books : 1. The History of European music from Lulli to Scarlelti, and 2. strengthened by an additional thesis in Italian on the Decadence of Italian painting. Thus from Rome, Rolland not only studied Latin and Italian language and literature but also studied German through his intimate contact with Lady Malwida von Meysenburg who introduced him to German leaders of thought and music, so that, his first literary success was marked by the life of Beethoven, the master musician of Europe. From that epoch, through many books and pamphlets, he wrote on the history of European music, down to the end of the 19th century.

The Letters exchanged between him and the modern German composer Richard

Strauss, were published entitled as Bulletin No. 3, after Rolland's death.

Rolland was deeply interested also in Oriental music but he lacked contact with veteran Indian musicians and instrumentalists. Master musician Rabindranath Tagore however, roused his interest in Indian music as I pointed out in a special article on The Centenary of Beethoven.

Thus Rolland, not only knew thoroughly, the music and literature of the **Romance Countries** of Europe like France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and the Swiss Cantons, together with Germany, England, Scandinavia and other Teutonic countries. He paid several visits to England for his beloved younger sister Miss Madeleine Rolland, who studied for years English literature, in the University of Oxford and who translated several noted English novels (Hardy and others). So Rolland, as a member of the French P.E.N., was welcome in London and attracted the attention of the English reading public, through his masterly articles on William Shakespeare, which I have reprinted from French into English, in my book *Greater India*, published in the year of the Centenary of Dr. R. Tagore—1961. Tagore wrote masterly poems, also on Shakespeare in Bengali, published in his great volume *Balaka*, which I have translated word per word, from Tagore's Bengali into lyrical French, composed by my friend and collaborator poet P. Jouve, which recently, has been reprinted by the International Cultural Association, called the U.N.E.S.C.O. of Paris.

Rolland also wrote two philosophical books on the life and thoughts of Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda, which he kindly presented to me—for I supplied to him and his sister, Indian commentaries and notes etc., as published by the Ramakrishna Institute of Culture.

Published in *Modern Review*—March, 1927, pp. 361-363.

Rolland personally contacted also, our political leaders like Pandit Nehru, Subhas Ch. Bose and Mahatma Gandhi.

I had the satisfaction of helping him in completing his masterly study on Gandhiji, which was published in English translation by Ganesan & Co. Madras.

Thus, the literature of Romain Rolland was of vital interest to Indians as well as to all lovers of Indian Culture and Philosophy.

He concluded his works by the end of the 19th century, mainly with dramas based on the French Revolution and South African War. But he was the greatest spiritual enemy of "war neurosis" as we find from his book "Above the Battle" (*Aus dessus de la Mele*) which were appreciated by soldiers in their trenches, though the French Government proscribed it. Luckily before the World War I (1914-1918), Rolland completed his masterpiece *Jean Christophe* (1900-1911), which was first imported by Rabindranath Tagore, from whom I borrowed the book, nearly twenty years before Dr. Tagore introduced me to Rolland. Rolland was glad to read the faithful French translation of Tagore's "Balaka", but alas, I returned from Paris University to join the Calcutta University (1923) yet I continued to help him in publishing the three masterly biographies of "Mahatma Gandhi", "Sri Ramakrishna" and "Swami Vivekananda" (1920-'30).

But in the Second World War Rolland had to leave his shelters in Paris and in Ville neuve, Switzerland, where my revered farther-in-law Sri Ramananda Chatterjee was welcomed by Rolland, his aged father and his devoted sister Madeleine Rolland. Madeleine was her brother's life-long collaborator, and the great brother could not have done his work on India, but for the English-knowing French lady, Sister Madeleine.

Madeleine almost lost her sight and died in a Paris hospital, just as Rolland was

## INDIA ON THE MARCH

sent back to his village home, where he was born, nearly 80 years ago. And in the village of Tlamecy, Rolland the Eternal Exile, died in 1944. He published his last volume on Pegmy, editor of the fortnightly journal, which published serially, the masterly novel Jean Christophe, which I began translating into Bengali, in the journal "Kallol", but it was partially done then

and completed later on by other Bengali writers.

The last thoughts and observations of Rolland on The Soviet Union has not yet been collected but the Lenin Library of Moscow, contains some of his manuscripts as I personally saw, while visiting the library after the International Congress of Orientalists (1930-'31).

## INDIA ON THE MARCH

### ROMAIN ROLLAND

I have dedicated my life to the task of reconciliation among men. I have striven to bring it about among the peoples of Europe, between, more especially, the two great enemy brothers of the West. I have been attempting the same task, for the last ten years, for the East and the West, and I should like to do the same thing for the opposed spiritual modes—reason and faith—for which the Occident and the Orient are, wrongly as I think, supposed to stand. It would have been more accurate, perhaps, to say, for the different modes of reason and faith for which they are supposed to stand, for, both the one and the other are distributed almost equally on the two sides. But people in general hardly suspect it.

It is not out of regard for any abstract principle that I have followed this line of action. I have done so because it was the line in which my life was cast.

Circumstances have so ordered it that, from my very childhood, I had continually to pass from one camp of thought to another opposed to it, and this has given me the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the weakness and the strength of both, with the blind prejudices as well as the noble purposes of their existence and of their will to survive.

First of all came—I was a child in a

French province then—the daily friction between Catholic conservatism and anti-clerical republicanism, which reached their harsh climax towards 1880, when I went to Paris and developed, at last, into a chronic quarrel between the laical spirit and the spirit of the Church, between an intolerant faith and a system of free thought which was not less so. Then came the great conflict of the years following 1895 between Christians and Jews, between nationalists and internationalists, succeeded by the threatened collisions between my mother country and the hereditary enemy who was not always so—the enemy of Fashoda became, as everybody knows, the cordial ally in the gigantic struggle in which Europe committed suicide—and, last of all, comes the wrestle between the White Race, enfeebled but still greedy, and Asia which makes its sudden appearance upon the world stage, where Europe has forced her to come, after having insulted her in the first instance, and then armed her.

I have always maintained that in all these conflicts each side remained ignorant of the other, of his true nature, his rights and reasons.

Since the close of the Great War, I find myself united with friends whom I greatly esteem, in a common desire to defend liberty

and find some remedy for social injustice. But in this, as in previous struggles, it is my lot to find that there are few among these friends with whom I feel myself really in unison for I am, and always was, essentially religious in the liberal sense of the term, though wholly emancipated from the bondage of any exclusive article of faith.

Now, I find on the one hand, people whose hearts are in religion, who keep themselves shut up within the four walls of their chapel, who not only refuse to come out of their prison (it is their right not to, they say!) but would, if they could, deny the right to live to all those who live outside; and on the other hand my companions and associates, who have, most of them, cast off their religiosity (it is their right—they, too, say!) and are, often, to judge from appearances, too inclined to think it to be their mission to combat and to deny the right of existence of persons who are religiously-minded. The result of it all is the futile spectacle of a systematic attempt to destroy religion by men who do not perceive that they are attacking something whose nature they do not understand. A discussion of religion based on the mere husk of historical and pseudo-historical texts, which time has rendered barren or covered with its own excrescences is of no avail. Such a process may be likened to an attempt to explain the intimate phenomenon of mental life by dissecting those physical organs which are only their vehicle. The confusion of identifying the power of the intellect with the organs through which it expresses itself, which our rationalists make, seems to me to be as illusory as the confusion common to the religious of bygone ages of identifying the powers of magic with the words, the syllables and the letters in which they were expressed.

The first condition of knowing, judging or, if anybody is so disposed, of combating any or all religions is to have experimented the fact of religious consciousness upon oneself. Not even those who have followed a religious vocation, are qualified to speak of it, for if they are sincere, they will recognize that religious vocation and religious experience are two separate things. There are many highly respectable priests who are believers from submissiveness or from prudential and indolent motives, who have never

felt the necessity of a religious experience or, not possessing the strength, have shrunk from gaining it. In contradistinction to these, are the numerous persons who, while believing that they are free from all religious beliefs, yet live, immersed in a kind of supra-rational state of the mind, which they style Socialism, Communism, Humanitarianism, Nationalism or ever Rationalism. It is the quality of the thoughts, and not their object which points to the source from which they have sprung or permits us to affirm whether or no they emanate from religion. If our thoughts turn intrepidly to the quest of truth at any cost, if they apply themselves to it with wholehearted sincerity, ready for any sacrifice, I shall call them religious, for, it is activity of this kind that presupposes faith as a goal of human effort, as something which rises above the life of the individual and, at times, above the life of the society that be, and even above the life of entire humanity. Even scepticism, when it proceeds from natures which are vigorous and true to the marrow of their bones, when it is an expression of strength and not of weakness, marches with the same glorious army of religious souls, while your thousands of cowardly believers, in creeds clerical or laic, who do not believe because they do not choose to believe, who only wallow in the stable in which they were born and chew the comfortable cud of their convenient beliefs before racks filled with hay, have no shadow of a right to bear its colours.

We know the tragic words about Christ—*he who shall be in agony till the end of the world*—I do not, for my part, believe in a single personal God nor, above all, in the God of the only supreme sorrow. But I do believe that in all that there is in this world and in man of joy and sorrow and in all the varied aspects of life there is a God in perpetual birth. The entire creation is renewing itself every moment. Religion is never a finished product. It is ceaseless action and the will ceaselessly to strive. It is the springing of a fountain, never a stagnant pool.

I belong to a land of rivers. I love them like living creatures and I can sympathise with the spirit of my ancestors who offered them milk and wine. Now, of all the rivers, the most sacred is that which gushes out, eternally, from the depths of our being, from its rocks and sands



and glaciers. This is the primeval force. This is what I call religion. It is common to art and to action, to science and to religion—to all belongs this spiritual stream, which flowing out of the dark, depthless wells of our being, glides down the inevitable slope to the Ocean of Life, conscious, realised and dominated at last. From it the water rises again, as vapour to the clouds in the sky, which in their turn feed the sources and, thus, the cycle of creation go round and round. From the spring to the sea, from the sea to the spring, it is the same energy—the Being without beginning or end, whom, it is of no moment to me, whether men call God (if so, what God?) or Force (what Force?). If it is matter what manner of matter is this that contains in it the energies of the Soul? Words, words. The Unity, the living and vital unity and not the Unity which is only abstract, is the essence of it all. It is this that I and the great believers and the great unbelievers worship and, consciously or unconsciously, carry within us.

## II

To her, to the Great Goddess Unity, gathering in her golden arms the diversified sheaf of polyphony, I dedicate the new work I am bringing forward today.

For a century, in New India, this has been the target at which all the archers have shot their arrows—the sea into which they have flown in one Gangalike stream all the torrents of personalities which have surged up from the antique energies of the land. Whatever the difference, as between them, from the distance they present the appearance of a majestic *road in motion*. Their goal is the same: Unity of mankind through God. And at each relay of the team unity grows larger and gains more and more in precision.

From the beginning to the end, it is the question of co-operation, on a footing of equality, of the East and the West, of the powers of reason with those—not of faith in the accepted uncritical sense which the word has come to bear among exhausted nations in a servile age—but of an intuition, vital and penetrating, like the eye on the forehead of the Cyclops which completes, but does not render unnecessary the other two eyes.

A splendid procession of heroes of spirit—at the beginning and end of which stand two

geniuses of vast sweep who have covered the whole range of the thought of their times: Ram Mohun and Aurobindo Ghose—the former dead these hundred years, and the other still in his prime, both of them accomplishing the synthesis of the highest cultures of Asia and Europe.

Ram Mohun Roy (1774-1833) brought up in the Court of the Great Moghul, where the official language was still Persian, learnt Arabic when he was a child and read Aristotle and Euclid in that language. Though a Bengali of orthodox family, nurtured in Islamic thought, well versed in Sanskrit, Bengali, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English, a Rajah and an ambassador of the Emperor of Delhi in England, an energetic reformer in perpetual conflict with the religious and social prejudices of his own people—he left, after sixty years of heroic labour, deep in the furrow the ploughshare of his famous Brahma Samaj, whose centenary India is celebrating this year (August 25, 1928). This Universal Church, the abode of the One Almighty, open to all without distinction of colour, caste, nationality or religion, is the *Magna Charta Dei*, the Divine Magna Charta which has inaugurated a new era for Asia and India.

But the unity which this Prince of the Spirit built up was the unity of an *elite*, like him aristocratic, of which the Tagores after him are the noblest representatives. In their *Brahmo Samaj* they claimed to unite, while dominating over them by virtue of their grand idealism, the purest aspirations and the bluest bloods of the religious thoughts of Asia and Europe.

With the great Keshub Chunder Sen (1838-1884), the stream widens, the first flood-gates of red blood open: of the Blood of Christ, the blood of *all the Ancients of the human race, prophets, saints, martyrs, sages, apostles, missionaries, philanthropists; of all times and of all laws, all the heroes of charity and of truth*, (among whom scientists have their due place), *for all of them are bearers of messages from the Heaven which is within man*. Keshub brings to India the message of the *New Dispensation* which, in his mind, formed the sequel to the gospel of Jesus and was meant for all mankind. But an aristocracy was also the basis of this new unitarianism, which to those more democratic than Ram Mohun Roy, appears nearly equivalent to the unitarianism of our Great Western

intellectuals who, at the time when, at the Sorbonne, they made God and Reason march together, imposed upon all a rigorous deism, modelled on that of the Bible, and excluded from its tenets both an absolute monism, which is readily treated as atheism, and popular polytheism which they tried to explain, from the intellectualist's stand-point, as the symbol of the attributes of a sole God.

Such a radical reforming movement, marked as it was by a too pronounced stamp of the West, brought in its wake a national and popular reaction in the movement which Dayananda Saraswati (1827-1883) inaugurated. To the *Brahmo Samaj* he opposed the *Arya Samaj* (1875) which was founded on principles as pure, but drawn exclusively from the thought elements of the race, rigorously boiled down and reorganized, whether it would submit to the process or not, into a vigorous and severe Hindu monotheism.

Between the two monotheisms of Keshub and Dayananda there remained the great jungle of millions of gods and the formless, nameless Being--the Absolute.

Now it was at the same epoch, that the decisive step was taken by Ramkrishna, a simple seer with an unlimited heart. He brought the waters of God to all these brooks and rivulets. He excluded none from it, neither the myriads of humble or the shining little gods, nor the great god of India, Islam or Gallilee, nor God the Father (or the Mother)—nor the shoreless and the bottomless Ocean, Ineffable Unity.

His sacred thirst for the Divine drunk at them all. He said smilingly "Let others, yet others, come too. All the doors are open to future gods, for, all that were, that are and that shall be, are One."

That incarnate Unity, which Ramkrishna realised by the sheer genius of his heart alone, which he himself was, and which through him became the Voice of a new catholicity, found its St. Paul, though one of a more ample and encyclopaedic mind, in Vivekananda, his great disciple (1863-1902). In his writings and in his preaching, he has taken up the message of the master and reshaped it with his own passion and intellectual grip. He has not only erected to the Unity of the Human Spirit, a monument of philosophy in which Western science and

Vedantic truths seek to be harmonised and from which no form of free-thought, be it negation itself, is excluded, he has put an end as well to the separation that existed among his own people between action and meditation, and has founded an order that resembles those of the earlier heroic days of Christianity devoting itself equally to the service of god and to the service of erring, suffering mortal men. This order, the Ramkrishna Mission, whose high aim is to produce the *complete man* by the three-fold culture of the heart, the head and the hand, and whose sole object is to *harmonize* and bring about the cooperation of the *diverse faiths and doctrines* of the universe, has created a constellation of monasteries, schools and institutions for social service, whose pole-star, the Advaita Ashram situated on the Himalayan snows, is consecrated to the absolute monism of science and of abstract Vedantism, and to the reconciliation, on this high plateau of Spirit overlooking all the alleys of knowledge of the East and the West.

Yet, this is not all. Here comes Aurobindo Ghose, the completest synthesis that has been realised to this day, of the genius of Asia and of the genius of Europe. Saturated with modern science and the wisdom of Hindu scriptures, of which he is the learned and bold interpreter in India of today, writing and reading Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, English, French and German, the former leader of the Bengali revolutionary school of politics, now living in retirement at Pondichery where, for twenty years, he has concentrated his energies on the examination of the wisdom of the science of India, he has brought a new message to his countrymen, which completes those preceding it, and which, in order to harmonize the spiritual energies of India with the activism of the West, turns all the energies of the mind to ever-increasing action. The West, which has been complacently picturing to itself an Orient passive, static, quietist, will be surprised to see India surpassing us very soon in the zeal for progress and for activity. If with Ramkrishna, Vivekananda and Ghose, she retires at times into the farthest retreats of her thought, it is only to take a spring and bound forward farther to the front. An Aurobindo Ghose is inspired by unshakable faith in the unlimited powers of the soul and in

human progress. His acceptance of the material and scientific conquests of the European mind is complete. But he considers them as the starting point of a new departure. He wishes for India that she should utilize these methods and go beyond them, for, he believes *humanity is going to enlarge its domain by the acquisition of a new knowledge, new powers, new capacities, which will lead to as great a revolution in human life as did the physical science in the 19th century.*

It means the deliberate, methodical, incorporation in the body of positive science, of intuition, the scout and advance guard of the mind, of which logical reasoning is the main force, the instrument of consolidating its conquests. No more a break in the continuity between divine unity and toiling man, no more any question of renouncing Nature as illusion in order to liberate oneself in God. We liberate ourselves fully only by accepting the primordial Nature with virile joy, by marrying and training her. There is no abdication, no blind veil. From the heart of the Unity which has been conquered, from the calm and tie-less Being, the totality of Life, the Cosmic Sport in all its varieties are embraced by our energies with full knowledge and open eyes. God acts in and through men. Liberated men become, in body and in soul, the *channels through which God acts in the world.*

Thus, the fusion of the completest possible knowledge with unrelaxed activity becomes more and more perfect in the profound and heroic religious life of India, whose revival we are witnessing today. And the last of the great Rishis holds in his hands, in firm and unrelaxed grip, the bow of creative energy. It is an uninterrupted flow, from the far yesterdays to the tomorrows which are farther still. All the spiritual history of man is nothing but one—the one *who is ever on the march.*

We have just begun to understand the tremendous journey which the human mind has made in these two centuries, since the *Aufklärung* of the 18th century. It has liberated and emancipated itself from the old classical synthesis which has become too narrow, with the help of a revolutionary, destructive, rationalistic criticism. Then came the experimental and the positive sciences with their unbounded hopes—and resources and their infinite promise, to be follow-

ed towards the close of the 19th century, by their partial failure and a sort of earthquake and sinking of the ground, which shook the structure of thought to its foundations and, last of all, the uncertainty of scientific laws, the entry of Relativity into the arena and the incursion of the Sub-conscious. Old rationalism, menaced by it, passes from the attitude of offence to that of defence. But old faiths which reason has not undermined cannot find their old foundations, on which they might build again.

Here comes the promise of an era of new synthesis in which a broader rationalism conscious of its limitations, will ally itself with a new intuitionism resting on surer grounds. The united efforts of the East and the West will create a new order of thought more liberal and more universal. And, as it always happens in such creative ages, the immediate result of this new spiritual orientation will be an afflux of strength and audacious confidence, an activity which will animate and nourish the spirit, and a renovation of individual and social life.

Where the mind is without fear and the  
head is held high :

Where knowledge is free :

Where the world has not been broken  
up into fragments by narrow domestic  
walls ;

Where words come out from the depth  
of truth ;

Where tireless striving stretches its  
arms towards perfection ;

Where the clear stream of reason has not  
lost its way into the dreary desert sand  
of dead habit ;

Where the mind is led forward by  
Thee into ever-widening thought and  
action—

Towards that goal we are making our way in the midst of tempests, guided by our stars.

## III

But we have not come to that yet. For the present, let us go back to the personalities who have opened to us the road to the new point of view, from whose vantage ground we can descry the unperceived unity of human thought

and of the human herds jostling against one another in the arena.

I am going to recount the life stories of Ramkrishna and Vivekananda.

It comprises the story of two extraordinary lives—one half-legendary, the other truly epical—which have unfolded themselves before our eyes in our own times, and the account of a powerful system of thought at once religious, philosophical, moral and social, which India has brought forward from the depths of her past, and is offering today to humanity.

Though the human interest, the fascinating poetry, the charm and Homeric grandeur of these two lives are sufficient, as you will all find, to explain why I have spent two years of my life in exploring and tracing their course and making them accessible to you, it is not mere curiosity that has prompted me to undertake the journey. I am not a *dilettante*. I do not bring to jaded readers reasons for flying from themselves, to seek and find the Self, naked and profound without the mask of falsehood. I have made for myself a company of these seekers. It does not matter to me whether they are dead or living, and limits of ages and nations do not count with me. For the bare soul there is neither East nor West; these are but outward trappings. The whole world is its home. And this house, built by all, belongs to all.

I hope I shall be excused in order to make intelligible the intimate process of thought out of which this book has come, I have, for a moment, put myself on the stage, but I have done so because it was convenient to cite my case as an example, and not because I believed myself to be in any way exceptional. I am one of my own people. I represent thousands of Western men and women who have not the means nor the time to express their thoughts. Every time that one of us speaks out from the depths of his heart and with the object of liberating himself, he enfranchises, at the same time, thousands of living silences. It is the echo of their voice, and not my words, that I ask you to listen to.

I was born and I passed the first fourteen years of my life in a district in Central France where my family had been settled for centuries. My lineage is exclusively French and Catholic without a tinge of foreign connection. And the early environment in which I was almost herme-

tically sealed till my sojourn in Paris, was that of an old Nivernais district which permitted no alien influences to percolate into it.

It is this locked up vase, shaped from the clay of Gaul and its blue sky and the water of its rivers I found all the colours and the impressions of the universe. When, later in life, I followed, staff in hand, the roads and alleys of thought, nowhere did I find anything that was strange to me. All these varied aspects of the mind which I had seen or divined, were, from the very beginning, mine. Outward experience in this case only completed the realization of states of the mind, of which I had the consciousness, though not always the key. Neither Shakespeare nor Bethoven, neither Tolstoy nor Rome, none, that is to say, of the masters on whom I had been nurtured revealed to me anything but the "open-sesame" of my subterranean city, my Herculaneum, which sleep under the beds of its lava. I am convinced that it slept within the breast of many of those who live around me; only, they ignore its existence as I did. Few venture beyond the first stage of the digs laid out for their daily use by their practical wisdom, manipulating its necessities with economy, or beyond the will of those master minds who have forged the unity, by turns Royal and Jacobin, of France. I admire the structure. Historian by profession, I see in it one of those masterpieces of human effort enlightened by intelligence *Aere perennius*. But after the ancient custom which required that in order to make the work endure, the living body of a man should be walled up in masonry, our master architects have entombed in their work thousands of palpitating souls. People no longer see them under the facing of marble or Roman cement. But at times I seem to hear them and, under the noble roll of the liturgy of "classical thought", the man who listens can hear it too. The ritual on the high altar takes no account of them, but the faithful who follow, that docile and distracted crowd which rise and kneel at the prescribed signs, ruminate in their dreams on those other herbs of St. John. France is rich in souls. But the old peasant woman hides it, just as she hides her money.

I have just recovered the key of a lost staircase which leads to some of these proscribed souls. The stairs in the wall, coiled like a serpent,

rises from the profound depths of my Self to those high terraces whose forehead is crowned by stars. None of the things I saw there were to me sights unknown. I had seen them all before—I knew this very well—but I did not know where I had seen them. I had more than once recited from memory, with its lapses to be sure, the lessons in thought which I had formerly learnt—from one of my old old selves was it? Today I read that lesson again in its clarity and fulness in the book which is held out before me by that unlettered genial soul, by the man who knew every one of its pages by heart, Ramkrishna.

Him I present to you, in my turn, not as a new book, but a very old one which all of you have gone through, though many might have stepped only at the alphabet. At bottom, it is always the same book that one reads, only the script varies. But the eye ordinarily remains fixed on the rind, forgetting to bite at the kernel.

It is always the same book. It is always the same man. The eternal Son of Man. Our Son. Our God born again. At each of his returns he reveals himself just a little richer of the universe.

With the differences that time and place make Ramkrishna is a younger brother of our Christ.

We may, if we like, show, as free thinking exegesists are trying to do today, that the doctrines that Christ preached were current in the Oriental world before his time and were sown abroad by the thinkers of Chaldea, Egypt, Athens and Ionia. Yet we can never present the personality of Christ (it does not matter whether it is fact or only legend—these are but two orders of the same reality) from prevailing rightly in human history, over the personality of a Plato. It is a monumental and a necessary creation of the soul of humanity. It is its finest fruit grown in one of its autumns. The same tree has produced by the same law of nature life and legend. They are both of the same

living flesh, and the emanation of its vision, breath and moisture.

I bring to Europe, which ignores it, the fruit of a new autumn, a new message of the soul, the symphony of India, which bears the name of Ramkrishna. It can be shewn, as we shall try to do, that this symphony, like that of Beethoven, is built up of hundreds of musical elements of the past. But the master spirit in which all these elements are brought together, and who organizes them in a supreme harmony is always the man who gives his name to the work, though generations might have toiled upon it. And it is he, who from his victorious sign-post, marks out a new era.

The man whose figure I am invoking today was the crowning glory of two thousand years of spiritual life of a people of three hundred millions. Dead these forty years, he is the soul that animates modern India. He was neither a hero of action like Gandhi, nor a hero of art and intellect like Goethe and Tagore. He was a little village Brahmin of Bengal, whose external life passed within its narrow frame-work, without stirring events and outside the political and social activities of his times. But his spiritual life embraced the multitudinous throng of gods and men. It formed a part of the very source of divine energy, of Shakti, of whom Vidyapati, the old poet of Mithila, sings.

There are very few who reach back to the source. This insignificant villager of Bengal, who listened to the message of his heart, has found his way to the shores of the inner Ocean. He has wedded himself to it, thus realising the couplet of the Upanishad :

“I am older than the radiant gods.

I am the first-born of the Essence.

I am the artery of Immortality.”

I wish to bring to the ears of fever-stricken Europe, which has murdered sleep, the pulse-beats of this artery. I wish to sprinkle its lips with the blood of immortality.

(*The Modern Review*, April, 1929)

## BEETHOVEN THE SPIRITUAL HERO

ROMAIN ROLLAND

The musical genius of Beethoven is of universal renown. But what is very little known is his grand spirit. I wish to say a few words about it to my Indian friends for, I know that they would appreciate fervently, the heroic and religious aspects of Beethoven's character.

Beethoven, coming as he did of a poor family, received an education which was not at all complete. He supplemented it by his own efforts, his life-long studies and his burning meditations. He was never satisfied like most of the musicians (even some of the greatest like Mozart) with a deep knowledge of his own art. Beethoven wanted to know everything. He wrote in 1809 :

"There is no work of thought which should be too learned for me. With the least pretension of knowing such works thoroughly, I have striven from my very childhood to grasp the sense of the best and the wisest works of all ages. Shame to an artist who does not consider it his duty to push this spirit of research to the farthest point possible."

But mere study is not all ; merely to understand is not sufficient. One must learn to select. Beethoven has preference always for the greatest and the best. His instinct goes straight thither from the beginning : Homer, Shakespeare, Goethe, the sages of Greece and Rome, the poets and thinkers of India—a veritable Eagle's vision ! I think of his correspondence with the Orientalist Hammer—Purgstall in 1809 and the common plan of working on Indian pastoral drama

(on Devayani ; vide the MODERN REVIEW, March 1927 ). I remember his attraction for the religious ideas of India and for literature of Persia. The Soliloquy of MACBETH threw Beethoven into a delirium of emotion and he conceived writing music to MACBETH, unfortunately not finished.<sup>1</sup> No less a loss to the world is his music on FAUST which Beethoven wanted to write from 1808—a work which made him cry with enthusiasm and regret, when a friend reminded him of it in 1827. But the indifference of Goethe, not to speak of his ill will in regard to Beethoven, discouraged the latter. What to speak of sympathy, even a single appreciation from Goethe of the admirable music for EGMUND was denied to Beethoven.<sup>2</sup> But

1. Beethoven possessed the power of concentration to an extraordinary degree. He used to carry in his memory the contents of several great compositions simultaneously. He used to construct them in spirit without producing them publicly till they satisfied him completely. That is how numerous inspired creations, almost complete, were lost to us ; for his premature death prevented him from translating his dreams into notations.

2. Apart from a certain personal coolness, Goethe, already aged, felt a sort of instinctive antipathy for the new-born romantic whose passionate music seemed to Goethe (and he was wrong !) to have a dangerous expression through Beethoven. Those crises of the soul disturbed Goethe's serenity, conquered at the cost of struggles and sacrifices. The "Olympian" as Goethe was called alone knew the dangers which he repulsed from the depths of his soul and which he wished to impress upon all those who took the risk of reawakening the "soul-troubles."

## BEETHOVEN THE SPIRITUAL HERO

more generous than Goethe, Beethoven conserved his warm admiration for the poet down to the last days. In his conversations Beethoven expressed profound thoughts and judgments on Goethe, Schiller and Klopstock.

Beethoven used to read, again and again, his favourite books. The volumes of his small library were full of marks and underlinings which all attest his warm admiration. Unfortunately that library is dispersed with the exception of two volumes of Shakespeare, the *ODYSSEY* and the *WESTÖSTLICHER DIVAN* of Goethe. A Berlin manuscript of Beethoven contains a collection of quotations which he had transcribed out of the books that he studied; here also we find the TRANSCRIPTIONS mixed up with Beethoven's own REFLECTIONS and both are of equally great interest. Quotations and personal thoughts seem to be of the same substance. While reading, we are inclined to ask if it were Homer, Herder, Kant, Schiller or Beethoven who speaks! One would feel that the same hand had been striking the notes of accord and that the whole weaves into the same texture of Harmony! Being a man whose natural language was that of SOUND and not of words, Beethoven sometimes used to borrow his expressions from others; but he only took such expressions as were already his own. One would almost swear that some of the most striking expressions are Beethoven's own language. In any case, what were only noble thoughts, general and abstract truths which the authors cited, came to be animated, quivering, pulsating under the pen of Beethoven, who seemed to rewrite them with his heart's blood. For we read them in his life and find them transfused into his blood. His grand CORTEGE of friends from ancient India, from Greece, or from Germany—all

idealist participate in his suffering and his heroism. From this ensemble of thought, flowing or sparkling, what is the form that emerges? What picture? What statue of the soul?

To begin with, we see a Herculean grandeur wrestling with fate; then a heroic renunciation which raises itself above fate by accepting it—Hercules on the funeral pyre.

The ancient writers had worked on a tragedy—Hercules on Mount Oeta, which later on the Christian writers had likened to the Passion of Christ. When I read Beethoven, I am struck by the identity of suffering and of magnanimity. It is always the same Passion, the eternal Passion of offering oneself in sacrifice to Humanity.

I shall cite certain poignant pieces, extracted from the Notes of Beethoven, and I shall mix in the design, the passages which he had transcribed from his studies and his own thoughts, so that one can see to what extent the one and the other proceed from the same spirit:

"Now fate has laid hold on me" (Homer)

"Would that I do not disappear into the dust without glory! No, let me accomplish, first of all, grand things whose echo would resound in the ears of the generations to come." (Beethoven)

"Wishest Thou then the laurels of victory, without the dangers of battle?" (Herder)

"Show thy strength, O Fate! We are not masters of ourselves; he who is determined would attain self-mastery. May it be so then." (Beethoven)

"Under the teeth of the tiger...I thank the Almighty, on High! I die suffering, but not in error." (Herder)

"Endure! (Entsagung) Accept! (Ergebung) Thus we shall gain ground even in the

depth of misery and we shall render ourselves worthy of the pardon of God for our faults." (Beethoven)

"VIDE MALUM ET ACCEPI. I saw evil days and I accepted. (Pliny)

"Only to Him, to Him alone, to God who knows everything, that we should resign all!" (Beethoven)

"What can I do? To be greater than Fate, to love them who hate us and to seek the highest good of perfecting ourselves in creation." (Zacharias Werner)

"Thou canst not be a man for thyself. Thou canst exist only for others . . . O God, give me strength to conquer myself."  
(Beethoven)

And in conclusion, I quote four lines of Zacharias Werner which Beethoven so well extracted that they seem to-day like the brazen inscription of the soul of Beethoven—a Christian Marcus Aurelius—a warrior sage of antiquity:

"Fight for Righteousness and for his daughter, the Eternal Liberty glorified by Law. Submit thyself to the inflexible will of Iron Fate! Obey and renounce thyself!"

Kampf für das Recht und für des Rechtes  
Tochter  
Die durchgesetzte verklangene Freiheit,  
Ergebung in den ungebogenen Willen  
Des eisernen geschicks; gehorsam und  
Entsagung...

The most penetrating spirits amongst the contemporaries of Beethoven—men who had approached him with understanding which gives sympathy—had found in his the grand drama of Sacrifice, and their hearts were pressed with a sort of religious emotion. The poet Rellstab, the musicologist Rochlitz, the organist Freudenburg, have almost the same expressions in depicting Beethoven: "the

patient man of suffering"—"who had brought to millions of souls the joy, the pure spiritual joy",—"the man who in order to give his best to the world, was obliged to be deeply wounded and tortured", and, who, although lonely, had united in the embrace of his 'HYMN TO JOY' all men all brothers.

To a noble friend—a woman suffering like him, to Countess Erdody, Beethoven wrote in imperishable words which had become the motto of all heroic souls:

*"We, finite beings, are endowed with infinite spirit; we are born only for suffering and for joy; and we may almost say that those who are chosen by Fate, receive Joy through Suffering."*

He was, while alive, as he is to-day, the great consoler for us. He is for all ages the most noble tonic in European music, with the vigorous Handel: but the latter, health incarnate, turns his eyes away from suffering or screens it with his dazzling brilliance. Beethoven opens his arms to all sufferings and leads them to joy.

The benefaction of his music does not rest only on his large and profound humanity, comparable only to that of Shakespeare,<sup>3</sup> who shares the bread of daily life with all. To those who know how to listen to Beethoven, his music seems to be a religious light, a revelation of the Infinite; of that DOUBLE-INFINITE, that which is enveloping us and that which is within us. Beethoven passes through our hearts that ecstasy in which J. H. Andreas

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3. The great composer Schubert, while young, used to see Beethoven often worn with age, lost in his dreams. Without daring to discuss with Beethoven, Schubert said to one of his friends: To compare Mozart with Beethoven is like comparing Schiller with Shakespeare. Schiller is already understood, Shakespeare far from being so, for a long time still.



Stumpff (1823) found Beethoven, sitting on a grassy sward in a valley near Vienna, contemplating the starry heavens—that ecstasy which Beethoven made to shine with the palpitation of the stars, in the sublime *ADDAGIO* of one of his *Quatrets*. (In E flat, Opus 59, dedicated to Count. Rasumoffsky):

“My spirit” said Beethoven to Stumpff, “mounts up to the Prime Source (Urquelle) from which flows inexhaustibly the stream of the whole creation. The things that would penetrate the heart must come from on high; otherwise we have only notes, bodies without soul, mere mud. The human spirit should build out of the earth where the divine spark had been sent, banished as it were for a time, and like the field sown by the peasant, the human spirit should blossom and fructify; thus enriched and multiplied, it should go back to the Source from which it had emerged.”

Thus the genius of Beethoven appears as a perennial stream of Life which flows from the Urquelle, the Prime Source, and with thousands of human streams mingling with one another, goes back to the original spring. Thus the great musical genius is the mediator between the human and the Divine and he is fully conscious about the magic character of the Art of which he is the Sovereign.

“Music”, said Beethoven, “is the nonmaterial entrance into a world that is the highest in our knowledge. It is a world which envelops mankind and yet it cannot grasp that world fully...Music is the revelation which is higher than all philosophy, all wisdom. It is the Sacred Wine that exalts the soul unto the region of New Birth, unto a New Childhood, and I am the *Bacchus* who presses that magnificent wine for human beings—wine that makes them God—intoxicated. God is

nearer than anybody else to me in my Art... He shall be free from misery, in which the others are engulfed.” (Conversation with Bettina Brentano, 1810).

These are the words of illumination. We, who have verified on ourselves their efficacy, we can bear witness to their prophetic value. Two women of his age measured the comprehensiveness of the words, through their intuition of love and of genius. Bettina Brentano was so fascinated as to dare writing to Goethe: “None has any doubt on the matter, but I declare that Beethoven marches long in advance of the thoughts of the whole of humanity and I have doubt as to whether we shall ever be able to capture his thoughts fully.” (1810)

Theresa of Brunswick, “THE IMMORTAL BELOVED”<sup>4</sup> old and lovely, long after the death of him who loved her, wrote in a diary: “Beethoven had outpassed his age as well as ours. His epoch did not understand him. A Christ without comparison.”<sup>5</sup>

4. Beethoven used that name in a letter which had been discovered amongst his intimate papers after his death and which were supposed to have been addressed to the Hungarian Countess Theresa Brunswick. Although certain doubts subsist still on that identification, it is no less certain that profound affection united Beethoven with the Brunswicks. He dedicated to Theresa the lovely Sonata for piano (Opus 78) and to her brother Franz the famous *APPASSIONATA* (Opus 87). Theresa never married and after the death of Beethoven, she consecrated her life to the service of the poor. She was the first to found in Europe a foundling hospital.

5. Theresa, profoundly Christian in spirit wished to say in this phrase (written in French in the original text) that she is not permitted to compare Beethoven with Christ, but that maintaining all proportion, Beethoven was a Christ.

# VICTOR AND VANQUISHED

ROMAIN ROLLAND

## I

### **An Appeal to The French For Coming To The Aid of Suffering Germany**

Before suffering there is neither victor nor vanquished.

One of the most sacred traditions of our people is to uncover before the Dead that is being carried, no matter what sort of life the person had lived. Doctors, hospital nurses, sisters of charity—all those who watch over human suffering for diminishing it—have the signal honour of consecrating to one and all who suffer, the same devotion.

Fortified by these sacred sentiments, we come to appeal to France :

The people of Germany die of hunger. Thousands of innocents expiate cruelly the consequences of the scourge of war of which they are not more culpable than the ambition, the avidity, and the selfishness of their governing classes. In Berlin, in Leipzig, in Friburg, when the bread cost (about the end of October) seven to ten million marks, the monthly salary of an intellectual worker never reached the hundredth of that price. Professors, doctors, engineers, advocates, sell their books and their instruments of work for buying bread. The students of certain universities are obliged to go a-begging about the country in large groups. In Berlin 70 per cent of the children go to school without a sufficient meal. A large number of them have no hot soup except every two days. Thousands of families weakened by privations sink slowly. The suffering from cold goes to add to that of

hunger. The winter opens with a terrible famine and epidemics.

France was chivalrous not long ago when the Great Victor Hugo was living to help ; France extended her hands to the vanquished on the field of battle and nursed their wounds.

We issue this appeal to all of our race without distinction of party or creed. Alas ! the French are decimated by diverse passions ! But let us do justice to one another. All of us have this in common, that all of us have respect for our France, that all of us have faith in her nobility, and have anxiety to safeguard it. Let us show it to the world. Let us affirm that there is no place in the French heart for base hatred, or a more ignoble callousness about the misfortunes of other people. Let us prove rather, that victorious France remains still the land of compassion.

No one can prove his victory except by the greatness of his soul. And the highest force is the force of Charity.

We invite the French to extend the hand of succour to the people whom they have defeated.

*(This appeal of international amity, issued by the greatest living writer of France in favour of her age-old adversary, was signed by some of the foremost men of science and letters : Professor Langevin (physicist) and Professor Miellet (philologist) of the College de France, Professor Charles Gide (economist) of the Faculty of Law, Mon. Buisson, President of the League of the Rights of man, Frans Masereell, the artist, G. Duhamel, Pierre Hamp, Jean Richard Bloch, Charles Vildrac, and other distinguished writers of modern France.)*

## II

The peoples of to-day are but the puppets of politics and finance. Unfortunately, they are not yet sufficiently organized to put an immediate stop to that sinister game of antagonism and virulent intrigues which ruin the nations equally. For, who does not know the shameful bargainings of this age wherein victory as well as defeat of nations have come to be matters of "business" for the "men of prey" from both the contending countries ?

But if we, in France, and in Germany as well in England, have not yet been successful to form a strong party of enlightened views, and an independent press which can control the Governments and upset their suspicious combinations, we may use the force of PROTEST which can make itself heard beyond the frontiers. Even when constrained to submit to a deadly politics, our peoples have the power and the duty to proclaim that they disapprove of it, to condemn publicly the acts of oppression and the excitations of hatred, by which one tries to maintain disunion between nations, profitable only to national exploiters. Above all, the peoples should never neglect any occasion to affirm their solidarity amidst the sufferings and ruins of the monstrous catastrophe, in which they are hurled one against another, with bandaged eyes. There is no better remedy against such evils than the magic word : MUTUAL AID. Its value does not lie solely in the material help which the murdering nations can render to one another. It lies, moreover, in the moral consolation which it may bring for their redemption. The thing which has blasted the soul of Europe, the thing which weighs darkly on the heart of the two peoples ( Franco-German ) through years of warfare—no less in the heart of the victor

than in that of the vanquished—the thing which obstructs the revival of taste in life, in activity, in hope—that is mutual distrust, rancour and degrading suspicion. The two victims accuse one another of that and increase their misfortune. Friends of France and Germany, alleviate the suffering rather by sharing it. Let us not lose time in vain recriminations about the past ; but let us strive, so that the future may be brighter for our sons. An immense field of activity claims all our hands. To work, one and all, for a common cause !

*(The above address was communicated by Mon. Romain Rolland to a meeting held in January 1924 at the Hotel de Societes Savantes in Paris under the auspices of the French section of the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom)*

## III

I return spending a few weeks in Germany. I have seen many Germans, not only from one city to another, but in the same city, from one class or generation to another and sometimes in the same. How could one speak of establishing relations between a Germany which is not united, which one cannot embrace as a whole, and a France which is no less multiple and divided ? The very first necessity will be to try for long, with patience and sincerity ; to bring together for ( and, perhaps, for France also ) the diverse elements of the tableau—so as to make again a "Germany" of Madame de Stael. That is a difficult task, especially at this hour when that enormous mass is in a state of fusion.

Secondly, I find that I cannot at this time fix any more my gaze on the Franco-German quarrel. The tragic events which are on the way to accomplish their ends on the whole of the Old World, relegate that quarrel to the

museum of cast-off clothes amidst the clamourings of the past ! The great nations of the Occident are on the eve of ruin. It is but natural that there should be only questions of revenge or domination between them ! If these enraged bloodhounds persist in tearing one another to pieces, the heavy rod of Destiny alone will separate them, and curb them, bruised and humiliated. May the harshness of my language be pardoned by those who would read me. Here for the last eleven years I have watched this stupid war crumbling the pillars of European civilization, and I have cried out in consternation through my article "Above the Battlefield" (September

1914). But what can an isolated voice do ? Now I am keeping silent. I have no more fear, for I see Fate. And I know that Fate is wise when the peoples are mad. Fate has taken possession of the helm. Let any one who can try to snatch it from her !

Young souls, with heart strong and tempered in battle, who amongst you is ready to dispute the reign of Destiny ?

*(Mon. Romain Rolland spent this summer in Germany and communicated these lines to "La Revue Europeenne" (August 1925) at the invitation of the Editor to write something in connection with the "Inquest on Germany.")*

*(The Modern Review, October, 1925, Pp. 383-85)*

## ADIEU TO GORKY

ROMAIN ROLLAND

Sorrow overpowers me as I learn of the death of my dearest friend, comrade in arms, companion of twenty years, and I feel that the agony would not permit me to write an article for the press. It would tend rather to get concentrated in the poignant memories. At this cruel hour of separation, it is not the great man and the illustrious writer who is before my eyes ; it is neither his vast life nor his powerful writings ; it is the summer month passed together,—that hour of departure from the Moscow station, towards the end of July, 1935, his look fixed on mine, his affectionate eyes, his deep warm voice, his strong loyal hand, that insatiable life, resembling his narratives, a veritable river of thoughts and pictures ; that youthful flame,

that boisterous enthusiasm for the New World which he has contributed to build ; that immense goodness in the heart of everything.

Yes, I would love to be silent and better be with him, in that Eternal calm wherein his great heart is interred.

But as I have not the right to hold in me alone my agony and my affection may I address then, before all, a brief and impassioned salutation of glory and sorrow. I am but one of the millions for whom his death is the greatest mourning of humanity since the death of Lenin.

Gorky was the first, the greatest of the paths to the proletarian revolution, brought to it their entire co-operation the prestige of their glory and rich experience.

The man who, ever since his infancy, was enveloped in misery and shame of the enslaved proletariat, who, like Dante, emerged from the Inferno but was not alone, bringing out with him companions of pain whom he has saved.

Seldom has a great writer played a higher role. He was like the Director of Letters, Arts and Sciences in the U. S. S. R. their guide, their severe master, and their defender. By his vast intelligence and his goodness without limit, the Soviet Government have been benefited; it had duly honoured him and its chiefs were his personal friends.

He died exactly at the period in which was accomplished the work that sets the seal on Sovietic triumph—that magnificent constitution, the most humane and free which has ever been received by a people—and towards which his thoughts must have contributed. I

heard him speak about that in course of our meeting last summer.

Last evening, I listened, with a tightening of heart, in the Radio from the Moscow station, the sombre “funeral march” of Beethoven and the heavy words announcing the death of Gorky. I felt as if I were in Moscow, with the millions of men and women in mourning. My thoughts made of that night the funeral vigil of my Sleeping Friend. In a few days I shall feel on my shoulder his bier, which I would have borne if I were in Moscow.

Friends! let us bring together our sorrow, our love, our veneration! Many honours would come to glorify the great man, his name is borne by one of the most virile towns of U. S. S. R.; but the most beautiful and sacred of all tombs is in our heart.

(Modern Review, August, 1936)

## ON RABINDRANATH TAGORE

ROMAIN ROLLAND

In France Tagore is hardly known except as possessing the grave visage of the poet-prophet—that imposing figure, wrapped in mystery, whose gentle speech, graceful movement, and whose beaming brown eyes under the shadow of fine eye lashes radiate serene majesty. Meeting him at first, one involuntarily feels as though one were at church and talks in a hushed voice. Then if you are permitted to watch more closely the fine and proud profile, you will observe beneath the placid symphony of the lines the dominant sadness, the gaze without illusions, the virile intellect which resolutely

faces the battle of life and does not let the spirit be ruffled by it. And you will remember in his ethereal poems, woven light and shade, the mystic voyager, the soul eternal, in its journey from world to world in quest of the Divine Lover, reflecting in its garb the light of the Vedas. And also the solemn prophecy addressed to the nations of the earth, pointing to the curse of Siva hanging over civilizations triumphant but crumbling.

That voice of the Brahmin, as of his great ancestors, seems always fashioned for chanting sacrificial hymns on the summits, one

never imagines that it may also serve for homely talk. When Europe thinks of the great geniuses of India, she thinks only of their seriousness, she forgets the smile that plays on the lips of the Buddha, the mocking good humour which one meets again in the beautiful dialogues in the *Majjhimanikayo*. The sages and gods of Asia—leaving aside the terrifying prophets of the Old Testament, who, I believe, never laughed—all know irony. Irony lurks behind even the oldest of the sacred books. Only we stupid Europeans reduce their features to the uniformity of solemn seriousness. The saints of their legends do laugh.

The tale runs,—Tagore himself tells it—that one day the kid came weeping to Brahma and said to him: "Lord, why is it that I serve as food for all creatures?" "Well, my child," answered Brahma, "I wish I could help you, even I feel tempted to crunch you."

If Brahma himself can jest with his creatures, it is only natural that the minor gods and sages cannot be sparing in the matter. The religious festivals of India often verge on gaiety quite Italian. One needs to read *A Passage to India*, the brilliant novel of E. M. Forster, in which there occurs a description of the celebration of Krishna's birth with songs, dances and children's sports. For the amusements of the infant-god in the cradle high functionaries and grave professors abandon themselves to its revels naked of foot, begarlanded and cymbal-beating, even as the disciples of the Swami in the Himalayas like their cousins of Greece know Olympian laughter. And the sages of India, never dupes of Maya, enjoy their games all the better. Sometimes they abash their own sincere admirers.

My friend, C. F. Andrews, who for twenty

years has made India his second home and is one of the closest of Tagore's friends, has told me that the first day he met him he thought himself obliged not to depart from the grave and formal manner and talk of the Master. But before the day was out, the Guru had played a joke on him, at which Andrews still laughs to-day.

Humour has never been absent in the thinkers and poets of India. It is the natural counter-poise to meditation. And the mind of a Tagore owes to it in part its equilibrium. The visionary, whom you imagine to be plunged in contemplation smilingly watches the tragi-comedy of the world (like that other visionary, the most powerful epic poet of our Europe, Car Spitteler). And both of them miss nothing in the play with its hundred different acts.

Tagore is born in a tragic epoch in which the destiny of mankind, and particularly of his own numerous people, is on trial. Upon him rests the mission of enlightening and guiding the men of his time who seek to cross the swollen stream. Hence it is that the task of poetic and prophetic illumination occupies the place of honour in his creative work; the task of observation comes second. Europe has taken less notice of the latter, because while his poems and essays have a universal character, the field of observation of the novels and stories is naturally Indian. Precisely on this account his works should attract the attention of those who, already fascinated by the blinding light which is visible on the horizon—the light of the Indian Sun,—seek to know the people out of whom have sprung the living geniuses: Tagore, Aurobinda Ghose, Jagadish Bose,—and that saint Mahatma.

Of all the novels of Tagore the only one

translated into French : *The Home and the World*, although very beautiful, is perhaps the least characteristic of his works of observation, for it is of all the most lyrical, the most introspective and the most akin to the poems.

But it is in a number of stories and social novels that Tagore has undertaken the task of painting Indian society ; and he has done this with a fearlessness of spirit which attacks without bitterness but at the same time without extenuation the prejudices of the time and depicts with mischievous good humour the types of the higher and middle bourgeoisie of Bengal.

The famine question occupies him in more than one work ; especially the position of the widow, so wretched in India, where she cannot remarry, where she has no home, and nothing to call her own, not even herself. This is a secondary motive in *Chaturanga*. It is the principal theme of the story—

The principal work, *Gora*, the longest novel of Tagore, portrays the two parts into which Hindu society is divided : the conservative Hindus, hundred per cent nationalist, archaic, fanatical ; and the free-thinkers of the Brahmo Samaj who no less intolerant—the HOMAIS and BOURNISIENS of India. This conjures up a very rich and exceedingly daring picture which has made for the author enemies in both camps. His gentle puckish irony finds pleasure in finally discovering its hero in the leader of political, religious and extreme nationalism, a foundling of Irish blood, received of charity into the bosom of a family of gallant Hindus, unprejudiced at heart.

This is one of the most living pictures of

India if not of today—of ten or fifteen years ago ( change is so prodigiously rapid and our friend W. W. Pearson, who had left India in 1916, hardly recognised it in 1919 ). Until it appears in French, we offer to the public of France that delightful novel, whose Bengali title is *Chaturanga* ( *Quatour*—literally with four parts ). I do not think it will be found too foreign. If the Swami who dances—the master of emotion, and Satish, who follows every path in the search of god and at last turns his back on them all in order the better to meet Him—these two products of Hinduism—are not to be met by our European wayside, we recognise Gajmohan as our own, the saintly atheist, the Hindu free thinker, and Srivilas, the story-teller, the upright man who is always a trifle overlooked, for reasons of sentiment.

The charming *Damini*, on the other hand, belongs to every country. Tagore excels in the portrayal of the feminine character ; in that little masterpiece—*Friend*, it is drawn with passionate delicacy. The women in his works appear to us always more alive and truer than the men, perhaps because they are closer to universal nature, less deformed by the social prejudices of the country and age.

The whole atmosphere of this little work sometimes reminds one of a Victorian novel—of an aristocratic Dickens, or, in its best pages, of *Thackeray* or *Henry Esmond*, on account of its good nature, lingering smile, mixture of tenderness and irony-melancholy at heart. But what belongs alone to the poet of the *Cygne* ( Bengali : *Balaka* ) is nature's vibrant passion in which the story is steeped. And beneath the flow of words of the story teller the wordless song of the soul throbbing behind the veil—the music of silence.

November, 1924.

## ROMAIN ROLLAND AND RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Dr. Kalidas Nag, M. A., D. LITT. (PARIS)

Dr. Tagore, several years after receiving his Nobel Prize—(the first in Asia (1913)), visited France in 1920—21, when I had the rare good fortune of being also in Paris, where Dr. Tagore was the honoured guest in the Palatial Garden House of the Jewish-French banker, Mon. Albert Kahn. Landing in Marseilles, I came straight to Paris, where I met by happy chance Sri Rathindranath Tagore, the eldest son of the Poet, who kindly brought me to the garden house of Bois de Boulogne. Here in the dining room, all Tagore's guests and visitors were sumptuously fed and had quiet talks with the Indian peer. Here came my revered Professor the famous French-Sanskritist Prof. Sylvain Levi, who with his wife, visited Santiniketan in 1923—24. Here also came the world famous French philosopher Henri Bergson, the French poet Andre Gide, who translated "Gitanjali" and thus brought the name of Tagore all over France, and in fact all over the world (including Africa) where French is spoken. So came many distinguished artists of France, who in 1930—31 held an exhibition of Tagore's paintings, introduced by two lady admirers, Victoria Ocampo of Argentina and the poetess Countess Noailles.

I was affectionately taken to the bedroom of the poet by his loving grand-daughter Manjushree Chatterjee (wife of K. P. Chatterjee, a close friend of my brother-in-law Sri Ashoke Chatterjee). I found Dr. Tagore busy with his lectures to be delivered in the United States of America (1921) and I was very happy to find him in good health

and creative vitality. So in the right moment and in a peaceful atmosphere came the French Nobel Laureate and thinker Romain Rolland, with his English-knowing sister Madeleine Rolland. Madeleine Rolland invited me to the International Congress of Women for Peace and Freedom at the lovely lake-city of Lugano (Swiss) in 1922, where I had the privilege of meeting the British Philosopher and Scientist Mr. Bertrand Russell of Cambridge, Mon. George Duhamel (French Academy) and later—German Nobel Laureate Hermann Hesse, whose book entitled "Siddhartha" recorded his impressions of Buddhist Ceylon and India. So Tagore was in good company and thanks to his son Rathindranath, I could complete my three years (1919—23) cultural tour through Europe from Scandinavia (Norway, Sweden, Denmark etc.) to Egypt, Palestine and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Romain Rolland's works were partly translated by Rev. C. F. Andrews of Santiniketan and those fragments of Rolland's works were published in the English monthly Journal Modern Review, edited by Sri Ramananda Chatterjee.

So I had friendly contact with Romain Rolland and his sister Madeleine, who came to know my name and address from my professor Jules Bloch, professor of the University of Paris and the famous French School of Living Oriental Languages (Ecole de Langues Orientales Vivantes).

Rolland was deeply interested in the progressive thought and movement of India.



So I induced Sri Ramananda Chatterjee, to send him his two famous journals, the English 'Modern Review' and the Bengali 'Prabashi', where most of the important Tagore writings were published. So also I managed to bring to Rolland the Bengali "Kathamrita" of Sri Ramakrishna & Swami Vivekananda and on these two great prophets of modern India, Rolland wrote two masterly biographies, after completing with me the biography of Mahatma Gandhi, whose English version was published by Ganeshan & Co., Madras.

A noble soul that he was, Romain Rolland even enquired about the recent Bengali and other Indian writers, not forgetting the humble periodical "Kallol", edited by my late lamented brother Sri Gokul Nag and the artist Sri Dinesh Das. So Tagore, as well as Mahatma Gandhi, made it a point to visit personally Romain Rolland, in his Swiss Asrama on the Lake Lemman, in the village of Ville-neuve (Vand). Their conversation was faithfully recorded by his sister Madeleine Rolland and published later on in the famous French journal "Inde" (1915-1943) published by Rolland's widow Madame Rolland. Madame Rolland for nearly the last twenty years has collected all rare and hitherto unpublished books, essays etc., of Romain Rolland since his death in 1944.

As through Tagore and Vivekananda, Rolland came to know much about modern

India, so through Mahatma Gandhi, he could enter into the dark history of African freedom, which is the vital problem of the end of the 20th Century.

Only some books and essays of Rolland so far, have been published or translated in Bengali but not in other languages of India, yet he was not only a story-teller or a novelist but an authority on Art and Music, writing standard biographies of Michael Angelo and Beethoven as well as of Tolstoy.

So Rolland was a world figure and a world-thinker whose works should be translated in the major languages of India, as they have been done in Soviet Russia. The Russian labourer-author Maxim Gorky, came into intimate touch with Rolland and I found some of Rolland's autographed manuscripts in the famous Lenin library of Moscow, which I hope will publish them at the time of Lenin Centenary (1970), just a year after Gandhi's Centenary (1969) in India.

Rolland never had the chance of coming to India, but he kept in touch with all progressive movements of this sub-continent, for which Indians should be grateful.

So, the Tagore Universities of Calcutta and Santiniketan should publish books on Rolland and the Radical Book Club of Calcutta, which has published some Bengali translations should be thoroughly revised and re-published.

## TWO HISTORIC LETTERS

ROMAIN ROLLAND TO LEO TOLSTOY

Sir, I would not have dared to write to you if I had not to express to you my passionate admiration. It seems that I know you too well through your works, to address to you a few complements which would appear almost impertinent on the part of a boy like me.....I am tormented by the idea of Death which I find haunting almost every page of your novels and above all in your IVAN ILITCH.....I am convinced that ordinary life is not the real life.....the reality of Life is in the renunciation of the egoistic opposition of the living creatures, and in our close union with the Supreme Life—the Universal being—we should try immediately to get fused into that Life. That is your thought I believe. My thoughts also follow the same line.....I understand that to realise that renunciation of selfish personality, we must avoid all barren sentimentality and work for the benefit of all. And you say Sir that benefit to others, practical charity, and bodily work alone can tear ourselves away from the baneful consciousness of our limited ego, can give us the ATARAXY or quietude of thought, the peaceful sleep of the heart, the only blessing.....It is this oblivion of one's self, Sir, that I am seeking, that I desire with all my heart, and I believe that I shall attain it. But why do you insist that it can come only through MANUAL labour? I ask you this question which engages my heart most

strongly : why do you condemn Art ? Would you not use it rather as the most perfect instrument for the realisation of renunciation ? I read your new work, "What to do ? The problem of Art is assigned therein quite the last place. You say that you condemn Art without giving all the reasons for your proscription. Excuse me if I cannot wait any longer, and permit me to ask you your reasons. I believe to have understood that you condemn Art because you detect therein the selfish desire of subtle enjoyments which make our selfishness more coarse by the hyper-excitability of our senses. I know that alas for the most of the so-called artists, Art is nothing but an aristocratic sensualism.

But is not Art some thing else, some thing more ? Another thing which means EVERY THING to a small number of artist ? To them it is only Art which means the oblivion of the selfish individuality, this absorption into the Divine Unity, the creative Ecstasy. In that stage what can Death do to us ? Death is dead. Sovereign Art has killed Death.....

Am I wrong ? Do tell me Sir if I am mistaken. I am in love with Art because it shatters my miserable Ego and unifies me with the Eternal Life.....do you not believe that Art has a great role to play, above all amongst old races of men who are dying through the excesses of their civilization.....

Please reply to me sir ! Tell me in all sincerity, if labour without thought which you extol, would really satisfy you. Would you never feel the regrets due to the sacrifice of Thought and to the disowning of Art ; and moreover, if it is possible to reject Thought and Art by the simple fact of our wishing

like that ?...I am in need of advice. I find near about me not a single guide or moral preceptor. In France, In Europe, I find only indifferent or sceptical people or the dilettantes..." ...

May, 1887

Romain Rolland

#### REPLY OF TOLSTOY TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

To Mon. Romain Rolland

Dear Brother !

I received your first letter. It touched me deeply in my heart. I read it with tears in my eyes. I had the intention of replying to it, but could not make time ; and over and above the difficulty that I feel in writing in French, I must write lengthily in reply to your questions which are largely based on a misunderstanding.

The questions raised by you are : Why does manual labour impose itself on us as one of the essential conditions of our true happiness ? Must we voluntarily cut ourselves away from all intellectual activities of science and art, which seem to be incompatible with manual labour ?

To this question I have replied, so far as I could, in the book entitled *WHAT TO DO ?* which I hear has been translated into French. I have never presented manual labour as a principle, but only as the application of the most simple and natural moral law which is the very first to appear before all sincere people.

Manual labour, in our depraved society—the society of the so-called civilized people—imposes itself on us uniquely by reason

of the fact that the principal defect of that Society was and is down to this day, that we have freed ourselves from manual labour and are profiting by the labour of the poorer classes ; they are ignorant, unfortunate, veritable slaves like the slaves of the old world and we do nothing for them in comparison with what they do for us.

The very first proof of the sincerity of the people of this Society professing the principles of Christianity, philosophical or humanitarian, is to try to come as much as possible out of this contradiction.

To succeed in this we have the simplest and the readiest method of manual labour which starts with the act of taking care of oneself. I would never believe in the sincerity of the Christian convictions, philosophical or humanitarian of a person who allows his own chamber pot to be cleaned by a servant.

The shortest and simplest moral formula is to take the service of others as little as possible, and to serve others as much as possible, to demand the least and to give the utmost possible in our relations with others.

This formula, which gives rational meaning to our existence and the happiness

which results from the same, removes all the difficulties at one stroke, no less the difficulty appearing before you : that relating to the role of intellectual activity—to Science and Art.

Following the above principle, admit that I am never satisfied and happy until I have the firm conviction that while acting, I am making myself useful to others. The contentment of those for whom I act, is an extra, a surplus of happiness on which I do not count and which cannot influence the choice of my actions. My firm conviction that what I do is neither useless nor evil but is something for the good of others, is, therefore, the principal condition of my happiness.

And it is this, which urges involuntarily a sincere and ethical man to prefer manual work to scientific and artistic works. The book that I write needs the work of the printers, the symphony that I compose needs the work of musicians ; the experiments that I make needs the work of those who manufacture the instruments of laboratories, the picture that I paint needs the work of those who make the colours and the canvas. All these works may be useful to men, but may also be completely useless and even injurious, as it often happens in many cases. Thus, while I work at things whose utility is highly debatable and to produce which I must moreover make others work, I have before and around me, endless things to do of which one and all are undoubtedly useful to others, and to produce which I need not make a single person work : a burden to carry for one who is fatigued, a field to cultivate for a peasant proprietor who is ill, a wound to dress—millions of things like these which surround us, which require nobody's help, which produce immediate contentment in those for

whose welfare we have performed the act : planting a tree, tending a calf, cleansing a well and such works are, beyond doubt, useful to others and which cannot but be preferred by a sincere man to doubtful occupations which, in our world, are preached as the highest and the noblest vocation of man.

The vocation of a prophet is high and noble. But we know what sort of people are the priests who believe themselves to be prophets only because it is to their advantage and that they have the chance of passing for prophets.

A prophet is not the person who receives the education of a prophet but who has the intimate conviction that he is a prophet, that he must be so and that he cannot but be so. This conviction is rare and cannot be realised except by the sacrifices which one makes for his vocation.

It is the same for true science as well as for real art. Lully, with all his risks and perils, left his profession as a cook and took to violin ; by the sacrifices that he made he justified his title to the musical vocation. But our ordinary student of a conservatoire, one whose sole duty is to study the things that are taught, is not in the state of giving proof of his vocational zeal, he simply profits by the position which seems to him nice and advantageous.

Manual work is a duty as well as a blessing for all ; the intellectual activity is something exceptional which becomes a duty and a blessing only to those persons who have that vocation. That vocation cannot be tested and known except by sacrifice which the scholar and the artist make of their repose and their prosperity in order to pursue their vocation. A person, who continues to fulfil

his duty of sustaining life by the works of his hands and yet devotes the hours of his repose and of sleep to thinking and creating in the sphere of intellect, has given proof of his vocation, but one who frees himself from the moral obligation of each individual and under the pretext of his taste for science and art, takes to a life of a parasite would produce nothing but false science and false art.

True science and true art are the products of sacrifice and not of certain material advantages.

What happens then to science and art? How many times have I listened to this question made by people who have neither any preoccupation for nor any clear idea whatever of science and art! One would be inclined to believe that those people have nothing so near to their heart as the well being of humanity which, according to their belief, could not have evolved except by the development of those things which they call Science and Art.

But how is it that we find people so stupid as to contest the utility of science and art, as well as people still more comic who believe it to be their duty to defend them? There are manual labourers, agricultural labourers. No one bothers about contesting their utility and never would a labourer take it into his head to prove the utility of his work. He simply produces; his production is necessary and is good for others. We profit by it and never doubt its utility, still less, attempt to prove the same.

The workers in the realm of Art and Science also are in the same condition. But how is it that we see people straining all their powers to prove the utility of Science and Art?

The reason is that real labourers in the field of Science and Art do not arrogate themselves any special rights, they give the products of their work which are useful and they do not feel the need for any special right and to prove their rights. But the great majority of those who call themselves scholars and artists, know quite well that what they produce are not worth the things they consume in society, and probably because of this they take so much pains, like the priests of all ages to prove that their activity is indispensable for the well being of humanity.

Real Science and real Art always exist and will exist always like the other modes of human activity and it is impossible and useless either to prove or disprove them.

That Science and Art play a false role in our society is the result of the fact that the so-called civilized people, headed by the scholars and artists form a caste of their own privileged like the priests. This caste has all the defects of other castes, lowering and degrading the very principles under which they organize themselves. Thus we get in the place of true religion a false one, in the place of true Science a false one, and the same thing we find in Art. It has the fault of weighing heavily on the masses and even more, of depriving them of that very thing which one pretends to propagate among them. This consoling contradiction between the principles professed and their practice is the greatest weakness of the case.

Excepting those who maintain the inept principles of science for sciences and art for art's sake, the champions of civilization are obliged to affirm that science and art are great assets for Humanity. In what sense are they assets? What are the signs by which we can distinguish the good from the evil?

These are questions which the champions of science and art do not care to reply to. They even pretend to say that the definition of the good and the beautiful is impossible to make ; generally speaking they cannot be defined.

But those who speak like that do not speak the truth. In all ages, Humanity has done nothing in course of its progress but to define what is Beauty and what is Goodness. But the definition does not suit the champions of culture, for it unmasks the futility, if not the injuriousness of opposing to Goodness and Beauty, what they call the Science and Art. The Good and the Beautiful have been defined through centuries. The Brahman and the Buddhist sages, the Chinese, the Hebrew and Egyptian sages : the Greeks, Stoics and the Christian Bible all have defined them in the most precise way :

*All that tend to unify mankind belong to the Good and Beautiful. All that tend to disunite are Evil and Ugly.*

The whole mankind knows this formula. It is inscribed in our heart.

That which unites people is good and beautiful for Humanity. Well, if the champions of Science and Art have the good of Humanity as their object, they should not ignore it ; and if they do not ignore it they should cultivate only those arts and sciences which lead to the fulfilment of that object. Then there should not be the judicial science, the military science, the science of political economy and of finance, which have no other object but to secure the prosperity of certain nations at the expense of others. If human welfare had been the ultimate criterion of science and of art, then never would the positive sciences which are completely futile from the point of view of human welfare, have acquired the importance that they have

now ; so, the products of our arts, which were good more or less to provide excitement to the old rakes or relaxation to the comfortable idlers, could never have gained so much popularity.

Human wisdom does not consist solely of the mere knowledge of things. For the things that one may know are infinite and to know the largest amount of things is not wisdom. It consists in knowing the hierarchy of things which it is good to know and in learning to arrange one's knowings according to their importance.

Now, of all the sciences which man can and should know, the principal is the science of living in such a way as to do the least harm and the utmost good ; and of all the arts that of knowing to avoid evil and to produce good, even in the smallest of our efforts. But we find that amongst all the arts and the sciences which pretend to serve Humanity, these very first in Science and in Art according to importance, not only do not exist, but are excluded from the lists.

What we call science and art, in our society, is nothing but a stupendous humbug, a huge superstition into which we fall ordinarily, as soon as we get out of the old superstition of the Church. To see clearly the route which we should follow, we must begin at the very beginning, removing the eye-preserver which is comfortable no doubt but which obstructs the vision. The temptation is great. We live either by labour or by some intellectual application ; we raise ourselves gradually in the social scale, and we find ourselves among the privileged, the priests of civilization, the CULTURED as the Germans say. And to doubt the principles which had given us that position of advantage requires, as it does in the case of a Brahmin

or a Catholic priest, much sincerity and great love of truth and goodness. But for a serious man like you, Mon. Rolland, who questions Life, there is no other choice. In order to see clearly we must free our minds from the superstitions in which we are steeped, however profitable they might be. That is the condition *SINE QUA NON*. It is useless to discuss with a man who holds blindly to a fixed creed even on a single question.

If the field of reasoning is not completely free, there may be fine discussions, fine argumentations and yet we may not move towards Truth even one step. The fixed point would arrest all the reasonings and falsify them. There are creeds of religion and creeds of our civilization ; both are quite analogous. A Catholic would say "I may reason, but not beyond that what my scripture and my tradition teach me ; they contain the whole and the immutable Truth." A devotee of civilization would say : "My reasoning stops before the data of civilization : Science and Art. Our Science is the totality of true human knowledge. If science does not possess as yet the whole verity, she will do it in future. Our Art with its classical traditions is the only true art." The Catholics say : "Outside man there exists only one thing complete in itself, as the Germans say, it is the CHURCH." The man of the world says : Outside man the only thing that exists is CIVILIZATION."

It is easy for us to see the faults of reasoning in religious superstition, because we do not, any longer, share them. But a believing monk, or even a Catholic is fully convinced that there can be only one religion or Truth, professed by him ! And it even seems to him that the verity of his religion proves itself by reasoning. It is the same

case with us, believers IN CIVILIZATION. We are fully convinced that there exists only one true civilization—our own ! And it is almost impossible to see the illogicality of all our reasoning which do nothing but to prove that of all the ages and of all the peoples, there is only our age and a few millions of creatures inhabiting the peninsula which is called Europe, that finds itself in possession of the only true civilization composed of true sciences and real arts.

For knowing the truth of life which is so simple, it is not absolutely necessary to have something positive : a profound knowledge, a philosophy—it is necessary only to have the negative virtue : of not having SUPERSTITION. One must place oneself in the state of a child or of Descartes's saying : I know nothing, I believe nothing, and I do not wish anything but the knowledge of the truth of life which I am compelled to live.

And the reply given is complete for centuries, and it is simple and clear.

My personal interest prompts that I must have all wealth and good fortune for my own self. The reason speaks that all creatures, all beings desire the same things. So all the souls that are like me in search of their individual happiness, would crush me, that is clear. I cannot possess singly the happiness that I desire. But the searching after happiness is Life. Not to be able to possess happiness, not even to attempt for it, is not to live.

The reasoning says that in the order of the world where all creatures desire only their own good, myself, a being desiring the same thing, cannot have it, therefore I cannot live. But in spite of this clear argumentation, we continue to live and to seek for happiness ! We say : I would never have good fortune

and be happy except in the case in which all other beings would love me more than they love themselves. That is something important. But in spite of that we all live together : and all our activities, our searching of fortune, of glory, of power, are nothing but attempts to make ourselves loved by others more than they love themselves. Fortune, glory, power, give me appearances of that state of things, and we are almost happy, and we almost forget for the moment that they are but appearances and not the reality. All beings love themselves more than they do love us and happiness is impossible. There are people—and their number increases from day to day—who cannot solve this difficulty, and burn their head by saying that life is nothing but a mockery.

And, yet, the solution of the problem is more than simple and offers itself spontaneously to us. I can never be happy except under a condition of the world wherein *all beings would love the others more than they love themselves.*

If this thing is realised then the entire universe would be happy.

I am a human being and Reason gives me the law of happiness for all beings. I must then follow the law of my Reason—that *I love others more than I love my own self.*

Let but man follow this line of Reasoning and Life would appear before him in quite a

different aspect as it had never done before. The creatures destroy one another no doubt, but they also love one another and practice mutual aid. Life is not sustained by destruction but by the Reciprocity of love amongst living beings and this is translated within my heart into Love. So far as I could survey the march of the world, I see that the progress of Humanity is due to this principle of Reciprocation. Our History is nothing but the progressive clearing up of the conception and application of this unique principle of the solidarity of all beings. This reasoning is corroborated by the experience of History as well as by personal realisation. But beyond reasoning man finds the most convincing proof of the truth of that reasoning in his intimate feelings of the heart. The greatest happiness that man, knows of, the largest freedom, the utmost joy, is in Abnegation and in Love. Reason discovers for man the only way to happiness, and the feelings also push him into that conclusion.

If the ideas that I strive to communicate to you appear not so clear, please do not judge them too severely. I hope that you will read them some day in a way more clear and definite. I only wish to give you an idea of my way of seeing things.

Leo Tolstoy

4th October, 1887

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## WHAT ROMAIN ROLLAND THINKS

SUBHAS C. BOSE

Wednesday, the 3rd April, 1935. It was a bright sunny morning and Geneva was looking at its best. In the distance, silhouetted against the clear blue sky, stood the snow-capped heights of Saleve. In front of us there lay the picturesque lake of Geneva with the stately buildings mirrored in its glassy bosom. I was out on a pilgrimage. Ever since I had landed in Europe, two years ago, I had been longing to meet that great man and thinker—that great friend of India and of India's culture—Mon. Romain Rolland. Circumstances had prevented our meeting in 1933 and again in 1934, but the third attempt was going to succeed. I was in high spirits, but occasionally a thrill of anxiety and doubt passed within me. Would I be inspired by this man or would I return disappointed? Would this great dreamer and idealist appreciate the hard facts of life—the practical difficulties that beset the path of the fighter in every age and clime? Above all, would he read what fate had written on the walls of India's history?

What heartened me, however, were the inspiring words in his letter of the 22nd February . . . . . "But we men of thought must each of us fight against the temptation that befalls us in moments of fatigue and unsettledness, of repairing to a world beyond the battle called either God or Art or Freedom of the Spirit or those distant regions of the mystic soul. For fight we must, as our duty lies on this side of the ocean—on the battle-ground of men."

For full two hours we drove along the circuitous route which skirts the lake of Geneva. It was charming weather and while we raced along the Swiss Riviera we enjoyed one of the finest sceneries in Switzerland. As we came to Villeneuve, the car slowed down and ultimately came to a standstill in front of Villa Olga, the residence of the French savant. That was indeed a beauty spot. Sheltered by an encircling row of hills, the house commanded a magnificent view of the lake. All around us there was peace, beauty

and grandeur. It was indeed a fit place for a hermitage.

As I rang the bell, the door was opened by a lady of short stature but with an exceedingly sympathetic and lively face. This was madame Romain Rolland. Hardly had she greeted me than another door opened in front of us and there emerged a tall figure with a pale countenance and with wonderful penetrating eyes. Yes, this was the face I had seen in many a picture before, a face that seemed to be burdened with the sorrows of humanity. There was something exquisitely sad in that pallid face—but it was not an expression of defeatism. For no sooner did he begin to speak than colour rushed to his white cheeks—the eyes glowed with a light that was uncommon—and the words that he poured forth were pregnant with life and hope. ✓

The usual greetings and the preliminary enquiries about India and Indian friends were soon over and we dropped into a serious conversation. Mon. Rolland could not—or did not—speak English and I could not speak French. So we had as interpreters Mademoiselle Rolland and Madame Rolland. My purpose was to discuss with him the latest developments in the Indian situation and to ascertain his present views on the important problems before the world. I had therefore to do much of the talking at first in order to explain the Indian situation as I analysed and comprehended it. The two cardinal principles on which the movement of the last 14 years had been based were—firstly, Satyagraha or non-violent resistance and secondly, a united front of all sections of the Indian people, e.g., capital and labour and landlord and peasant. India's great hope was that the Satyagraha movement would fructify in a peaceful settlement in the following manner. Within India, the movement would gradually paralyse the civil administration of the country. Outside India, the lofty ethics of Satyagraha would stir the conscience of the British people. Thus would the conflict lead to a settlement whereby India would win her

freedom without striking a blow and without shedding any blood. But that hope was frustrated. Within India, the Satyagraha movement no doubt created a non-violent revolution, but the higher services, both civil and military, remained unaffected and the "King's Government" therefore went on much as usual. Outside India, a handful of high-minded Britishers were no doubt inspired by the ethics of Gandhi, but the British people as a whole remained quite indifferent; self-interest drowned the ethical appeal.

The failure to win freedom led to a very earnest heart-searching among the rank and file of the Indian National Congress. One section of Congress men went back to the old policy of constitutional action within the Legislatures. Mahatma Gandhi and his orthodox followers, after the suspension of the civil disobedience movement (or Satyagraha), turned to a programme of social and economic uplift of the villages. But the more radical section, in their disappointment, inclined to a new ideology and plan of action and the majority of them combined to form the Congress Socialist Party.

"What would be Mon. Rolland's attitude," I asked at the end of my lengthy preface, "if the united front is broken up and a new movement is started not quite in keeping with the requirements of Gandhian Satyagraha?"

He would be very sorry and disappointed, said Mon. Rolland, if Gandhi's Satyagraha failed to win freedom for India. At the end of the Great War, when the whole world was sick of bloody strife and hatred, a new light had dawned on the horizon when Gandhi emerged with his new weapon of political strife. Great were the hopes that Gandhi had roused throughout the whole world.

"We find from experience", said I, "that Gandhi's method is too lofty for this materialistic world and, as a political leader, he is too straight-forward in his dealings with his opponents. We find, further, that though the British are not wanted in India, with the help of superior physical force, they have nevertheless been able to maintain their existence in India in spite of the inconvenience and annoyance caused by the Satyagraha movement. If Satyagraha ultimately fails, would Mon. Rolland like to see the national endeavour

continued by other methods or would he cease taking interest in the Indian movement?"

"The struggle must go on in any case"—was the emphatic reply.

"But I know several European friends of India who have told me distinctly that their interest in the Indian freedom movement is due entirely to Gandhi's method of non-violent resistance."

Mon. Rolland did not agree with them at all. He would be sorry, if Satyagraha failed. But if it really did, then the hard facts of life would have to be faced and he would like to see the movement conducted on other lines.

That was the answer nearest to my heart. Here then was an idealist, who did not build castles in the air but who had his feet planted terra firma.

"There are people in Europe," I said, who say that just as in Russia there were two successive revolutions—a Bourgeois democratic revolution and a socialist revolution—so also in India there will be two successive revolutions—a national-democratic revolution and a social revolution. In my opinion, however, the fight for political freedom will have to be conducted simultaneously with the fight for socio-economic emancipation. The party that will bring political freedom to India will be the party that will also put into effect the entire programme of socio-economic reconstruction. What is Mon. Rolland's opinion on the point?" ✓

He found it difficult to express a definite opinion because he was not aware of all the facts of the Indian situation.

"What would be Mon. Rolland's attitude", I continued, "if the united front policy of the Indian National Congress fails to win freedom for India and a radical party emerges which identifies itself with the interests of the peasants and the workers?" ✓

Mon. Rolland was clearly of opinion that the time had come for the Congress to take a definite stand on the economic issues. "I have already written to Gandhi," said he, "that he should make up his mind on this question."

Explaining his attitude in the event of a schism within the Indian National Congress, he continued, "I am not interested in choosing between two political parties or between two

generations. What is of interest and of value to me is a higher question. To me, political parties do not count; what really counts is the great cause that transcends them—the cause of the workers of the world. To be more explicit, if as a result of unfortunate circumstances, Gandhi (or any party, for the matter of that) should be in conflict with the cause of the workers and with their necessary evolution towards a socialistic organization—if Gandhi (or any party) should turn away and stand aloof from the workers' cause, then for ever will I side with the oppressed workers—for ever will I participate in their efforts. . . . ., because on their side is justice and the law of the real and necessary development of human society."

I was delighted and amazed. Even in my most optimistic moods, I had never expected this great thinker to come out so openly and boldly in support of the workers' cause.

The strain resulting from our animated conversation was great and I felt anxious for the delicate health of my host. However, a relief came when tea was announced and we all moved into the adjoining room.

Over cups of tea our conversation went on uninterrupted. Many were the problems that we rushed through in our two and a half hours' discussion. Mon. Rolland was greatly interested in the Congress Socialist Party and its composition. His concern for the continued incarceration of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other politicals was profound. His interest in all the actions, speeches and writings of the Mahatma was astonishing. For instance, he pulled out from his old files a statement of the Mahatma in which he had expressed his sympathy for socialism. We talked at length of Mahatma Gandhi and his tactics. I ventured the remark that the Mahatma would not take a definite stand on the economic issues. Whether on political or social or economic questions, he was temperamentally a believer in 'the golden mean'. I then referred to what the younger generation regarded as some of the defects in his leadership and tactics, namely, his incorrigible habit of putting all his cards on the table, his opposition to the policy of social boycott of political opponents, his hope of a change of heart on the part of the British Government, etc. It did not afford us any satisfaction, I said, to oppose him or even

criticize him—when he had done more for his country than anyone else in recent history and had raised India considerably in the estimation of the whole world. But we loved our country more than any personality.

I asked Mon. Rolland if he would be good enough to put in a nutshell the main principles for which he had stood and fought all his life. "Those fundamental principles," he said, "are (1) Internationalism (including equal rights for all races without distinction), (2) Justice for the exploited workers—implying thereby that we should fight for a society in which there will be no exploiters and no exploited—but all will be workers for the entire community, (3) Freedom for all suppressed nationalities and (4) Equal rights for women as for men." And he proceeded to amplify some of these points. ✓

As our conversation was drawing to a close, I remarked that the views he had expressed that afternoon, would cause surprise in many quarters, since they appeared to be a recent development in his thought-life. This remark worked like an electric button and set in motion a whole train of thought. Mon. Rolland spoke of the acute mental agony he had passed through since the end of the War in trying to revise his social ideas and his entire ideology. "This combat within myself", he said, "extended over a very wide field and the problem of non-violence was only a part of it. I have not decided against non-violence, but I have decided that non-violence cannot be the central pivot of our entire social activity. It can be one of its means—one of its proposed forms, still subject to experiment." Continuing he said, "The primary objective of all our endeavours should be the establishment of another social order, more just and more human. . . . . If we do not do so, it will mean the end of society." Then referring to the methods of activity, he said, ". . . . . My own task has been for several years to try and unite the forces. . . . against the old order that is enslaving and exploiting humanity. This has been my role in the World's Congress of all political parties against War and Fascism, which was held in Amsterdam in 1932 and in the permanent Committees appointed by that Congress. I still believe that there is in non-violence a strong though latent revolutionary power which can and ought to be used, . . . . ."

I interrupted him at this stage to ask him how the world at large could know of his present ideas. To this he replied, "My social creed of these fifteen years has been expounded in two volumes of articles which have been just published. In the first one "Quinze ans de Combat" (Fifteen Years of Combat), Editions Rieder, Boulevard St. Germain 108, Paris VI—I have spoken of my inner fight and the evolution of my social ideas. In the second book "Par la Revolution La Paix (By way of revolution to peace) Editions Sociales Internationales, 24, Rue Racini, Paris VI, I have dealt with questions concerning war, peace, non-violence, . . . . and the co-ordination of their efforts in fighting the old social order." Continuing he said that some of his friends had refused to recognize all that he had written, preferring to accept only those portions with which they agreed. These two volumes would, however, be a faithful record of the evolution of his thought.

Our conversation did not end without a discussion of the much-apprehended and much-talked-of war in Europe. "For suppressed peoples and nationalities", I remarked, "war is not an unmixed evil." "But for Europe war

will be the greatest disaster", said he, "It may even mean the end of civilization. And for Russia, peace is absolutely necessary if she is to complete her programme of social reconstruction."

Before I took leave of my host, I expressed my deep gratitude for his kindness and my great satisfaction at what he had conveyed to me. I valued so greatly his sympathy for India and her cause that it had filled me with anxiety and fear whenever I had tried to imagine what his reaction would be towards the latest developments in the Indian situation.

The sun was still shining on the blue waters of the lake of Geneva as I emerged out of Villa Olga. Around me there stood the snow-covered mountains. The air was pregnant with joy and it infected me. A heavy load had been lifted off my mind. I felt convinced that this great thinker and artist would stand for India and her freedom whatever might be her immediate future or her future line of action. And with that conviction I returned to Geneva a happy man.

Karlsbad,

2.7.35

*W. L. M.*

## MY BEST FRIEND—SHAKESPEARE

ROMAIN ROLLAND

Few friends, few books stand the test of the days that we are passing through. The dearest of them betray us and we seem not to know them at all ! They were but companions of lighter days. They rush upon us riding on a sudden storm, they are but roadside flowers which another storm uproots and scatters. Only great souls send deep roots ; most of them were of humble appearance which probably were not even noticed in normal life. A small number of such high spirits soar up like towers in the midst of the plain and seem grand above all the ruins. I rediscover such a soul who garnered all the dreams of my life ever since my childhood—the grand old oak of England—Shakespeare. Not a simple branch broken, not a single twig dried up and the tempest which sweeps past the world, makes only that grand living lyre, sonorous with strength and music.

His music does not make us forget the preoccupations of the present. We lend our ear, we are surprised to listen how from that roaring sea, there emerge gradually the voices of our day, the thoughts which seem to be the direct expression of our present judgments on the events that oppress our mind. War and peace, the political procedure of the 16th and the 20th centuries, the spirit of ambition and the ruse of the states, the exploitation of the noblest instincts of heroism and of sacrifice, by hidden interests, the sacrilegious mixture of hatred with the words of the Holy Book, the participation of the churches and gods in the massacre of peoples,

the solemn treaties which are but "scraps of paper", the character of nationhood, the army in mutiny—on many such topics I collected the thoughts of Shakespeare which in case of their being published without his name, run the risk of upsetting the censors of our liberal epoch, more easily provoked than those of the reign of Elizabeth. It is so true that in spite of the world getting upside down, everything seems to be the same and that if man had found new means of domination and killing, there seems not to be any change of the soul.

But the unique benefit of the study of Shakespeare is that we may taste therein the rare virtues which seem to be unnecessary to us to-day—the gift of universal sympathy, of profound humanity, which makes one live the life of others like one's own life. Certainly the faith, the grandeur, the exaltation of life and of all its passions, are not lacking in our age which from this point of view resembles to some extent the Italian or the English Renaissance, although by way of difference or of advantage, we do not find in our age, any of those personalities, fathomless in good or in evil, who dominated the crowd. To-day the grandeur is diffused so to speak—more collective than individual ; and in the ocean of mankind surging in a mass, a wave seldom rises above the others. But the principal difference is not there ; it is in the fact that this epic spectacle lacks a spectator. Not a single eye surveys the tempest as a whole. Not a single heart embraces the agony, the

terror and the conflicting passions of those waves which buffet against one another, of those boats which smash one another, of those shipwrecks on which the oceanic abyss open to cover again ! Each remains walled up in one's-self and with own one's own things. That is why we feel in reopening a volume of Shakespeare, a relief and a deliverance. It seems as if in the midst of a heavy night, in a closed room, the storm bursts open the window and makes the breath of the Earth enter therein.

What a great fraternal soul surcharged with all the joys and the sorrows of the universe ! Not only does Shakespeare give himself up passionately to youth, to love, to the burning sweetness of spring intoxications,—Juliet and Miranda, Perdita and Imogen . . . Not only is he like the friends who efface themselves in the hours of suffering, professing the opinion of the old Lord Lafau that "excessive grief is the enemy of those who live." (All's Well, I i). But Shakespeare remains moreover faithful and affectionate to them in order to share the burden of their errors, miseries and crimes. Having wept over the death of Desdemona, Shakespeare has tears also for her murderer who is more pitiable. Shakespeare feels intimate with the most miserable and he never turns away from even the vilest of beings ; they are human like us, they have eyes, the senses, the affections, the passions, like us, they bleed like us (Merchant of Venice III i), they laugh and weep and die like us. And Frere Laurence says : "Amidst all those who are on this earth, there is none so vile as not to have something of the good ; there is none so good, as not to become bad if diverted from normal usage" (Romeo and Juliet, 11, 3 ).

The intelligence and the heart of

Shakespeare unite in the common desire of penetrating the human souls. His sense of justice completes itself with a sense of love. In the *MERCHANT OF VENICE*, Shylock and Antonio discuss, by turn, the reason of the Christian merchant for hating the Jew. Each speaks sincerely, but each gives different reasons. That is how both of them see and make us see the same thing from different angles. The creative spirit of Shakespeare, works in this manner ; without effort he places himself in the heart of each personality, he vests himself with his thought, his form and his petty universe, thus Shakespeare rarely examines his personalities from outside. And if he chooses nevertheless, to lavish the wealth of his sympathy on some of his heroes, on the strongest or the fairest children of his dreams, he is like a good father : in the hour of trial, the less loved children become equally dear to him . . .

This common compassion is like a bridge flung over the chasm that separates the individual from the class. This compassion brings together the hands of the rich and the poor, of the master and the servant. Shakespeare classes himself politically rather with the aristocrats detesting the mob. No satire of popular revolution is more cutting than the *Jacquerie of Cade* ; ( *Henry VI*, 2nd Part, IV ) and *Coriolanus* is a prototype of the superman of Nietzsche. Yet the heart of Shakespeare have feelings of delicate tenderness for the humble, and he often lends to them this refinement of sensibility. Amidst all the eloquent discourses of great personalities of Rome in the Capitol, who was the single soul to weep over the corpse of the murdered Caesar ? An unknown slave, a servant of Octavius, who brings a message for Antony and who having seen the hero assassinated,

stops suffocated as it were in the midst of his narration—"Oh ! Caesar !..." and bursts into tears. ( *Julius Caesar* III i ). . . .

But it was in *KING LEAR* ( III, IV ) that the Divine Mercy finds its profoundest expression. The old tyrant, mad with pride and egotism, begins to feel the suffering of others, at the first stroke of misfortune. In the tempest which rages on the desert plain, he pities his own fool who shivers, and gradually discovers the misery that is universal :

"Poor naked wretches, wheresoe'r you are,  
That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,  
How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,  
Your looped and windowed ruggedness, defend you  
From seasons such as these ? O, I have taken  
Too little care of this ! Take physic, pomp ;  
Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,  
That thou mayst shake the superflex to them,  
And show the heavens more just."

This human tenderness which flows like a river all along the works of Shakespeare, is probably the only thing which distinguishes most of his works from the other dramatic creations of his age. This mercy is his special mark and almost a necessity with him ; he cannot do without it. . . . Even in themes which allow little scope for mercy, Shakespeare must make room for it. Shakespeare, Like Montaigne, was not the dupe of stoicism ; for him it was but an armour hiding the real heart. And what moving sweetness, when the armour is broken and love glows forth, as in the famous reconciliation scene of Brutus and Cassius, which is the very jewel of the piece ( *Julius Caesar* IV, 13 ). The heart is so full of tenderness that

one feels as it were the shedding of tears ; but dignity stands in the way and gives to the restrained emotion a supreme beauty. . . .

Even beyond mankind this mercy extends to Nature herself. The exiled Duke in *As YOU LIKE IT* ( II, 1 ) listens to the voices of the trees, reads "books in running brooks and sermons in stones" and the melancholic Jacques weeps over the suffering of the wounded stag.

Thus the genius of the Poet forges the links of the chain which connects the whole living world. And there is nothing in any one of them which do not spread through all others as well ; for we exist in common and it is ourselves that we rediscover here in every page of this tragi-comedy of the Universe.

But while we play our part in all scenes of joy and sorrow, while we help each soul to bear its cross, we are helped in return to bear ours. Edgar says ( *King Lear* III, 6 ) :

"When we our betters see bearing our woes,  
We scarcely think our miseries our foes,  
Who alone suffers suffers most in the mind,  
Leaving free things and happy shows behind,  
But then the mind much sufferance doth overskip,  
When grief hath mates and bearing fellowship."

All rancours fade away. The sights of injustice do not excite the desire for reparing it by a similar injustice. And the last word, the song which soars above the ultimate accords of that Symphony is that with which the luminous spirit of the air, Ariel inspires in Prospero :

"The rarer action is in virtue than in vengeance"  
"Le pardon est au dessus de la vengeance."

## ON SHAKESPEARE

ROMAIN ROLLAND

[ The Indian admirers of Romain Rolland would be happy to know that they are at one with the great French artist on an important literary issue, viz, a common admiration for the immortal Shakepeare. Privileged to discuss with Mon. Rolland ( in September 1923 ) the literary and artistic influence on him, I discovered, to my great joy that the French Master had a profound love for Shakespeare. He went so far as to say that Sheakespeare had exerted on him an influence greater both in quality and quantity than that of many French classics. Sheakespeare was a sort of "Literary Bible" to Rolland. The tercentenary of Sheakespeare's death ( celebrated in April, 1916 ) evoked the most glowing tributes from Romain Rolland, who showed that he had not only made an exhaustive study of the great dramatist but was also planning to consecrate a special volume ( on the same lines as his Lives of Beethoven, Michael Angelo and Tolstoy ) to the memory of Sheakespeare. The publication of the volume was unfortunately delayed ; but I had the good fortune to have Mon. Rolland's permisson to publish some of his ideas on Shakespeare inaccessible as yet to the Indian public. I beg to thank him at the very outset for helping me to trace these precious documents. I request my readers at the same time, not to judge these pages as a complete survey of Shakespeare by Rolland, for he himself makes the following apology :.....  
"These pages form a chapter of a series of studies on the works of Shakespeare. One

should not seek herein the judgement as a whole, which cannot emerge except in THE ENSEMBLE of a volume. So vast is the genius of the Poet that one must limit oneself to study only one of the phases of his genius ; we wished merely to bring to light HIS INTREPID VISION OF LIFE. Pessimism seems to be its fruit, but it is not the dominant impression and the crowning piece of the art of Shakespeare. The libertaing character of his genius would be shown in the chapters to follow. But, as we had to choose, we have preferred to show here the Heroic Truth, without illusion without compromise, which is at the basis of that marvellous edifice of poetic dreams."

So with grateful thanks to Mon. Romain Rolland and to the Editor of the Swiss journal "Demain" in which the article was first printed (April, 1916), we publish this valuable study. It was written amidst the most harrowing outburst of savagery in the heart of this civilised world during the World War ; and the bleeding heart of the great French champion of Fraternity found its support and solace in the deathless creation of Shakespeare. Against the cruel vandalism of man, Rolland played the redeeming glory of a creative artist. As in his studies on Carl Spitteler so also here, we find Rolland ever soaring "above the battlefield" of our tragic existence to the supernal heights of Everlasting Truth and Beauty. This eternal character of Shakespeare has also been emphasised by our Rabindranath in the noble sonnet which he dedicated to the great



Dramatist at the tercentenary of the latter's death ( vide Balaka," No. xxxix. )—Kali Das Nag. ]

## 1

## TRUTH IN THE DRAMAS OF SHAKESPEARE

Shakespeare passed away three centuries ago, three centuries during which the nations of Europe have not ceased to tear one another to pieces for the futile conquest of supremacy which none of them can attain to ; for they would thereby ruin themselves, one and all. But the radiating glory of the constellations which fill the firmament of thought extends indistinctively over one and all the countries. No land, no state has absolute rights over men of genius ; when they have restituted to their native soil the dust of their body, they are liberated from the barriers of countries ; and like the stars that illumine the night all over the world, their light remains for all.

May the light of the "sweet and wild" Shakespeare be with us for a few instants amidst this darkness, like a beacon-light which rallies the hearts of those that are drifting—the mysterious bond which unifies the tangle of looks and spirits that are inimical !

One of the points on which men of all ages are unanimous, is the Platonic love which they profess for Truth and the very real dread which they have of her. They already betray this fear in this that they never wish to acknowledge it and they are hostile to those who point it out. The word Truth is on the lips of everybody, but how few care for the application of its meaning.

That seems to be the function of the 'thinkers' and the writers whose vision has been sharpened by their habits of observation and analysis.

But for that they must have as much courage as intelligence ; and if the latter is not common, the former is even exceptional. One does not doubt oneself when one enters the literary career as an enthusiastic and confident novice who believes that the only difficulty is to find the exact artistic EXPRESSION OF WHAT ONE THINKS. But he perceives gradually that the greatest difficulty is to have the WILL TO SAY WHAT ONE THINKS, nay more, to DARE TO THINK. For conscience, vaguely dissatisfied with the limits which she imposes on her veracity, seeks remedy in supineness ; she reclines on the pillow and thinks only by halves—just thus far and no further—like children in a game who finish by convincing themselves that if they jumped one step outside the line traced by them on the pavement, they would tumble into the abyss created by their imagination. A tiny little paddock of human souls, narrowly enclosed by the hedge of social conventions, and the ditch of prejudices. The spirit ruminates in a docile manner the herbs reserved. Only a few beasts, a little more audacious, risk a glance across the barrier. But about surmounting it like break-necks ! Only a few mad-caps like Pascal and Nietzsche have attempted the game.

It is, however, by the audacity in speaking Truth displayed more or less in a work, that we judge of the moral or even intellectual superiority of the artist. From this point of view, when one observes closely, what a surprise to notice the insignificant extent to which that audacity attains ! This is speci-

ally so in drama ; for there one must speak through persons who, thus brought together, fuse their passions, their conventions, their prejudices, into a common MASS ; and to make oneself heard by that monster of a thousand heads so that their hard sense of hearing could perceive the sounds, the artist must adopt one of the "temperaments" ( as one says in music ) wherein the crudity of the too sharp shades of thought disappears under a compromise which makes everything uniform. The artist, if he is conscious, can, more or less, unmuzzle his Truth and give rein to his prudent audacity along the track which traces the passions of his age and his own hidden desires. For it so happens, that within the general constraint which society imposes on itself, it conceives obscurely a desire, with a view to relieving itself, of partial emancipation, of course in a predetermined sense. So does it happen to a man who suffers from a general disease but, not wishing to trace it back to the very source, fixes his attention on one of the symptoms and is willing to persuade himself that the symptom is the chief enemy to combat with. The moralists and the satirists profit thereby in order to throw some light on the points ; but it is only a hole in the hedge. Truth passes through it, but she does so like a trained dog which obeys orders and seldom goes further than what is permitted. When a king gives tone to society and he finds it to his profit and satisfaction to bring down the pride of the higher classes, then Comedy flings her darts ( as we find in the case of Moliere ) at the vices of the nobles or at the ridiculousness of the sudden-rich middle-class, or on literary frauds. When the sceptre passes to the hands of an ambitious, reasonable, vigorous and

strong-backed middle class, the satire invades the religious ground for therein stands a rival who has to be ousted. But it is rare to find that what free speech gains on one side, is not lost on another. One may say that the writer compensates for his boldness on one point by flattering concessions on all the other items. Men do not voluntarily stand radical criticism of the universe--the too sincere vision which depreciates this straw of a world where they are lodged. Men secretly like that some one should wildly disturb their dreams as they lie reclined on the pillow of illusions. Men know them to be illusions, and they even agree that some one should remind them of that fact. But it should be done casually, in a passing way, in a smiling manner, without insisting. Truth must muffle herself in the mask of a symbol or a paradox in order that she may be agreeable. In order that it should be supportable Truth must appear as Fiction.

Shakespeare knocked his head against these difficulties. No doubt he had the advantage of living in an epoch less timorous, wherein the artist had not to think about saving the sensibilities of the public, hardened by the experience of physical misery. On the tragic enigmas of life and death, Hamlet could go as far as he desired in his meditations, and no one held his breath. But as soon as he bent himself to the criticism of Society, his task was as difficult as that of the modern writers ; nay, even more difficult, for he had to submit to the dangers of a capricious and tyrannical authority—or rather of many such authorities, encroaching on one another : the monarchy, the nobility, the church, and the brutalised populace. In one of his sonnets ( No. LXVI ) Shakespeare expresses his disgust with a life in which all

forces of freedom and all true arts are bound and gagged.

"And right perfection wrongfully disgraced  
And strength by limping sway disabled,  
And art made tongue-tied by authority."

And yet Shakespeare succeeded, if not completely, at least sufficiently, in enabling us to read to the very bottom of that intrepid soul which, while loving this life to the extent of embracing it in all its forms, yet penetrated it so violently that he was not the dupe of any form or appearance.

His disguises were manifold.

To begin with, one of the favourite games which gratified his naughty irony was to lend to the parties concerned the criticism which they would never tolerate to listen to from other peoples' mouth. Thus the princes abuse the nobles with impunity, the king ridicules the pride of birth, and few satires are as cutting to women as those flung by the witty Rosalinde. But, more habitually Shakespeare confides his profoundest truths to two classes of spokesmen, each placed on either of the two poles of the human world,—he confides to the humblest of men, to slaves, to fools, to those who could tell everything because they did not count at all; and, by way of exception, he confides to those who count too much, who break through all human barriers that are too narrow—to the supermen and heroes.

In this last category, which I shall discuss first, one must include not only those who are **HEROES IN ESSENCE**, but also those who are **HEROES BY CIRCUMSTANCE**; men at the very height of misfortune, or on the verge of

death, whose eyes open to see those things which they would never have dared to see straight till the last hour. A feeble and puerile king like Henry VI, a wanton woman of Egypt like Cleopatra, suddenly stand transfigured on the threshold of death. They see and judge with calmness from on high the things human and their illusions of which they were voluntary dupes for long. The furious Macbeth in the midst of the toranado which sweeps past his life perceives in a flash of lighting, as it were, the tragic inanity of all human volition. The fugitive Gloucester (in King Lear) discovers through his bursting bleeding eyes not only the ferocious irony of implacable Fate (like the Ananke of Spitteler's Prometheus), but the social inequality as well, and a storm of revolt, almost proletarian in tone, rages through his words.

In these examples, the unfortunate or dying persons have to endure no trial in being truthful; they are already outside life; they are no longer tied by conventions. But those who, in full life, in the heart of the social order, remain intrepidly truthful, all round, in their looks, their thoughts, their words, their acts,—how many such persons do we meet in a century? They are rare, in every age, and shall be more and more rare as we may fear; for the democratic levelling of the world, advantageous to the mass, decapitates the leaders, the crests of the forest, as the spectacle of the present epoch is proving to us; never was the world lacking, to this extent, in independent and truthful personalities. The diffusion of sovereign power in public life amongst the herds of citizens, far from encouraging the liberty of isolated individuals is imposing rather a tyrannical veto on their opinion: forty

thousands masters in the place of a single one !

In the age of Shakespeare, when the Great Rebels were less rare than to-day, they were all the same sufficiently rare, so that when one wanted to represent certain types of them, one had to place them in the far-away legends and histories. One can find a certain number of them, however, in the works of Shakespeare : some princely vassals who dare—prompted by self-respect, by the need to be frank no less than by the interest of their master—to hold their head audaciously before their lord and tell him the cruellest of truths. Such types we meet in Kent of King Lear and Paulina in the Winter's Tale. Above these types, there is a small group of princely elites who rule the people they are destined to govern, from such a height that their vision

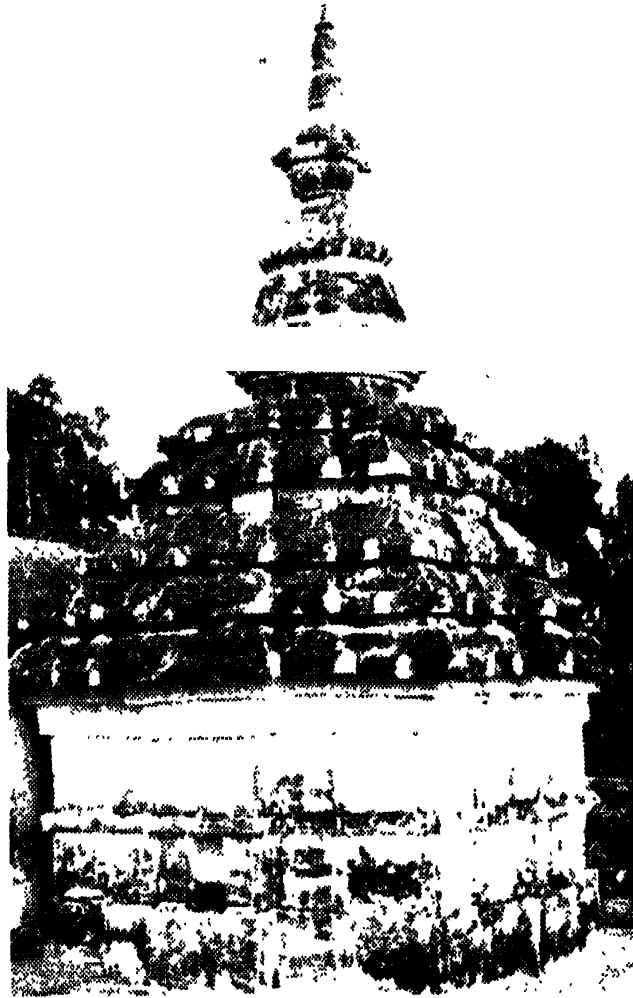
is not obscured by flatteries and prejudices : the clear-sighted and thoughtful Henry V and his chivalrous adversary, the impetuous Hotspur, whose violence of temper brings him to ruin, but who is an equal to his slayer Henry on account of the magnificent veracity which is Hotspur's own. Higher still stands the Bastard, the "laughing lion" of king John. Then there is Alcibiades-Bonaparte who scourges the advocates, the dishonest politicians and rotten legality ( Cf. Timon of Athens, v .5 with Napoleon's discourse of 18 Brumaire ) ; and last of all, quite on high, the hero absolutely free, standing single against the whole world, and whose every word breathes a world of truth—Coriolanus. One may say that this Superman ( Uebermensch ) is a veritable incarnation of Supertruth ( Ueberwahrheit ), the heroic sur-verity ; for it is so very difficult, at times, for the common people to breathe in that atmosphere. . . .

### ROMAIN ROLLAND'S SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY

Romain Rolland's sympathies and appreciation know no bounds of race or clime. He belongs, therefore, not only to France, but to India and all the world. He has been able to love and respect even Germany, which has been looked upon by his countrymen as THE enemy country for decades. A people are to be judged not by the worst that they have done but by their ideals and aspirations. Hence we take Rolland to be a truer representative of his people than those who recently perpetrated the barbarities at Damascus. We are aware that few of us have realised in our lives the ideals and aspirations of India which have won for her the love and adoration of a master spirit like Rolland. But his words are to us a fresh reminder of what India stands for in the minds of men who belong to 'all the world. For this reminder and for all that he is and has done, we salute Romain Rolland with love and respect on the occasion of his completing his sixtieth year, when there is to be a celebration of the event in Switzerland by his friends and admirers. May we not on our part be totally unworthy of that India which the great ones of our country and of the world have seen in their visions !

Ramananda Chatterjee

THE MODERN REVIEW, January, 1926, p. 126



Shyamaleswar Temple  
—Danton (Midnapur)

## TEMPLES IN BENGAL

P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY

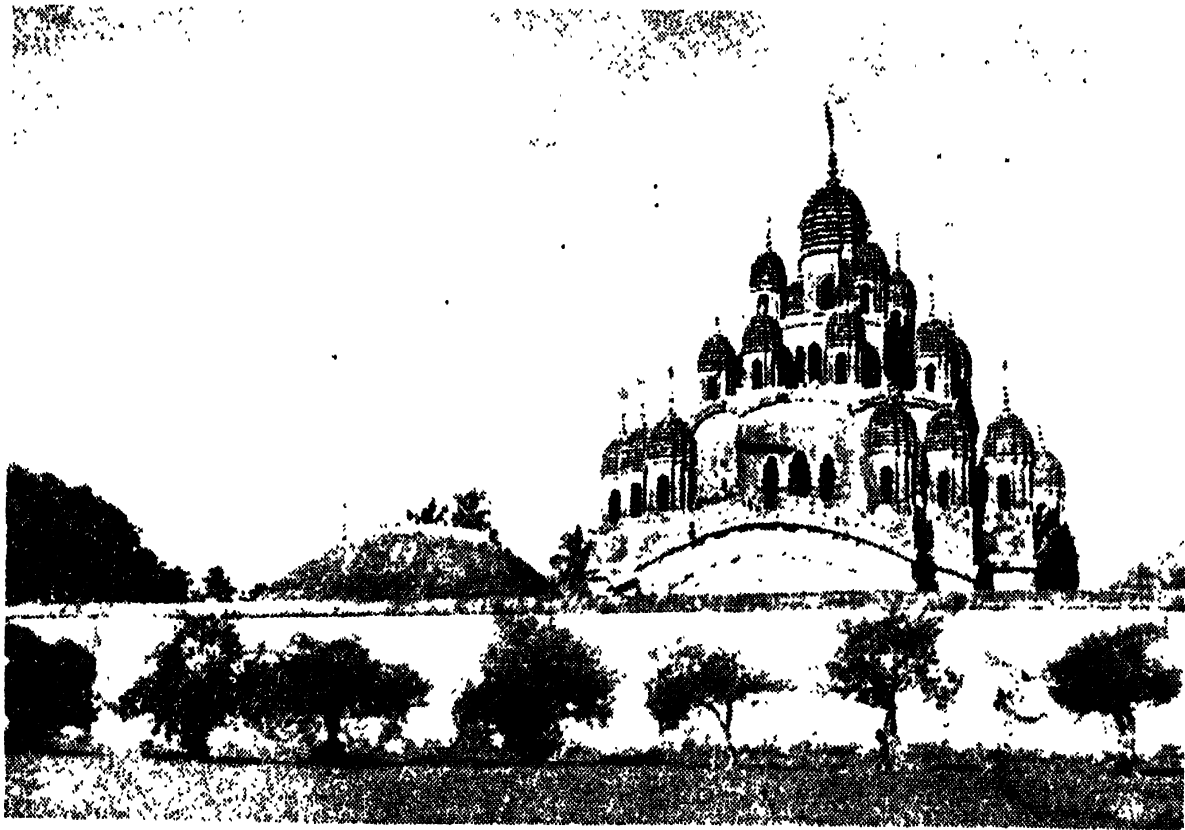
Different currents of ideas and thoughts are clearly perceptible in the many religious movements in Bengal. The *Adivasis* of Bengal who are now mostly represented by the various Scheduled Tribes and Castes and are generally taken to be inferior in the caste-hierarchy, have a very big contribution to the religious thoughts of Bengal. As a matter of fact, this is probably a common factor in other regions in India as well. It is the so-called lower castes and tribes of the ancient Rarh, Pundra, Banga and the other *Janapadas* of Bengal that are still very well represented in different types of deities and their *puja*. Apart from some of the indigenous godheads that have been very eclectically taken into the Hindu pantheon, there are hundreds of *achars* and religious practices that go to make up much of the daily life of a caste Hindu. If one carefully analyses the various items celebrated in a Hindu marriage in Bengal, it will be found that excepting the *Sampradan*, *Yagna* and *Saptapadi* along with the recitals of the particular *Mantras* accompanying these ceremonies, all the other items are non-Brahmanic, non-*Vaidik* and are entirely based on the customs and practices of the so-called lower castes. The use of clusters of paddy, *dub* grass, plantains, turmeric, *pan*, coconut, vermillion, *ghat* (pot),

cowdung, mango leaves etc., that plays a prominent part in the daily religious ceremonies can hardly be traced to anything Brahmanic. Many of the non-Aryan deities and *Gramya-devatas* have now been fully accepted by the higher caste Hindus and they are worshipped in temples either individually or along with *Vaidik* or *Pauranik* gods. In the case of some of those deities a very low caste Dom officiates as the priest and Brahmins offer their *pujas* to such deities and are monitored by the Dom priest.

Jainism and Buddhism had once saturated parts of Bengal. The various phases of Vaidik Hinduism, Saivism, Saktaism and Vaishnavism had also deeply affected Bengal sometime or other. In recent decades theism had been highlighted. But all these currents have not been able to throw out such non-*Vaidik* deities like Dharma-Puja, Shitala or Ola Bibi. The god-lings of the Adivasis have still an upper hand so

to say in the villages. Bengal has accepted all these currents and in some way or the other there are temples that show the impact of the different religious forces. The types of temples are also a few. Some of them were indigenous to Bengal while some are the result of the impact of temple-types of other regions.

There are certain particular aspects which need mention in a discussion of the temples of Bengal. The alluvial soil of Bengal and the indigenous qualities that go to make a Bengali have much to do with the temples in this region. It is only a part of Bengal that has got lateritic soil and there is a singular want of hills or quarries of black stone or other kind of soft stone which abound in Bihar and other parts of Eastern India. Bengal has to depend on the alluvial and clayey soil of her own and bricks baked out of the clayey soil for building the temples. Bengal also lacked rich rulers like Shah Jehan or the powerful dynasties of Orissa



Krishna Chandra Temple—A Gaudiya Order—Three Chār-Chala Roofs  
super-imposed upon one another

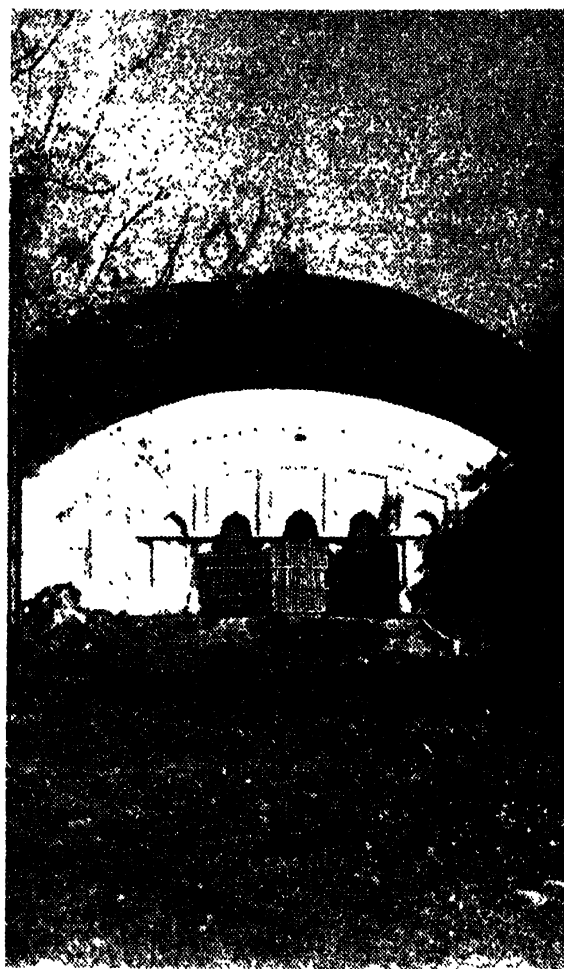
—Kalna (Burdwan)

or of Southern India that could spend fortunes over building temples. Bengal was always split among a number of rulers and none of them had the definite stability to build anything like the temples of Orissa or the great edifices in Agra or Delhi. It is said that the revenue of eighteen years of the Mughal empire had been spent over building the Taj Mahal and even Shah Jehan was impoverished by giving this magnanimous landmark to India.

We find more of a manifestation of *Batsalya Rasa* and a sense of complacency in their conception of their gods and the deities worshipped. The deity is not something very detached, exotic or very remote to a Bengali. The deity of Kali with her fierce looks, string of human heads round the neck, protruding tongue, awe-inspiring trident and standing on the lying figure of Lord Siva could not normally have evoked a very affectionate devotion and soft love as the Mother. The devotional songs in praise of the deity of Kali whether by Ramprasad or others, all refer to her as a loving mother who is always forgiving her sons for their sins and whose blessings are always there for her devotees. She is appealed to, cajoled and even rebuked by the devotees. The *Durga puja* when Uma or Parvati is worshipped for four days strikes the inner chord of the heart of the Bengali and almost every Bengali household, rich or poor, looks forward to the *Durga puja*. Uma or Parvati lives the year round in the deep ravines or the peaks of the snowclad Himalayas with her husband Lord Siva commonly described as *Bom Bhola* or *Pagla Bhola*. To a Bengali whose heart throbs for the miseries of Uma, Siva is almost mad, who does not know his own mind and who is absurdly unworldly and careless. Lord Siva neglects his wife. Such domestic and intimate themes are a paradox to many in other parts of India but they are fondly cherished by many a Bengali throughout the year and particularly in the Puja days. The idea of worship and this parental affection for Uma go together.

The conception of Lord Siva in Bengal also differs from the conception in other parts of India. He is taken elsewhere as the Lord of the Universe and if he is angry the gods tremble. But Lord Siva is normally taken in Bengal as the *Bom Bhola* who does not know how to dress properly,

who remains intoxicated with *Ganja* and who moves about like a mad personage. He is pitied and loved fondly and regarded deeply. He is worshipped reverentially. In a similar manner, let us think of the difference in the conception of Lord Krishna in Bengal and



Gaudiya Temple of the Do-Chālā Type  
—Chandernagore, West Bengal

elsewhere. The first conception of Lord Krishna in Bengal is as the *Nani Chor Bal Gopala*, the mischievous little boy who steals cream and butter from the stock of her mother and the other ladies. He is full of pranks, breaks the milk pots and runs wild. He is next conceived as the lover in the highest sense and his flute makes the gopinis run madly to him intoxicated with love. Then he is *Chakradhari* Krishna, the Lord of the Universe. He is more fondly worshipped in Bengal as *Kala Chand*. *Radha-madhav* or *Sham Rai*.

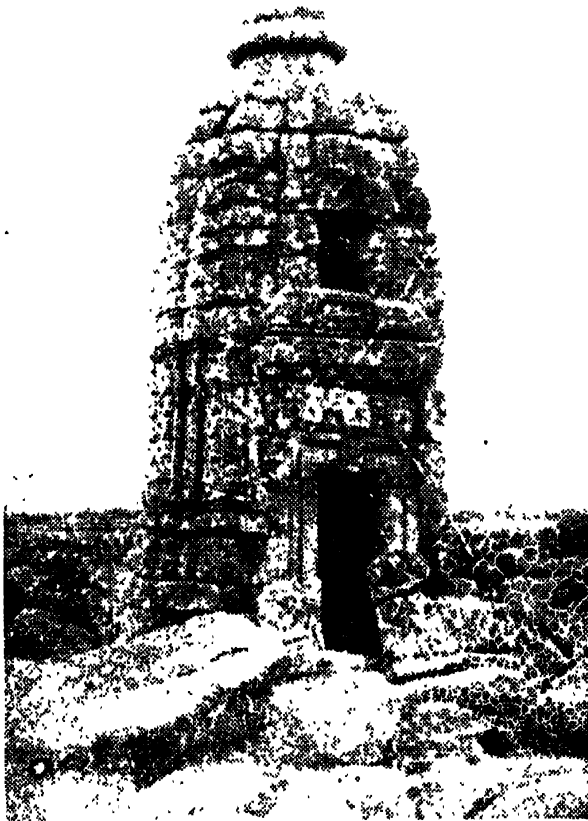
A community to whom its god is so very personal and intimate does not absolutely require a huge edifice to worship him. A *Thakur ghar* or a room for the god was a common feature in

could be used for keeping the image of the household deity. The deity could even be offered as *bhog* a little *batasa* (made of sugar), a piece of cucumber or a banana if there is nothing else in the house. The deity is a family member and shares the woes and happiness of the family; if anything wrong happens the family head rushes to Him and so does he also if there is anything good.

This is one of the reasons why the usual type of Bengal temples is the ordinary *Do-chala*, *Char-chala* or *At-chala* or the same sort of mud-plastered thatched structure where the Bengali villager lives. A lofty edifice of stone and brick as a temple is not as common as in other parts of India. Huts in Bengal villages, where the rainy season is rather a trying period, have very slanting rounded roofs and there may be one, two, four or eight lairs of them according to the finances of the householder. When a deity has to be established in a separate structure, the ordinary villager can only think of a structure similar to his own house for sheltering the Lord. It is only when a rich zamindar thought of building a temple that the temples of baked bricks came in and there were a few different styles in them.

A unique institution in Bengal villages, unfortunately now dying out, is the *Chanditala*. Usually, this is but a platform round a shady tree and there may be one or two images under the tree which people anoint with *sindur* (vermilion) and pour water on them. The *gramyadevatas* or the village godlings are kept there. The *Chanditala* is a great institution which brings the villagers of different castes and creeds together. It is here that religious discourses are held, scriptures like *Puranas*, *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat* are read and *Kirtans* or *Palas* are held.

From the *Thakur ghar* in the household and *Chanditala*, there was an evolution of the Bengali *Do-chala*, *Char-chala*, or *At-chala* temple which was, as mentioned earlier, only a replica of the huts where the Bengal villagers live. *Jor-Bangla* temples are also common and they are nothing but two roofs of huts adjoining each other. Ordinary clay and mud, mud-baked bricks and the normal indigenous tools of the mason and the architect have produced a number of superb temples scattered in different parts of Bengal.



Rekha Temple on a Hill at Khakpartā in Ranchi Near Lohardaga Branch Rail line—shows how Rekha Temples of Bengal and Orissa have influenced Chhotanagpur Architecture.

the Bengal villages. This *Thakur ghar* need not have been a separate room situated apart from the household. A little corner in any room where the small image of the deity is put and worshipped will be the *Thakur ghar*. Whether the image is put on a shelf or in a corner of the room, it will be referred to as the *Thakur ghar*. It was seldom thought that the *Thakur* needs any elaborate or exclusive arrangement as his abode. A part of the shelf along with some religious books and often with some other nick-knacks of the household in the same room



The contribution of sculptors to the mud walls and on the mud-baked bricks is of a very high order. Some of the temples of Bankura district like *Jor-Bangla* temple and Madan Mohan temple at Bistupur, Shree Dhar temple at Sonamukhi, show very fine specimens of sculpture. Sculptors are as successful in depicting figures of birds and animals, bullock-carts, scenes of *Shikar* as they are clever in panel work. The very fine ornamentation on the clay walls and pillars of the *Jor-Bangla* temple at Bistupur wins the admiration of every one who has seen it. Various Pauranik scenes and phases of Krishna *Lila* have been wonderfully reproduced on the walls and pillars. Terra cotta art had attained a very high level of excellence.

There has also been the use of laterite stones in building some temples and the temple of Gokul Chand at Saldah village in Bankura district is a unique specimen. This temple is of *Pancha ratna* type and has five turrets. Although almost dilapidated and in the midst of snake-infested bushes and jungles, the temple is well worth a visit to appreciate the high skill in panelling work. Some of the *Rekha deul* temples

showing a clear impact of Orissa type of temples are also fine specimens of sculpture. Bengal potters and stone masons are well-known for their delicate execution of image work. There is no reason to think that the images and particularly the old ones were ever imported. Some of the temples in Bankura district amply prove that the masons could execute absolutely different types of temples. The *Rasa Mancha* temple at Bistupur, Siva temple at Ekteshwar, Malleshwar Siva temple at Bistupur, the heavily ornamented temple at Bahulata reminding one of the temples at Bhuvaneshwar are absolutely of different types.\*

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## SYMBOLISM IN "THE KING OF THE DARK CHAMBER"

D. V. S. R. MURTY

"I should not like," observes T. S. Eliot, "any one seeing a play of mine to feel completely comfortable". Speaking of the allegory of one of the plays Tagore iterates in a similar way that "It goes into detail, remorselessly refusing the reader a single normal moment." His play "The King of The Dark Chamber" allows no normal moment nor bestows complete comfort. Tagore is a philosopher-playwright and so his plays abound in significance, symbolism and allegory. Indeed the Indian mind from times immemorial has made literature symbolic in its essential conception. The poet approaches the Universal Soul from the Individual. In other words he endeavours to perceive unity in diversity. So Tagore in his lecture on "Art" avows that the "true principle of art is the principle of unity." The artist can behold this principle of unity in the Universal Soul.

### *As A Problem Play*

"The King of The Dark Chamber", is a problem play. There is a peculiarity in the plays of Tagore, though they are problem plays. There is no comparison between the modern problem plays of Ibsen, Shaw or Gilbert and those of Tagore. Shaw or Gilbert deal with social problems realistically with superb wit and humour. But Tagore's problem plays deal with intellectual and philosophical problems. "The King of The Dark Chamber" has been written about the ultimate Reality which baffles the minds of many in the world. People are faced here with the problem of comprehending that Reality which places them before God.

### *The Theme*

The play engages the common spectator, delights the scholar and transports the philosopher, for the theme of the play is the progress of man towards God and Self-realization. The people are after The King of The Dark Chamber.

They could not find him. So they indulge in wild conjectures. They begin to spread scandals about him.

The citizens complain that the King evinces no interest in the welfare of the people. The streets in the city are filthy and are considered to be openings for the citizens to fly away from it. Virupaksha thinks that the King is ugly and so he never appears to them. Bhavadatta thinks that there is no king and the rumour is kept afloat. Some think that he is afraid of those that beg favours. The citizens meet once again before the play ends and tell that the King of Kanchi is crowned by the judge of the Justice, for he alone is brave.

Sudarshana is the queen and Surangama is her maid. The queen feels the presence of the king in the dark chamber but the king leaves her there. Surangama shows her the way to meet the king. Finally the King of Kanchi, Sudarshana and Surangama meet the king who opens the doors of the Dark Chamber and brings them into light. The play which begins in darkness ends in light.

### *The Symbolism*

Edward Thomson rightly points out that "Raja" (The King of The Dark Chamber) shows his symbolism full grown. A complete understanding of the symbols used in the play alone unravels the greatness of Tagore as a playwright. There are the symbols of God, darkness, fire, battle and light.

The King of the Dark Chamber symbolises God. Tagore has translated his play "Raja" from Bengali into English. "Raja" is traditionally applied to God, for He is called,

"Yamo. Vyvaswate, Raja"

He is the dictator. He is full of effulgence. He is the king who showers bliss. So Raja is The King of the Dark Chamber. The King remains invisible throughout the play though we feel his presence. He tells Sudarshana that "she is

verily his second self", and so asks her to see "herself mirrored in his own mind". When Sudarshana completely surrenders to him and says "I am his servant now, no longer his queen." she knows that his love alone lives in her in which he is reflected. Thus Tagore has presented God through the symbol of Raja.

### *Darkness*

Black colour symbolises darkness, ignorance and sleep and so it pervades throughout the play. The sun rises just before the play ends. The King opens the doors of the dark chamber and brings Sudarshana, Surangama and the King of Kanchi into light, for they have also been dabbling in the dark chamber with others. The world, indeed, is a dark chamber and realised souls alone see "the white radiance of eternity" which is obstructed by life's "dome of many coloured glass". People live in darkness, in ignorance and in sleep in this dark chamber i.e., the world. It is the first stage in human life in which man lives in desire and lust. In this darkness there is no king and he is completely invisible. So black suggests the whole atmosphere of the play symbolising the world.

### *Other Symbols*

Fire is another symbol. It is the purifier. The people are found in the pleasure gardens which are on fire. The fire burns down desire in their mind and purifies them. They escape from the gardens. Here the people understand the futility of the earthly pleasures. So the battle begins in their minds.

There is an encampment. The Kings are ready to rescue Sudarshana from her degradation caused by her desire to be with the King. The King of Kanchi is ready to fight with the king for her. All other kings run away from the battle-field. The King of Kanchi alone is fearless and he finally accepts his defeat before the King of the Dark Chamber.

Light symbolises wisdom. Sun rises at the end. Wisdom dawns in the mind of the King of Kanchi, when he accepts his defeat fearlessly. Sudarshana sees light when pride and ego vanish from her and when she surrenders herself to the

King. Surangama's nature is humbled before the king and she has light in herself.

### *Names*

Even the names in the play are symbolic. Sudarshana means good sight. She symbolises beauty. She is proud and vain. Surangama can receive gods. Virupaksha has ugly eyes. So he has an ugly outlook. Kumbha means pot and it is no wonder if he is muddy-headed. A close study of the names in the play opens out a new world of interest to the reader.

### *Its Allegory*

Tagore's "The King of the Dark Chamber" is an allegory of life. Life begins in darkness. The people go in the dark chamber to find its king. They fail to understand his ways. They do not find any reason for the apparent discord there. So some become sceptics, some atheists, some idolators and so on. The citizens represent the people with these different outlooks.

They want to find the king in pleasure gardens. They are completely disillusioned for the king has no place in them which stand for sensual nature. Many kings also come to the gardens to find the King of the Dark Chamber. This is the second stage in life.

Pleasures do not lead them to the king. They can find a way to the king only after the annihilation of their desire for pleasure. So the pleasure gardens are on fire. Here they are liberated from worldly pleasure, for the urge to meet the king is dominant in them. The battle begins in their minds. Now they turn to beauty from pleasure. The kings want to possess Sudarshana, the symbol of beauty. Sudarshana herself has to transcend the worldly limitation. She has "iron pride", for she is a paragon of beauty. She thinks that she is the quintessence of the King's creation. Her pride makes her miserable and wretched. There is a "feverish restlessness" in her to see the King. The Kings are ready to fight for Sudarshana, the worldly beauty. The King of Kanchi alone stands boldly to fight with the King of the Dark Chamber for her but is defeated. At the same time Sudarshana's iron pride vanishes. She realises that she is the servant of the King but

not his queen, for beauty is to become Truth. This is the final stage of life. for there is self-realization. The King of Kanchi, Sudarshana and Surangama reach this final stage by conquering their ego and establishing the king's love in their hearts. They commune with the King of the Dark Chamber and enjoy "Ananda", the perennial bliss, for the King opens the doors of the dark chamber and brings them into light. It is true knowledge in the world. So the sun rises and the play ends.

The symbolism of the play opens out new vistas into the world of Tagore that delights us with its philosophy and mysticism. He is brought up in the rich Vedic culture of India which leads life from darkness to light and from death to deathlessness. Tagore's play "The King of The Dark Chamber" shows the way from darkness (Tamas) to light (Jyoti) which leads from death (Mrutyu) to immortality (Amrutam).

"Tamaso ma Jyotir Gamaya  
Mrutyorma Amrutam Gamaya."

## EDUCATION FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION

G. VENKATESAN

(Paper on "Political Factors that can Facilitate National Integration")

### The Quest for National Unity

'Some kind of a dream of unity has occupied the mind of India since the dawn of civilization.' Various attempts have been made at different times by eminent Indians to realise this dream. Live alone the pre-historic references to national unity, the first historical emperor, Chandragupta Maurya, ruled from his rich and fabulous capital Pataliputra, over a vast empire. "For the first time in the history of India there was a power, the strength of which could be felt all over the land and by which the multiplicity of principalities was transformed into the unity of an Imperial State."<sup>2</sup> Under Chandragupta's grandson Ashoka, the Mauryan Empire was 'much larger than

British India; it was more extensive than the Roman Empire at its greatest extent in the second and third centuries A.D."<sup>3</sup>

During the time of Akbar, the Mughals reached the meridian of their glory. The unification of India and the creation of a National State was the inordinate passion of this magnanimous Moghul Emperor. "Akbar not only successfully accomplished the political unification of a large part of the country but also gave his empire a first and efficient administration."<sup>4</sup> But Akbar's great-grandson Aurangzib, a clean contrast to Akbar, wanted to establish a theocratic state in a United India. "He was in fact the martyr for India's unity but the unity he desired to establish and for which he ruined his great inheritance was not the unity of a national state as Akbar had fore-

seen, but an Islamic State—the rule of a conquering minority over India. It is that ideal which lies buried in the Mausoleum at Aurangabad.”<sup>5</sup> With the passing away of Aurangzib in 1707 the “Moghul power faded into an insubstantial peagent and the country had fallen into a condition of masterless disorder.”<sup>6</sup> And it was left to the Britishers to bring about India’s enduring political consolidation.

What the Britishers achieved was at best a political and administrative unification. But the emotional content was infused into that unification by a gamut of glorious sons of the soil from Ram Mohan Roy to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. The singularly unique achievement of Gandhi was the conversion of a middle class Congress movement into a national mass movement. As Andrews put it when Gandhi became the master of India, ‘the masses of the people in the remotest and sleepest villages had been stirred to life’.<sup>7</sup> The whole nation, forgetting the caste, communal, religious and linguistic diversities, stood united, firm and strong against the mighty British Imperialism, the like of which never happened in the history of India. After nearly thirty years of ceaseless fight, Britain finally accepted the principle of India’s Complete freedom and in August 15, 1947, the country regained its independence.

## II

### Political Base for National Integration

The freed people of this great country have deliberately chosen the democratic way of life assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. It is true that in the process of translating Indian unity into a workable proposition of Government and administration some ugly disintegrating tendencies and attitudes have come to the surface. This is but natural

when there is a churning of a vast mass of humanity which is multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi many other things. ‘It is no good our forgetting these things and then talking about integration. There will be no question of integration if all these factors were not present in our country.’<sup>8</sup> But when these factors are stretched beyond a point they constitute a threat to national integration. It is just to prevent such a calamity the Founding Fathers of our Constitution have provided with great foresight certain constitutional measures, safeguards and devices. The following factors may be considered to constitute the political base for national integration.

### Universal Civic Rights

The concepts of Popular Sovereignty, Secularism, Federalism, Welfare State etc., provide ideological ethos to the constitutional factors that are enshrined in the Constitution. The main aim of these factors is to preserve national unity and security. Certain fundamental rights are conferred on the citizens so that they can exercise these rights to strengthen social solidarity and national integration. A judicious exercise of these rights with democratic self-restraint will facilitate national integration. On the other hand irresponsible exercise of them will drive the ship of state on the rock of disintegration. Many problems could be avoided if the right to form and function political parties and other associations is not misused or abused. The political parties and other groups who seek to enjoy this right should always keep in mind the imperative necessity of ensuring national unity.

It is a sign of political wisdom that the D.M.K. party has given up its parochial demand for a seperate Sovereign Dravidasthan. It would be equally wise if the Akali Dal gives up its communal cry of Punjabi Suba and the underground rebel Nagas dis-

card their tribal demand for the formation of a separate Nagaland. Similarly the Indian Communist Party—whether Right or Left—should shed its triple allegiance to the gospel of class war, violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as also its extra-territorial loyalties. It is time the Government passed legislation to confine the freedom of association to those who openly eschew violent methods and respect the unity and integrity of the country. At the same time the Government also should be equally responsible and while taking measures to maintain law and order, it must take the utmost care not to impose undue restrictions on civil liberties and honour the spirit behind the grant of Fundamental Rights to our people.

### **Common Citizenship**

A uniform or single system of citizenship law for the whole of India, as we have adopted, is a factor that facilitates national integration. Under this, a citizen of India is accepted legally as a citizen in almost every part of the territory of India with all the benefits and privileges that attend such a status.

The importance and the significance of single citizenship could best be appreciated if only we remember that before independence, there were two broad divisions among Indian citizens, viz., British Indian subjects and State subjects. To make matters worse, the State subjects themselves were further sub-divided into as many groups of citizens as there were States and there were over 500 and odd states. The introduction of a uniform system of citizenship has done away with these unnatural distinctions. The abolition of such distinctions makes the essential unity of the nation a reality. Moreover, a single citizenship for the whole country has removed much of the artificial and incongruous State barriers that prevailed in

pre-Independence days and facilitates the freedom of trade, commerce and intercourse throughout the country.

### **'One Single Integrated Judiciary'**

Like the uniform system of citizenship, a single line of judicial system has been evolved to suit the conditions of India. In the words of Dr. Ambedkar, "the Indian federation, though a dual polity, has no dual judiciary at all. The High Courts and the Supreme Court form one single integrated judiciary ...."<sup>10</sup> The Supreme Court, the apex court in the judicial hierarchy, is the guardian of the Constitution, protector of fundamental rights and the watch-dog of democracy, all in one. Besides this jurisdictional unity, a single judicial cadre for the entire country has been established so that the mobility of the judges from the States to Centre and among States is facilitated and its all-India character maintained.

In order to orient this system of integrated judiciary towards facilitating national integration a suggestion has often been made. And this suggestion is concerned with the appointment of the judges. "We should have a practice by which 50 per cent of High Court judges and other senior judges in each State are drawn from other States. It should at the same time be laid down that judges of the Supreme Court should be appointed only from those who have served as High Court judges in States other than their own for at least three years."<sup>11</sup> This suggestion merits serious consideration.

## **III**

### **Union—State Relations**

India has adopted a federal system of Government with the intention of preserving both the 'infinite variety and innate unity' and to weld together the diverse communities living over the vast sub-

continent into a single governmental set-up. It is indeed the Indian response to the political challenge of a multi-racial and multi-lingual country like ours. The set-up is such that in case of a future conflict between the ever-present diversity and the innate unity, the former should prevail over the latter so that an indestructible union could be sustained.

But the federal set-up in a country like ours is bound to produce diversities in laws, administration and judicial protection. Diversity is the very spice of a country's life. But when it is pushed beyond a limit it will inevitably create chaos, instability and insecurity. To guard against these destructive tendencies the Union Government have devised various instruments of control, such as the Planning Commission, the National Development Council, the Annual Conferences of Ministers, Secretaries and Heads of Departments relating to every subject, to regulate the legislative, administrative and financial relations between the Union and the States.

The taste of the pudding is in the eating. So also the effectiveness or otherwise of the Union-States relationship depends upon the effective use of these instruments of control to create healthy and harmonious relationship between the Centre and the States. But certain forces and factors are discernible in the emerging patterns of Union-States relationship for the past one and a half decades which appear to threaten the jealously guarded autonomy of the States.

Mr. K. Santhanam, an outstanding authority on the subject, after having studied the problem of Union-States relations from different angles over a period of years has come to the following conclusions: (1) that State autonomy in the fields of economy, finance and administration has been steadily diminishing. This has resulted in increasing irresponsibility and extravagance on the part of some State Govern-

ments; (2) the power of the Centre over the States is becoming even more extensive; (3) on account of reorganisation on the basis of language, the majority of the States have become welded emotionally into strong units with powerful political pulls and conflicting economic and financial demands on the Centre. The situation is becoming more and more unstable; (4) the divergence between the patterns of Union-State relations embodied in the constitution and those that have come to prevail in actual fact is already dangerously wide. This State of affairs cannot continue for long; (5) in some respects the way in which the Planning Commission was created and the introduction of the Community Development Scheme, the National Extension Services and the Panchayati Raj are the inroads into State autonomy.<sup>12</sup>

These conclusions are indeed disquieting. However these indicate which way the wind is blowing. Ere long earnest steps should be taken to inspire confidence among the States by assuring their autonomy and securing their willing co-operation for all major Union actions. Healthy conventions are to be evolved. Whenever the Union Government takes decisions which affect the larger interests of the States, the concerned States should be taken into confidence and their consent obtained. This will prevent avoidable misunderstandings and mutual recriminations. The State Legislatures also should be very vigilant in guarding state autonomy from Central influence. Similar such conventions are to be developed since it is this Union-State relationship which will ultimately make or mar national integration.

#### IV

#### Role of Political Parties

The political parties can either promote or retard national integration. Well-orga-

nised political parties are the *sine qua non* of parliamentary democracy. But the trouble arises when the political parties plunge headlong in unscrupulously exploiting the communal, caste, linguistic and religious sentiments. Nehru has forestalled the danger of communal parties in his hitherto unpublished letter dated 28th February, 1962: "What will happen in India after I have departed from the scene will depend on many factors. The chances are that communal parties will become strong unless a firm base is given to our outlook and policy by them."<sup>13</sup>

The National Integration Conference held in New Delhi during September-October, 1961, in fact attempted to give such a 'firm base'. It was in that conference that a Code of Conduct for political parties<sup>14</sup> was drawn up and agreed upon by the representatives of various parties present to follow the Code for immediate adoption. The formulation of a Code of Conduct was indeed a notable first step towards civilising our political life.

But the Code of Conduct was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Those political parties which waxed eloquent in the Conference on national integration shamelessly slid back, while selecting their candidates for the ensued General election, to the same communal, caste, linguistic and other considerations against which they had ranted so bitterly. "It cannot be disputed that communalism in the most objectionable and narrow form has played almost a dominant part in these elections. It was painful...to see the most convinced opponents of communalism coldly calculating the communal distribution of voters for the contending candidates.<sup>15</sup> This tendency to disregard so readily the principles professed so solemnly is likely to be even more pronounced in the future when the national leadership may fall in weaker hands and the struggle for political power more intense.

After the introduction of Panchayati

Raj, party politics has percolated down to the Indian villages. Conflicting castes, factions and kin-groups or rival leaders often affiliate themselves to political parties which are the vehicles for their conflict. Even if local politicians deny that in spite of the patronage made available to those who control local bodies they will try to support those who control these bodies in the general elections. 'All the election reports suggest that the dispersion of power in India has made control of local bodies an important factor in deciding who wins Assembly or Parliamentary seats.'<sup>16</sup> Though it is theoretically agreed that political parties ought not to participate in panchayat elections this salutary acceptance is ignobly discarded in practice.

It is high time that all the political parties realised that the pursuit of power need not obviate the need for the observance of certain basic political and moral norms. Nothing undermines the process of national integration so much as the common complaint that political power is being abused or misused for private or party ends. The political parties and their leaders, therefore, must be made to realise through enlightened public opinion that those who indulge in incitement to communal hatred or violence will not be tolerated any longer and that they will soon mend their ways and or their political career. The suggestions to start a 'mass contact movement'<sup>17</sup> has great relevance in this context. It is in the abjuration of violence or hatred in any form in the pursuit of power that we have the greatest duty to keep the spirit of Gandhism alive among the people for whose freedom and unity he worked and died.

The political parties have therefore, a vital role to play with regard to national integration. The political parties should pay more attention to the electorates, which are now 'an amorphous mass, unorganised and undifferentiated'<sup>18</sup> and their political consciousness and participation



must be raised to a very high standard. The parties may profitably emulate the examples of the Conservative and Labour Parties in England in organising intelligence units corresponding to specific functions of Government and conducting elaborate research and fact-finding (not fault-finding!) departments dealing with a number of questions facing the public and the Government. To foster effective links between the politicians and the intellectuals should also be one of the main functions of political parties.

As far as panchayat elections are concerned, the less the parties interfere the better. 'Instead of wanting themselves to govern in the name of the people, they should help the people to govern themselves.'<sup>19</sup> Sri Jayaprakash Narayan suggests 'participating Democracy' to remove party politics from Panchayati Raj.<sup>20</sup> In short, the national integration could be achieved when the political parties not only accept the Code of Conduct but honestly and faithfully maintain a very high standard of morality and propriety in politics.

## V

### Some Administrative Arrangements

National Integration could be facilitated by making certain enduring administrative arrangements. Interposing in between State politicians and State Civil Services a strong administrative layer which will be of an all-India character will be a prudent step to cut the Gordian Knot of 'State Patriotism'.<sup>21</sup>

#### All-India Services

Creation of more All-India Services with the complete consent of all the States will go a long way in facilitating national integration. The States Reorganisations Commission recommended that 'fifty per cent of the new entrants in the All-India Services should be from outside the State concerned....'<sup>22</sup> Not only the

Senior Civil Servants, but judges, police and intelligence officers also could be recruited from other States. Whenever suitable men can be found, the Chief Justice, the Chief Secretary, the Director of Public Instruction and the Inspector General of Police in each State could be taken in from other States. There may be some difficulties in implementing these suggestions but difficulties are to be faced and solved in the interest of national integration.

#### Zonal Councils

The creation of the Zonal Councils is a far-sighted step to promote national integration. But experience has shown that though these Councils can play an important role in the field of economic and social planning and administration, the ability and utility of these bodies to resolve border disputes, and linguistic and other problems seem to be doubtful. Moreover, "in some cases those who are behind the forces of disintegration are also concerned with the Zonal Councils or the Regional Committees with the consequence that it is not possible for them to undo in one sphere what they continue to do in another sphere".<sup>23</sup> Nowadays, one seldom hears about the further development of these useful devices as a means to integration. If geared properly, Zonal Councils can effectively break the cake of 'State Patriotism' and promote national integration.

#### Governor's Role

The State Governor can play a significant role in facilitating national integration. Since the Governor is invariably a resident of another State and he is kept above party and group politics the Governor can 'look at the problems of the State and the problems of Union-State relationship with detachment and objectivity'.<sup>24</sup> Thus, a resourceful Governor can become an influential non-party centre and prevent the prevailing party differences

from adversely affecting the social and cultural life of the people. The Chief Secretary and the Inspector General of Police may be made to report directly to the Governor, whenever there arises a serious friction between communal, caste or linguistic groups in a State. Similarly in the event of a threat of violent clash between communal, caste or linguistic groups in a State in which the majority of the Cabinet may be partisan, the Governor should have the right to attend Cabinet meetings and if necessary, even to take over the responsibility of maintaining law and order in the threatened area. These and similar suitable conventions must be evolved during the annual conferences of Governors 'which will enable the Governors to become effective and vigilant watchdogs of national interests'<sup>25</sup> and true promoters of national integration.

### Conclusion

The seekers after national integration would be pursuing a will-O'-the-wisp if they ignore the differences of community, of caste, of language etc., and attempt to create a monolithic society. This is the lesson that we should learn from our country's history. These differences have always been with us. But these differences are converted into divisive forces only when they are dragged into the arena of political controversy and exploited for political purposes. Every responsible citizen should, therefore, realise that the greatest task of the day is the lifting up of a people mostly steeped in illiteracy, poverty and ill-health to comfortable living conditions and not indulging in self-consuming political manoeuvrings.

A foreign visitor is reported to have remarked that when he travelled in India, he found a Punjabi, a Bengali, a Tamilian and so on, but he found it very difficult to find an Indian; an Indian is almost a rare biological specimen.<sup>26</sup> This only reiterates

the dire need for developing national loyalty in our people. National integration implies undisputed loyalty to the nation; that every citizen should regard other sons of the soil as Indian first irrespective of his language, caste etc.; that every one should consider national problems, not from any parochial, linguistic or communal view point but entirely from the angle of national interests as a whole. In short, national integration is concerned with the sentiments, emotions and attitudes of the entire people. Political, Economic and Social measures, however well devised they may be, can achieve only physical integration. More important than this is the mental integration based on the unqualified acceptance of some of the basic national ideals. It is an absolute necessity to create throughout the length and breadth of the country a genuine pride in India's past achievements, confidence in her present stature and hope in her future greatness.

Now, we are the inheritors of the noble ideal of a National State. The integration of India which the sacred writings of the Hindus had postulated centuries before Christ, but which neither Ashoka nor Akbar was able to achieve, had in fact come into being. Now the great responsibility of maintaining this National State without disintegration has fallen upon us and it is our sacred duty to prove ourselves worthy of this trust.

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## WILL THE WORLD END ?

IRINA RADUNSKAYA

ONCE Einstein's nine-year-old son asked his father : "Daddy, what made you so famous ?"

Einstein laughed and said :

"You see, when a beetle crawls over a ball, it doesn't realize that the path it covered is curved. I was fortunate enough to notice that."

However, Einstein did not notice that the sphere the beetle crawled over had a tendency to swell like a soap bubble. So that when in 1922 Soviet scientist Alexander Friedman declared that from the general theory of relativity it follows that the universe is expanding, many scientists, including Einstein himself, merely shrugged, as if to say that the idea was preposterous. Einstein even wrote a small item to the effect that Friedman's deductions were wrong and his results invalid.

Russian physicist Krutkov showed Einstein Friedman's letter analyzing his criticism, and the world-famous scientist carefully studied its contents. The saying goes "it is human to err," but to persist in one's delusions is a crying evil. And some time later, in May 1923, Einstein contributed another short article to a German physics journal entitled "A Few Remarks on A. Friedman's Publication 'On the Curvature of Space'," in which he stated :

"I had criticised the work in a previous comment. However, my objections were founded on a calculation error, of which, on the advice of Mr. Krutkov, I am now convinced from Mr. Friedman's letter. I consider the results obtained by Mr. Friedman correct and final. It appears that equations of a field permit centric symmetric solutions for the structure of space which are dynamic (that is changing with time) as well as static."

Friedman's discovery received the backing not only of such an authority as Einstein but also of practical experience. In their observation of distant constellations astronomers completely confirmed Friedman's deductions. They found that all the celestial bodies move away from us

and that the more distant they are from us, the faster they travel through space.

It is a good thing that Friedman was a mathematician ; otherwise he would probably have thought his findings fantastic and thrown them into the wastebasket. When one reads the beginning and end of the world in equations, it is hard to trust one's findings. What other conclusion could be drawn ? If today the stars and the galaxies are hurtling away into the vastly remote distance, this means that at one time they were compressed into a solid clot of matter and there was nothing resembling our present universe. It was just originating them, and only after aeons did it take on its present familiar outlines. Some people tried to use Friedman's deduction to justify the version of a primeval explosion.

Naturally people began asking themselves how long the universe would go on expanding.

Friedman obtained two solutions of Einstein's equation. From one it followed that at some given time, which conditionally can be considered to be the beginning of the development of the universe (about 10 billion years ago), all the distances in the "primitive" world were equal to nothing, and the density of matter was infinitely great. Later the matter of the newly born world began to break up and the universe to increase in volume. It is still expanding and will so continue, that is, the expansion of the universe will be infinite. This model of the universe is now known as "an open space."

The second solution of the Einstein equation heralded the tragic end of our world. Its initial part is identical with the first solution : the universe began with a densely compressed clot of primordial matter. But the expansion of the universe is not infinite, asserted the second solution. At some given time the dissipation of the galaxies would end : the stars, planets and interstellar matter would begin to contract, and the world would again become a monstrously

compressed clot of matter. This model of the universe is called "closed space."

It may well be that somewhere at a distance of trillions of light years from us the heavenly bodies are already reducing the speed of their dissipation, that somewhere the galaxies have turned around for the return journey and the open space model of the world is being transformed into a closed space.

### *Whither the World ?*

For 30 years physicists had reconciled themselves to the possibility of the end of the world. Some found consolation in the fact that billions upon billions of years would elapse before the "end"; others, citing the paradoxical conclusions, suggested that they negated the theory of relativity. Still others, realizing that there can be no "end", tried to find a way out of the impasse. But the difficulties were so great that until quite recently no one was able clearly to define Friedman's findings.

To simplify his task Friedman had applied the hypothesis that matter is not disturbed spontaneously in the universe but is more or less orderly. To simplify mathematical deductions he assumed that each equivalent volume of space in the celestial world is occupied by a strictly specified number of heavenly bodies. The second solution of the equation predicted an inevitable end to such a world.

At the Moscow Institute of Physical Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences the riddles evolved from Friedman's solutions had generated heated debate, especially between Doctors of Science Yevgeni Lifshits and Isaac Khalatnikov. These two scientists decided to "probe" the beginning and the end of the world with mathematics.

How to reach points secreted away in the history of ages past ? How to sort out the complex changes wrought in the stellar systems over billions of years ? Friedman indicated the way in general outline. Utilizing all the resources of modern science, Lifshits and Khalatnikov had to plot the precise mathematical route, taking time and space into account. And when they mentally approached their goal, they did not find any end to the world. It obtained only in the Friedman solutions and was the result of

his idealization of the universe, his oversimplifications.

What about the beginning of the world ?

Scientists are working on the great riddle of the origin of the universe. There are a number of hypotheses. One asserts that there is an incessant creation of matter from nothing, essential to compensate for the loss of matter which, owing to the expansion of the universe, is split "across the edge of the world". This hypothesis is outright mysticism and has no basis in science.

### *Fifteen Hypotheses*

Scientists are engrossed with the problem of the initial composition of the world, its structure. What elementary particles made up the infant universe ? Was it hot or cold ?

Very hot, argued American scientists among others, and even gave the temperature : a billion degrees ten minutes after expansion. It consisted almost wholly of neutrons.

Soviet Academician Yakov Zeldovich, on the contrary, thinks the universe was cold in its original phase and was made up of protons, electrons and neutrons. Only in a cool state and only with neutrinos present could protons and electrons form a clotted mass in atoms of hydrogen, which, as we know, dominates in nature. Had neutrons taken the place of neutrinos, our world would have been composed primarily of helium and other elements heavier than hydrogen. The latest experiments confirm the viewpoint of Zeldovich.

Academician Zeldovich traced the first phases of the expansion of the universe, during which masses of hydrogen (so cold that the hydrogen was liquid or even solid) were able to break up into isolated gigantic drops or chunks. Dispersing in all directions and then attracted to one another again, they gradually clotted, forming first the embryos of stars and then the stars themselves.

That is one of the most recent hypotheses on the "creation" of the world, but it is not the only one. Today we have 15 other explanations for the origin of the universe by scientists of many countries, none of them completely satisfactory.

Today we can say far more about the

universe than our ancestors could. Our descendants will doubtlessly go still farther, and our current thinking will seem very primitive to them. We have been studying the cosmos for only some thousands of years, an instant by the cosmos clock.

We already have electronic computers which can "calculate" the universe. Einstein's theory of relativity makes it possible to predict the laws of motion of celestial bodies by the distribution of their mass in space and to foresee their position in the future. What the world will be like in a thousand or a million years is being studied theoretically today. To solve the problem factually we must feed into the machine an equation which will describe our present world in minute detail. In this equation each galaxy, star and speck must be accounted for. But

science still lacks these details, despite the fact that modern telescopes are becoming more and more powerful. In the past four decades our radius of observation in space has increased ten thousand times. Nevertheless, we can only say how many stars we observe; we do not know how many celestial bodies inhabit the universe outside our field of vision. The presence of matter, however, alters space and time. Each star and each planet adds to the picture of the world.

Time will bring us more fundamental knowledge and great intuition. The human mind is probing ever deeper into all spheres of learning, and we may, in a future not too distant, see the mystery of the origin of the universe unravelled.

## Romain Rolland's Greetings to India

To My Friends of India—

Asia and Europe form part of the same vessel of which the prow is Europe and the watch-chamber India, the Empress of Thought, with eyes innumerable. Glory to thee, mine eyes! Thou art mine and my soul is thine. We are but one and the same being.

Romain Rolland

(THE MODERN REVIEW, January 1926, p. 125)

# Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

1966

1966, the year when one Five-year Plan comes to an end and a new Plan-period is due to commence, would appear to have been appropriately designated the "productivity year." The obvious purpose for so designating the new year is to bring the many-sided efforts required for translating Plan objectives and targets into reality, into focus with a view, it may be presumed, to foster a proper understanding and realistic assessment of the directions, paces and manner of Plan implementation. This would seem to have become an urgent need for, apart from the rather critical observations on the Indian Plan implementation contained in the voluminous report of the World Bank recently released and which would appear to have caused not a little perturbation at the highest executive levels in the Planning Commission and of the Government of India, notwithstanding their rather vociferous but unconvincing clamour against the legitimacy of the World Bank's findings and conclusions, India would now appear to have reached a stage in the **processing** of economic growth, where the efficiency and the **wholesomeness** with which the country's productive apparatus is utilized may make a very crucial difference to the end-results of Planning, at least so far as the present perspectives drawn in this behalf would seem to indicate. The pressures which have been cumulatively growing on the economy, especially during the latter half of the Third Plan period now drawing to a close, flowing from a multiplicity of causes, such as the recent defence emergency, the shortfalls of the Third Plan and, generally, the speculative pressures that have been inevitably growing under the opportunities provided by these circumstances, would seem to make the current year especially a more vulnerable one; it has never before been so urgently necessary to

make the **most** of all the available resources which, in all conscience, would appear to be far short of minimum basic needs. Besides, the far-reaching diversification of the economy contemplated in the Fourth Plan might be a little **le** difficult of achievement if concentration efforts towards improving productivity were to introduce that necessary element flexibility in economic effort and outlook,—and the latter is no less important than the former,—in the process of Plan implementation.

The World Bank's report, which appears to have administered something of a **shock** to Plan formulators in the Commission here, is rather severely critical of India's performance in relation to Plan investments over the past fifteen years. Plan failures, according to the findings of the World Bank's special team assigned the task, would appear to have been particularly bad in the agricultural field. The Government of India were reported to have been doubtful of the data on the basis of which the World Bank's findings have been formulated and were studying their correctness or otherwise. Not much has been heard about it since the end of last month when the World Bank report was made available. But it would seem to be quite obvious that the investments under the Third Plan for agricultural development would appear to have, so far, proved completely infructuous and useless. After fifteen years of **so-called** scientific balancing in planning, as claimed by the Planning Commission, and massive investments for developing producer bases for agricultural progress, agricultural production still continues to remain more or less at the mercy of the seasons. With the result, that, not only has the country failed to reach the target of self-sufficiency in the production of food cereals as originally envisaged in the Third Plan,

it now looks likely that this desired self-sufficiency would continue to elude the country even during the next two Plan periods, and leave it dependent, in very substantial measure, upon the charity of our friends abroad. While saying so, one does not take into account the probability that kindly food exports to India, such as by the U.S.A. under PL 480, would still continue to leave the masses at the mercy of the conscienceless speculators and profiteers whom the Government of India seem wholly unable, **even unwilling**, to curb and **immobilize**.

With our gross food cereals production at the 88 million tonne mark, as last year, the deficit was officially assessed at 9 per cent of the total. One does not know the bases upon which this estimate has been drawn up and, on the face of it, it would appear to be unconscionably inflated. If the estimate were to have been based upon the actual consumption demand of the people based upon a 16 oz., daily adult ration (a quantity which has never been reached by the Government in their ration allocations wherever rationing has been introduced), there would not appear to be any real deficit. We have already discussed this in these columns at length last month. If, on the other hand, this estimate has been drawn up on the basis of a study of increased pressures of demand,—especially in the urban concentrations in the country,—flowing from the increasing purchasing power derived from economic growth,—an F.A.O. estimate finds that this urban demand for foodgrains in India appears only to have increased by a gross 2.5 million tonnes over the decade between 1950-51 and 1961-62. It is necessary to realise that any essential commodity of basic consumption pattern like foodgrains which has been perpetually in marginal supply during this decade, and especially so during the years following the end of 1961-62, would create a correspondingly high and artificial market demand. We have seen this happening with steel; the scarcity in

supply induced by the artificial system of steel control created a demand which has been failing to be sustained since after the marketing process of steel has been rescued from the involved pressures of controlled distribution. We have also had ample demonstrations of the benefits of a free market when the late Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, in spite of the alarming prognostications of his friends and colleagues, took courage in both hands to restore a free market in foodgrains at all levels of its distribution and supply, and thereby actually broke the back of all speculative pressures upon the commodity. What would appear to have been creating the major part of the mischief so far as foodgrains supply and prices are concerned would appear to be the twin apparatus of what has been known as the **Zonal System** and the parallel functioning of partially controlled distribution through Government or other official agencies and an uncontrolled free market simultaneously. Food, being a States' subject, the states which have been producing surpluses have been consistently playing down the actual incidence of their surplus production, while those in deficit have, equally, been exaggerating the quantum of deficit by artificially inflating their consumption demand. The present **zonal** system by preventing the free movement of foodgrains from surplus to deficit areas would appear to have been further accentuating the problems and, thus, creating widening opportunities for the speculative operators to victimize the consumers at all levels with ease and impunity. The Government have either not been able to muster the requisite measure of intelligence and imagination to deal with the situation in an effective manner or, which is equally likely, they are afraid that their present administrative resources are not adequate to take on the burdens of a more wholesome and rational approach to the whole problem. The present regional approach to the whole question, in addition, has been patently



preventing the formulation of an integrated national approach. With the result that, in order to justify the situation as it has turned out to be, the Government of India has been unquestioningly accepting the estimates of the food deficits in the country provided by the States and even boosting the same in the public press, thus further confounding an already confused and complicated situation. If the World Bank has been assessing the situation on the basis of the figures of deficit given out by our own Government in this behalf, it cannot, surely, be especially blamed for having arrived at the conclusions it has.

However unsatisfactory may have been the progress in the incidence of increase in the production of foodgrains in the country—and even the most optimistic would not have described the process as very satisfactory judging by the massive investments poured in for the development of agricultural producer-bases during the period in question—it is clear that foodgrains production, during the decade between 1950-51 and 1960-61 has increased by a gross incidence of no less than 60 per cent (from 50 million tons in 1950-51 to 80 million tons in 1960-61 as recorded by the Planning Commission). The incidence of increase was reported to have slowed down very considerably since 1960-61, to something like a gross 9 per cent over the first three years of the Third Plan (1960-61 to 1963-64). Nevertheless, the situation of acute shortage that has since emerged and which has become endemic in spite of the all-time peak production of 1964-65 (88 million tonnes) cannot be explained except as a crisis not so much of production as of supply. It is at this level that the criticality of the continuing food crisis in the country would appear to have been generating. If the Government are unable to **adequately and effectively** deal with this crisis of supply—and there is hardly any doubt that the measures of partial procurement and quarter-

hogging rationing in certain microscopically selected areas promulgated by the Government would hardly be able to achieve such an end (except, perhaps, as something of a political booster for the ruling Party and its governance of the country, for it is only the more comparatively sophisticated urban populations which are somewhat politically conscious and clamorous). The only honest thing for them to do—an object lesson already provided with more than anticipated favourable results by the late Rafi Ahmed Kidwai—in the event of their failure in this behalf (there is no question that they have been signally failing all along the line)—would be to restore a wholly independent and free market economy in foodgrains, themselves withdrawing wholly from assuming any part of the burden, either in procurement or distribution, except only at the importing levels. It is heartening to learn that the new Prime Minister has broadcast an undertaking that supplying adequate quantities of food to the people at reasonable prices would be the first concern of her Government and she would serve the purpose best, in the especial circumstances of the present, by inducing her Cabinet and those of the State Governments, to wholly withdraw from the thankless and complicated job of doing anything to handle the food situation in the manner they have been trying to do so far, for in this way they have only been more immensely confusing an already highly complicated situation with the result that the people alone have been and are being increasingly victimized as a result. The only point at which Government could help—and it is the Union Government alone who can do so—is by devising necessary fiscal (and, perhaps, even monetary) measures, whereby it should be possible to immobilize or, at least, contain the growing speculative pressures upon the foodgrains trade in the country. This would, no doubt, be a highly complicated and difficult purpose to achieve, but the Union Finance

Ministry should have, at its disposal, the necessary economic and financial expertise to devise useful and effective measures in this behalf.

This is by no means to suggest that there is no urgent need for boosting agricultural production, especially foodgrains production. This need is so obvious as not to need being especially underlined. Even if on a more careful assessment of the consumption needs of the country, the estimates of our present deficits turn out to be substantially inflated, there can be no doubt that as an inevitable resultant of economic growth, selective pressures on the demand for foodgrains will continue to be on the increase, especially so, if a wholly free market economy in the foodgrains trade were, as suggested by us, to be restored. Supplies at present, if not really as substantially in deficit as Government estimates would make them out to be, they can at best be only marginal and it is necessary with a view to containing inflationary pressures on the price structure, that there should be a comfortable surplus in the incidence of availability. The rapid increase in the population—which is being currently estimated at an annual 2.4 per cent—should, after a comfortable surplus position in the production of foodgrains has been achieved, least wise be compensated for by at least a corresponding increase in the annual rate of foodgrains production which would need concentrated effort and attention upon the matter. But, here also, it is not merely the gross quantum of increase as the increase in agricultural productivity which should be of crucial importance. Additional investments over what had been originally allocated in the tentative Fourth Plan Memorandum are now being concentrated upon agricultural effort; what is more urgently needed is that the results of past and current investments in this field should be so adequately and effectively consolidated as to lead to a higher rate of productivity in

this sector. This is an infinitely complicated matter calling for simultaneous action at innumerable points. Increased availability of irrigation water at the times they are needed, economy and promptness in the availability of agricultural credits, availability of fertilizers in the appropriate scientific proportions, wider coverage in land reforms legislation and enforcement, consolidation of holdings through cooperative organizations and large-scale commercial farming, especially of money crops, inducement of the adoption of improved and more sophisticated methods of agricultural production, appropriate marketing machinery and others are some of the considerations involved in the process. Government's almost wholtime preoccupation with the need for making available adequate quantities of foodgrains from day to day may have been preventing enough attention being bestowed upon these longer-term measures. But if agriculture has to be set back on its own little feet to enable the achievement of that necessary level of surpluses which alone might, in the long run, sustain a process of rapid industrialization, these are matters which must be appropriately and effectively dealt with and the sooner they can be so done, the more quickly will the country be enabled to arrive at that stage from where it will be possible to set the stage for an effective "take-off" towards balanced and coordinated development.

The need for a process of rapid industrialization of the country is equally as obvious. While the attainment of an adequate agricultural surplus is crucial at the moment and must engage the highest priority in the Government's consideration and efforts, it is equally urgent that a rapid process of industrialization should enable the present huge burden on the agrarian system to be gradually relieved. What the country would obviously seem to have been suffering from the results of the present rather haphazard process of

planning and Plan implementation is an unbalanced and eccentric growth wholly inadequate, in its gross quantitative incidence in both the agricultural and the industrial sectors, to the measures of investments undertaken under the Plans. On the face of it, the actual incidence of the increase in the gross national product, although far short of targets aimed at, would appear to have been not wholly inconsiderable. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the progress attained so far in productivity in both fields, measured by both **per capita** labour employed, as well as the **per unit** of investments undertaken. In the industrial sector, while a great deal of increased capacity in various fields of industrial activity are reported to have been laid down, a very substantial part of this gross capacity remains idle and unutilized for a variety of reasons. It is claimed by certain organs of the industrialists that a good 20 per cent of the country's total present industrial capacity remains idle for lack of necessary maintenance imports. By reason of the present huge burden on agriculture which it is unable to sustain at current rates of living, most industries in the country, especially those in the public sector, are heavily over-manned far beyond their legitimate employment potentials. Part of this situation has emerged as the inevitable result of haphazard planning which has made it necessary to inflate imports to a level far beyond the country's normal export capacity. Part of it may also have been due to the lack of any rational employment and wage policy of the Government and, there is no doubt, the absence of any wage-price policy in the process of planning and Plan implementation, must also have been substantially responsible. The cumulative result of all these different factors would appear to have created a situation which is highly confused and irrational. In some of the crucial heavy industries in the public sector, for instance, with their necessarily sophisticated and fairly highly capital intensive investment structure, in their operational side they have come to acquire an irrationally high labour intensive employment structure with their inevitable impact on the incidence of productivity. The end result of all this confusion would appear to have been two-fold; first, an inevitable lag between capacity and production as well as that between production and productivity, secondly, to promote such a wide disparity between agricultural and industrial employment, as to serve as a direct and deterring disincentive against improving agricultural effort. The World Bank, therefore, recommends that before launching into a further, massive Plan as contemplated, the Government of India and their Planning Commission would do well to consolidate the results of past planning, as a necessary condition-precedent to further such effort. And when they underline that past Plan implementation has been, generally, of such a quality, that estimated investments have, so far,—especially so in the Third Plan—failed to reach envisaged targets by a long margin, their criticism in this behalf would appear to have been very legitimately and finally clinched.

If by designating the year 1966 as the one devoted wholly to **productivity**, we were to be able to remove the causes,—at least the more crucial and important among them—of such unpalatable criticism by an independent international agency like that by the World Bank, we should have been serving our own cause better than by merely and, we are afraid ineffectually trying to refute the criticisms themselves. It should be a year of introspection, of self-examination and a redesigning of effort to create a new pattern in which there should be a better measure of coordination and balance in industrial and agricultural growth so as to revitalize the dynamics of the national economy which would appear to have fallen, especially over the last two years, into the depths of a doldrums.

# Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is entertained.

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Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

## AMERICAN ANGST

RHYMED AND UNRHYMED. By Arthur Lerner. (Swordsmen Publishing Co., 2961 W. 8th St., Los Angeles ; \$2.50).

Mr. Lerner's brief explanation of what his poems are about may not entirely make them clear to his readers, but it is a good starting point of appreciation : "The individual facing the rhymed and the unrhymed of the here and now with maximum effort, with courage to handle frustrations and anxieties, and with a humble conviction of his own dignity will always be involved in the polariscopic task of living."

The "polariscopic task of living" is complicated by the fact that there are no final answers to all the important philosophical questions—a fact Mr. Lerner is acutely aware of :

Beyond the reach  
of mortal grasp  
lies nature's hand  
on tightened clasp.

(Closure)

Or, as another poem puts it :

nature  
cues

meagrely  
staring  
peeping  
symbolically  
daring  
poets  
teasingly

(Provocation)

Yet moments of illumination make existent bearable :

A blade of grass pierces the walk  
upon which time has taken a stride....

(Illusion)

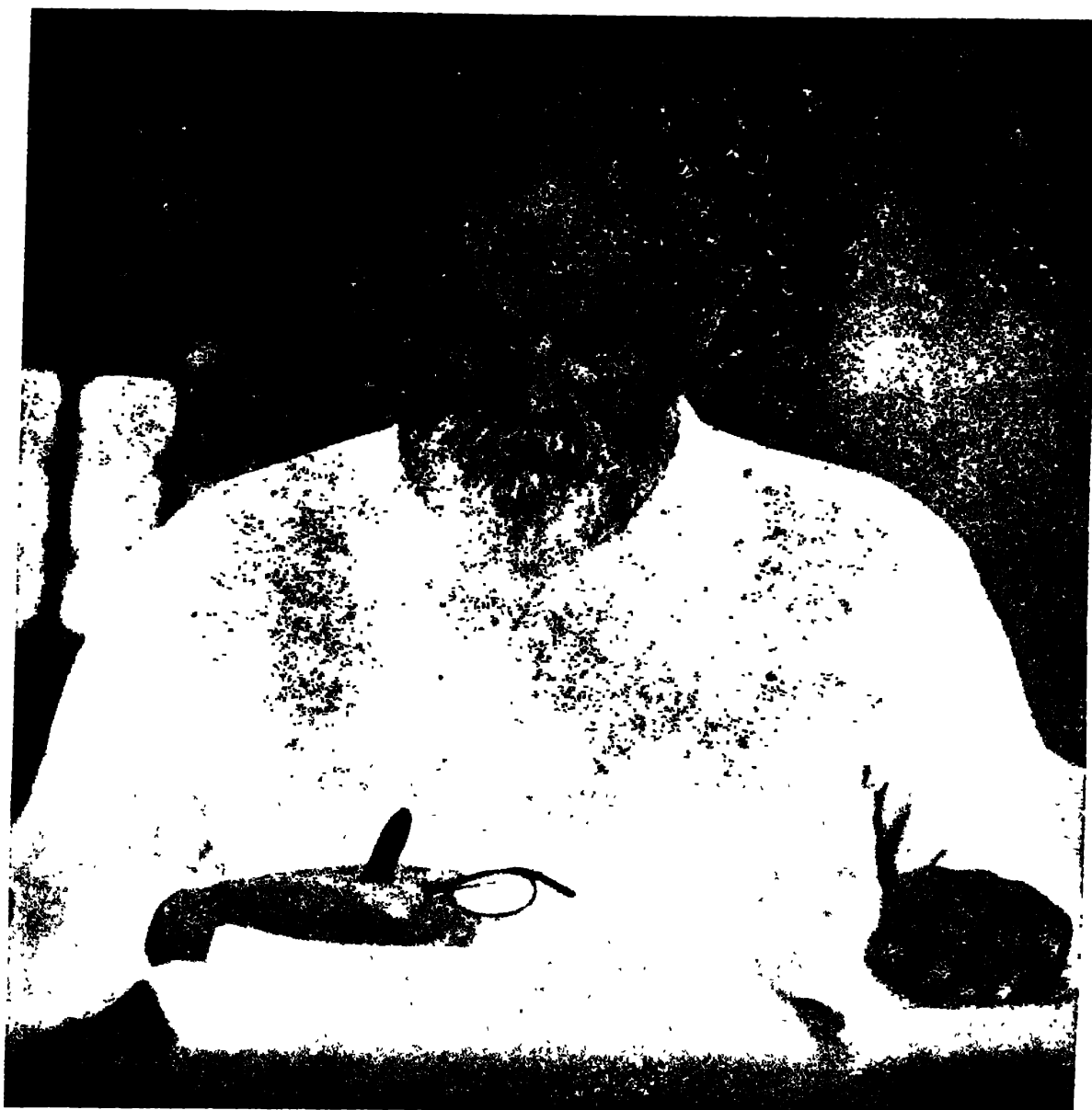
The final impression is one of existential angst, in which the poet gropes vainly for meaning :

In the nightmare's time  
Tracking twilight zone's  
Flickering symbols metering  
Their way bewitchingly.  
Teasingly, irritating the iris,  
An optical confusion sparkles  
A spectacle's need for clarity.

P. L.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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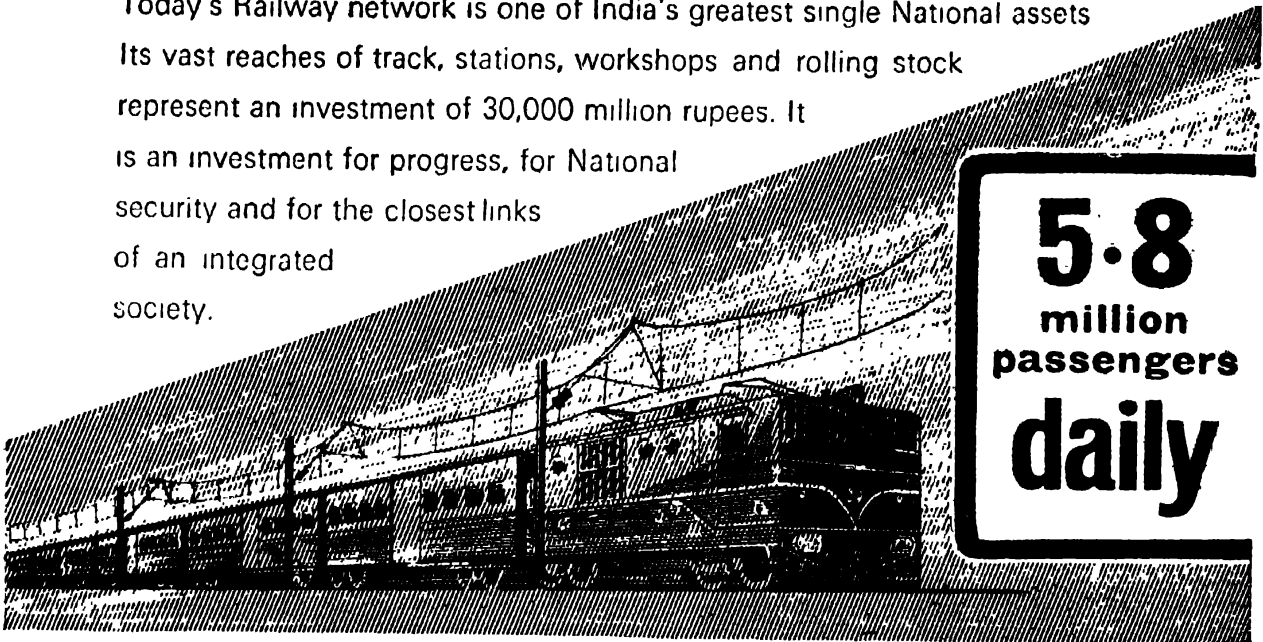
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# THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH



1966

VOL. CXIX, No. 3

WHOLE No. 711

## NOTES

### No "Famine"

When does a widespread shortage of food supplies reach the official dimensions of a famine? The answer to this question is never certain in so far as the standards set by Government are not fixed and stable. It would appear that India's food minister does not like the evil sounding word famine and would go by such descriptions as deaths due to starvation and the presence or absence thereof. Now the question will be when is death caused by starvation and when is it caused by deficiency diseases and the numerous ailments associated with malnutrition? The answers to these questions can be given by a board of dietiticians and not by the A.I.C.C. or their henchmen. Even without consulting experts we may come to certain conclusions which will be, at least can be, our guides in making assessments of our national food problem. These would refer to men's food requirements. The civilised human being forms or is forced to form certain food habits which help him to maintain body and soul together and to replace the physical and nervous losses caused by his efforts to remain alive. If the food habits become such as do not replenish the losses in full, malnutrition sets

in and man slowly succumbs to this long and slow process of partial starvation. Actually very few men die of pure malnutrition and relative starvation. The human body suffering from under-nourishment easily picks up infections and lack of proper powers of resistance enables the infections to get the upper hand and kill the man. Thus many deaths caused by various diseases are **really** deaths due to under-nourishment and slow starvation. Even in normal times numerous Indians die of diseases caused and intensified by relative starvation.

It is, therefore, unwise for anyone to go by official admissions as to the presence or absence of famine and deaths caused by starvation. For officials will not admit that X was a victim of famine and starvation until they could be assured that X could not procure **any food** for Y number of days. X therefore would officially die of pulmonary tuberculosis or pernicious anaemia in so far as food amounting to 350 calories per day had been available to X during a period of sixteen months preceding the onset of the fatal ailment. The rationing that is being put into operation all over India is based on false dietetic assumptions. Officials will tell us that there are vast supplies of

unrationed food articles everywhere and the people can easily supplement the rationed food by milk, fish, meat, eggs, pulses, fats and what not. But can they? The average family in India, perhaps, has an income of Rs. 650 per annum. Poorer than average families may have incomes of 350/400 rupees per annum too. The rations provided to a family may cost about Rs. 300/- per annum. Let us add to this clothes, medicine, rent, fuel and cooking media. These will cost nothing less than 200/300 rupees annually. So that, we find millions of people in India who cannot buy any supplementary food articles after paying for their rations. And the daily supply of calories per head of the rations supplied would add up as follows: Flour 650 cal., Rice 250 cal., and Sugar 100 cal.—Total 1000 cal. This is a very generous estimate as quite often the quality of the articles supplied is pretty bad and occasionally supplies are not available. The daily requirement of calories are: Men 2500/3000 calories, Women 1800/2300 calories, Boys 2500/3800 calories, Girls 2300/2500 calories and Infants 1200/2000 calories. Assuming that the man of the family, being the bread-earner, will eat up much of the available food, the other members of the family will face slow starvation unless the family is rich enough to buy other food too. Most families in India have no income large enough for buying supplementary food articles. So large numbers will starve partially and many will die of diseases caused by malnutrition. If the rations are distributed properly and all persons concerned have money enough to buy the rations then deaths directly caused by starvation may be very few and deaths caused by deficiency diseases quite extensive.

In the circumstances, we have no reason to view our food situation with an air of satisfaction. Our food problem is merely a facet of our chronic poverty. We

do not think that our economic planning has been carried out with any idea of full employment. The distribution of wealth in India is becoming more and more unbalanced due to partial industrialisation. Wages vary widely in India. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers in some industries earn Rs. 3000/- per annum, while in some fields of employment they get about Rs. 500/- only in a year! How the Congress people are getting round this is unknown to us. One may say they will fail utterly to bring about any reorganisation of the economic structure which will be acceptable to most people.

### Nagaland

The former Naga Hills district and the Tuensang Frontier Division were made into a Centrally administered area in 1957 and were ruled by the Governor of Assam in behalf of the President of India. Which means, this area was not a part of Assam but only had a common Governor. In 1961 the area was renamed and in 1962 it was constituted as a State of the Union of India which was inaugurated ceremonially in December 1963. The Naga leaders had been fighting for the recognition of their territory as a separate political entity and all these developments appeased the majority of them. But a certain body of men, now known as "hostiles" or "underground Nagas" carried on acts of war of a guerilla type throughout this formative period and up to date. There had been negotiations with underground Nagas in 1963 and a "cease-fire" was settled in 1964. But these negotiations have not proved fruitful so far.

Nagaland has an area of 6236 sq. miles and a population of less than 400000 persons. The Chief Naga tribes are Ao, Konyak, Sema, Angami, Chakhesang, Lotha, Phom, Khiemnungam, Chang, Shamnyungmang and Yimchunger. And these tribes are not and have never been solidly united as Nagas.

By religion about 200000 Nagas are Christian and about 50000 are Hindus. The rest are believed to be Animists. The people are quite well educated, there being 2 colleges, 28 high schools, 110 middle schools, 8 upper primary schools and 565 primary schools with about 70000 pupils. The Nagas are economically backward and although 80 p.c. of the people are agriculturists their output of food grains is never sufficient. One does not know the real number of underground Nagas for the reason that many of them are normally leading a double life. They have their own official and statutory personalities as well as their unofficial and underground selves. It is a secret organisation for most of the members; but some are declared hostiles who go about negotiating for total independence. In fact, though they are not very numerous, they are strong enough to give a headache to the Government of India and an attractive enough body for the enemies of India to supply arms to. Some of these hostiles have been on arms seeking trips to Pakistan in the past. We do not know if Pakistan has stopped her anti-Indian activities, through the Naga underground, since the Tashkent declaration. If she has not, then India should take the matter up with that country. It is also believed that certain British and American groups help the Naga hostiles with money and such other goods as can be used directly or indirectly for purposes of war. But, definite information on the subject are naturally not available. One thing is clear however, that the Naga underground feel quite confident that they can carry on warfare against the Union of India, until they can achieve "independence". Such self-confidence must have a basis in outside support. Of what nation are the people behind the underground Nagas? They can be the Chinese or their fifth column, the Pakistanis or their fifth column, or of other nations and their fifth column. It is high time

India took some active steps to remove all possible contact organisations which render assistance to the Naga underground. There has been, however, a great increase in India's faith in human goodness, since the late Lal Bahadur Shastri signed the Tashkent declaration; India's Foreign Minister now pins his faith on Pakistan's good-will towards India and he believes that Pakistanis will no longer engage in subversive activities against India either in Kashmir or in any other part of India. This faith may be well based on those unknown forces which bring about the birth of new religions or cause miracles; but the common tax-payers of India do not share the ardent beliefs of Sri Swaran Singh. The Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi said, recently, that she found the underground Nagas to be generally anxious to prevent further violent incidents, and she was not without hope that as a result of her meeting with the Nagas a certain amount of unnecessary distrust and suspicion which had developed on both sides would be dispelled. She further hoped that after the proposed further meeting with the underground Nagas in April some real progress may be made towards a settlement which would put an end to bloodshed and see the restoration of peace throughout Nagaland. The Prime Minister's talks with the rebel Nagas surely put them on a firm footing of some sort of equality with a sovereign State. This may or may not be interpreted as an admission of rights by the British-American aiders and abettors of the rebellion of the "underground" Nagas, who have their Foreign Minister and, may be, embassies too, in Washington, London, Peking and elsewhere!

### **Rights and Obligations**

We are constantly treated to promises and hopes about the future of India and the

Indians by that extremely philosophical body of men and women who rule India. These promises and hopes are, as befits philosophical dogma, vague, shapeless and unreal. The head of this body of great thinkers occasionally reminds the poor Indians that he would soon establish social ownership of all means and instruments of production, and then, India will have no poverty. He, of course, does not take the trouble to look into the dimensions and implications of his plan of action, nor does he give India and the Indians the factual details of being poverty free. As far as we know, India is, by and large, an agricultural country with some industries that have been set up at great cost on account of India's attachment to foreign suppliers of machinery and foreign construction agents. In the beginning of India's "industrial revolution" foreign collaboration was compulsory on account of British overlordship in India, and, later on, such collaboration came as a by-product of India's foreign borrowings and due to Pandit Nehru's faith in foreigners. In any case this industrial structure is neither very big nor does it produce any great portion of the national income. Agriculture, forests, plantations, mines, fishing-poultry-dairy and animal husbandry establishments produce the major portion of this total national income. There are many industries too, like husking and grinding mills, jute mills and presses, tea roasting and rolling establishments, cotton mills, sugar mills etc., etc., which are directly connected with the time honoured economic institutions of India. These are mainly owned and operated by individuals or groups of individuals so that if the philosophers of India attempt any change over from one kind of ownership to another without clearly understanding what they are doing, the result may be disastrous. For though, at present, there is no technical social ownership of the means of production,

the production goes on profitably nevertheless; and, not merely for the profit of the legal owners of those means of production but also for the profit of society (i.e., the State). The income derived by the State through taxation pays for all the non-productive work done by that vast army of administrators, legislators and others whose annual participation in the national income exceeds the annual income of the average worker by at least 1000%. The average "philosopher"-legislator gets payment too, out of this pool, which is many times what the worker gets. If, however, all the means of production are socialised viz., the fields that produce the crops, the boats that ply for fish catching, the tea gardens, the jute mills, the cotton mills etc., etc., the chances are, no it is a certainty, that all production will be gravely affected and India will have to face an economic upheaval, which social philosophy will not be able to control. In fact we have seen the practical ability of our rulers during the last eighteen years. In Calcutta, for instance, the Oriental Gas Company Ltd., was socialised and we saw what happened to its management. Its losses last year, we believe, were more than thirteen lakhs of rupees. The Calcutta Milk Supply Organisation, the State Transport Organisation, Durgapur, The Hindustan Steel, the D.V.C. etc., etc., are all examples of State management of economic establishments. The management of the administrative departments are none too efficient. Better service can be obtained everywhere **if efficiency were made into a cult** rather than those impossibilities which constitute India's social philosophy. Why is there any poverty in India after eighteen years of independent management of the nation's affairs? Why have we any illiteracy, preventable diseases, lack of roads, shortage of housing, want of drinking water, not enough irrigation and **unemployment**? Why do we not improve our police organisation, our

law courts and those other departments of the State which are a constant source of harassment, loss and humiliation to us? Why must we have to listen to the same sort of high sounding sermons from persons who have no ability to get anything done which has any significance in point of national progress and well-being? The assets of the nation belong to the nation. There is no need to reiterate a truism. The lands that are cultivated are ultimately owned by the nation. Everybody pays rent to the State for this reason. And millions of acres of cultivable land remain uncultivated too for the same reason. Mines, forests etc., are also owned by the State. All individually managed things pay taxes, cess, licence fee etc., to the State, without getting anything in return as compared to other civilised nations. Society has established its **Rights** in a very clear manner. But its **Obligations** are vague and uncertain. Other nations have social security benefits which run to free universal education, free medical aid, old age pension, death benefits, widows' benefits, unemployment benefits etc., etc., which are non-existent in India. It is time we got a statement from the Chief-Philosopher showing the People's Rights; because, for eighteen years we have only heard about the People's Obligations to the State. We know all about Ram Rajya and the Kingdom of God on Earth; but we feel insecure in a Rajya where we are constantly reminded of our obligations but are not assured of our rights. The more so, as we find even the Constitutional Fundamental Rights are not absolutely guaranteed against encroachments by a voracious bureaucracy. We know about Communes, Gram Panchayats and so forth, but the stark reality that we have to face is bureaucratic excess in the name of socialism. The question is, can socialism be anti-social? If so, how can society protect itself against socialism of the wrong sort?

### The Economic Challenge

At Jaipur, the Congress President said, "The economic challenge to the nation far outweighs any military threat at the present moment. The question before us is whether the country is going to face the situation, fight its way through and overcome all the obstacles or whether it is going to submit meekly to the situation and become ineffective." He also referred to "an affluent class indulging in conspicuous spending" and to "masses of people living in misery and squalor." The comparison of military threat from outside nations and the economic challenge presented by the current system of unequal distribution of wealth, is hardly correct and realistic. If the Chinese, for instance, occupied India, large numbers of men like Mr. Kamraj may face sudden liquidation; but the "economic challenge" does not stand in the way of his domination of all the millionaires of India. Military conquest of India will mean large scale loot and exploitation of the wealth and resources of the nation as a whole, while unequal distribution of wealth retains the nation's wealth within the country. It may even help to build up the capital resources of the nation. Lack of proper reasoning and twisted logic used for the purpose of playing to the gallery are not praiseworthy in formulating social philosophy for the nation. Very recently our Jawans and their officers gave their lives in large numbers for the defence of the nation. Wealthy men and persons of limited means fought shoulder to shoulder and died for a common cause. Mr. Kamraj and his so called economic challenge were not visible where greater emotions ruled the hearts of men. Those who fight for monetary equality and those who fight for freedom and the defence of their countrymen cannot be classed together. The economic challenge can be met by legislation. Foreign enemies cannot be

destroyed by talk. Mr. Kamraj should reorientate his mind about military threats to the nation and learn to admit facts. The exploitation of the masses of India by certain minorities is well known to us. We know there are persons who carry the profit motive to its unfair extreme. But we also know that apart from trades people, politicians and the State also exploit the masses. All taxes realised and, then, mispent are exploitative. All "conspicuous spending" by the Congress organisation, its leaders, officials, delegations and other political and religious groups or personages should be considered as exploitation too. The habits of the people are such that they engage in conspicuous spending too. India's Chief-Political Philosopher Mr. Kamraj should know that pujas, processions, displays and pompous showing off, are not exclusive to the wealthier classes. Even Mr. Kamraj's official arrivals at places cause triumphal arches to be thrown up across roads and costly receptions are arranged for him and his **entourage**. If an analysis is made of all conspicuous spending in India, Government and the Congress will probably head the list. The poor people will come third for their pujas and other public displays which are carried out with funds collected. The millionaires will be there with their senseless and wasteful squandering of money. Many laws have been passed in India for stopping waste of money in social ceremonies like marriages, **sradhs**, etc., but the people go on spending even if they have to borrow or beg. Mr. Kamraj's 1.7 crore Congress members have done little to put a stop to it. So, while we admit that an economic challenge does exist we do not agree with Mr. Kamraj's analysis of the situation. This economic challenge is aided and abetted by the Congress and the Government and its psychological roots have gone into the soil and the mud huts of India. The Military Threat to India is sinister.

dangerous and massive. Mr. Kamraj has done no good to the nation by belittling its dimensions.

### After Kerala, Bengal

Food riots have now started in Bengal. We call it riots for the reason that it has led to violence and people have been killed and injured. In Kerala the Government of India rushed supplies of rice to bring the situation under control. We do not know yet what the Government are doing or will do to appease the public disquiet over food supplies. It would appear that the people do not think that the quanta of cereals sanctioned by the Government are adequate. So Government officials have to solve two problems. The first is to maintain the supplies that they have agreed to distribute. The second is to augment the supplies if the quanta are revised. In any case, the Government is already in great difficulty over food supplies, and the position will get worse during the next few months. The public too do appreciate what the Government are doing for food supplies. The younger members of the public are however not so patient and long suffering as the grown-up people. So, we have demonstrations which occasionally cause disturbances. We have been told that the Congress have 177 lakh members. It is high time these members took part in public life and went about reassuring the public about their economic problems. According to the figures published Greater Calcutta should have nearly 200,000 Congress members. That is a large enough number to pass on any message of hope to the people. Now that Sri Ajoy Mukherjee has been removed from the Congress leadership, Sri Atulya Ghosh is in complete control of the W.B.P.C.C. There should not be much opposition then if he organised the Congress members to do some useful work.

## Preservation of Food

Tomatoes are selling in the Greater Calcutta area at Re. 1.50 per 40 kg. Cabbages are equally reasonable in price. Both these vegetables can be preserved quite easily. Tomato juice can be kept in sealed drums in cold storage and cabbage can be sun-dried and preserved. There are other vegetables too which are now very cheap and which can be preserved for future consumption. The Government of India and the State Governments should take **immediate steps** to preserve the vegetables that are now in season.

## Indo-Ceylon Boxing

The first international boxing match between India and Ceylon was staged in Colombo on the 21st of February, 1966. India won the match 7 fights to 2. Ceylon has produced many talented boxers during the last fifty years. In India boxing has been quite popular since the 1920s, but there is room for improvement as many people in India still consider boxing unsuitable for young boys. In fact, boxing when properly conducted, is neither dangerous nor brutal. It is a clean sport which gives one health, strength, agility, courage and the ability for self-defence without using weapons of any kind. The only other sport which can be compared with it is Judo. Games and sports are matters of vital interest to the nation. The Indian Government are beginning to recognise this and are allocating funds, in dribbles too, for improving the standard of games and athletics in India. But they can do much more. There are not enough play grounds in India, nor **akhara**s or arenas for wrestling, boxing, gymnastics and athletics. The participants lack proper equipment, coaches and arrangements for competitive contests. And the ministers who can help are not conversant with the facts related to games, sports etc.

## Government Borrowings Cause Inflation

The Governments that have been set up in India, statewise and centrally, have got into the habit of borrowing money for a given period on given terms, as well as on over-draft from the nationally owned and managed banks. Borrowing money for expenses on non-productive accounts has an inflationary effect and the general rise in prices throughout India during the last several years can be mainly ascribed to governmental borrowings. The experts who manage the "Public Sector" banks are also not very happy over the loans that they have to grant to the States very often. They feel that these habitual borrowings are causing inflation. Deficit financing should not be made easy; for, then, deficits just occur all the time. The Reserve Bank of India have made many rules for the privately managed banks of India, which guide the granting of loans to companies and individuals. What are the rules that restrict, control and guide governmental overdrafts? Or, are they just taken?

## Fighting in Assemblies

We do not know if members of the State Assemblies can engage in mutual assault as a matter of right, but the accounts of these frequent exchanges of blows among the legislators of our democratic socialist republic, as published in newspapers, make interesting reading. There are also fights outside the legislatures; but these have sordid developments at times when the police use fire arms against the public. Can we not use the Tashkent Declaration to settle disputes internally too? Otherwise civil government and legislative work may soon come to a standstill.

## Ghana

The people of Ghana have overthrown Dr. Nkrumah during his absence from that

country. He is accused of nepotism and mismanaging the country's finances to the point of insolvency. Nepotism, or showing of special favours to "bhatijas" has been associated with governments and managements since the dawn of human civilisation. Dynasties, coteries, cliques and political parties have also been summarily overthrown every now and then throughout this long period. Those who try to make a special case, for any purpose whatsoever, for their brothers, children, nephews or relations, as well as for their friends and supporters, have to face occasional and sudden upsurges of popular feelings against them. Observance of the rules of ethics and of the laws of the land is, therefore, safer for politicians than faith in their infallibility and unconquerable political might.

#### **D. I. R.**

Have the Defence of India Rules been of much use in the military and economic emergency that India has been passing through during recent times? The Congress leaders think that infringements of the fundamental rights of the people by use of the D. I. R. have been useful for safeguarding the nation's existence. There are others who think that the D. I. R. have not been used to any good purpose by the Government, nor have the actions taken helped the defence of India in any shape or form. They say, the Government officials concerned have been misusing their powers. Let us then conclude that there are some cases in which anti-national elements have been suppressed by use of the D. I. R., and, that there are also many cases where the D.I.R. have been used in a manner not in keeping with the best interests of the nation and the preservation of human rights. Generally speaking there should be better and more intensive scrutiny of all cases where the D. I. R. would be used by the officials. **Respect for the Nation is only the sum total**

of all considerations shown to the nationals; their rights, ideals, conditions of living and the healthy conservation of those environmental factors which determine their progress and well being.

#### **More About Nagas**

The Nagas, after their inspiring talks with Mrs. Gandhi, have reopened hostilities on a larger scale and Indian police and army units have gone into action with not much success against those rebellious elements. So that Mrs. Gandhi's hopes of coming to a peaceful and honourable settlement with the Nagas have been dissipated even before they took any shape after a second discussion. Mrs. Gandhi has inherited a spirit of tolerance from her father. The enemies of the nation like to be tolerated and pampered, but the Indian nation will some day find out the wisdom of resisting evil. The sooner that day comes the better for India and the Indians.

#### **India's Love Of Peace**

India is devoted to the cause of Peace on Earth and goodwill to all human beings. Morally speaking, we have every faith in the principles underlying this attitude. But in the practical spheres of life, one cannot carry out one's ethical desires absolutely without conditions. The Indian police have to open fire on unruly mobs at times and the Indian army also fights if found absolutely necessary. But India is fond of peace nevertheless. The war in Vietnam keeps the Chinese preoccupied and that is of advantage to India; but Indian politicians feel that there should be peace in Vietnam. This shows how India can uphold her principles even at a sacrifice. Whether her philosophy will ultimately sustain her well being is a matter of speculation.



## THE DAWN

C. F. ANDREWS

In the purple East, the morning  
                                  Light is dawning  
O'er the plains the gloom is breaking  
Earth from heaven new glory taking  
Robes herself with dewy splendour,  
                                  Mystic, tender.

Every grove with joy is ringing,  
                                  Birds are singing.  
Fragrance fills the air, and flowers  
Wakened by the cooling showers,  
Raise their heads from drowsy slumber  
                                  Without number.

All the dusty drought is over,  
                                  Earth's bold Lover,-  
The glad Sun,—with rapturous kisses  
Greets his bride, and pours his blisses  
On her radiant face, upturning  
                                  To his yearning.

Crystal clear the streams are gushing,  
                                  Onward rushing  
Till they join the stately river,  
Where the tall green grasses quiver,  
And the lotus flowers are blowing  
                                  Bright and glowing.

Sons of India! Let your sadness  
                                  Turn to gladness.  
For the long night of your sorrow  
Now has passed. A glorious morrow  
Dawns upon you; day is shining.  
                                  Cease repining.

Fresh and green the path before you,—  
   Blue skies o'er you.  
 Flowers about your feet are springing,  
 Birds their carol songs are singing  
 Heralding the coming glory  
   Of your story.

Lo! The Motherland rejoices  
   At the voices  
 Of her children.—Rise and greet her,  
 Going forth with joy to meet her  
 In the great regeneration  
   Of the Nation.

(The above verses were written after reading Tulsi Das's beautiful description of the coming of the rains in Book IV, Kishkindhya, of the **Ramayana**).

(**The Modern Review**, July 1909, p.27)

## TEMPERANCE WORK

C. F. ANDREWS

A...form of social service which is of increasing importance in Modern India is the spread of information with regard to the abuse of intoxicants and drugs. No Indian who loves his country can view without serious alarm the steady increase in the consumption of spirituous liquors of all kinds which has taken place in the last twenty years. The growth of the evil is to be seen chiefly in the large cities, but there are ominous signs that it is spreading also to the country districts,—to those innumerable Indian villages where the vast majority of people pass their lives and where healthy moral conditions are still maintained. The rapidity of communication of modern days has made such spread of new pernicious customs only too easily possible.

There is a beautiful story told in Holland of a young boy who saved his country. The great dykes in that land keep out the sea. The country behind the dykes is only preserved for human habitation so long as the water is prevented from breaking through, for the land is at a lower level than the sea itself. On one day in the depth of winter a young boy had wandered far

from home along the greatest of the dykes. At night-fall he was on the point of returning, when he heard the hissing sound of water forcing its way through the dyke. There were no stones or pieces of wood near to close up the hole; only the bare sand lay round him on every side. He knew well that in a few moments the tiny hole would become a gaping crack which no human effort could close. Without a moment's hesitation he stripped off his winter clothes and pressed them into the leak. Still the water did not stop. Then he wrapped the clothes round both his arms and thrust them with all his force into the hole. To his joy he found that the water ceased to trickle through. Hour after hour he remained in that condition, crying out for assistance till his voice grew weaker. In the morning he was found by a villager dead with exhaustion and cold,—his two arms still thrust into the hole which he had kept closed by his own life-sacrifice. The story is famous in Holland to this day as that of the boy who saved his country.

In India the evil of intemperance has not yet flooded over the land. It is still like the stream of water piercing through the dykes of good and wholesome Indian tradition. But if no one comes to the point where the barrier is breaking down; if no one is ready to sacrifice time and energy to prevent the flood breaking out, the evil in the future may be terrible and its advance beyond human strength to restrain.

If a careful examination is made as to the way in which the evil is spreading in India it will be found in almost every case to have started from the towns. From the towns the disease is carried to the villages, not *vice versa*. It is in the towns therefore that the educated classes should awake to the responsibility and do all that is in their power to put an end to the new temptation.

Before I came out to India I was engaged for some years in "settlement" work at a College Mission in the slums of London. I

lived in the midst of a district where intemperance was rife and where nine-tenths of the crime that was committed was due to the drinking habits of the people. The evil had grown up for generations almost unchecked, till at last it had flooded the poorer classes of the community, and they were scarcely able to resist its terrible encroachments. That was my experience in England. Since coming out to India I have been able to see much of the condition of the poor in our Indian cities, and in many ways I can only say that it is pitiable beyond anything I saw in London. The poverty and misery of it are far more sad and pathetic than in the great metropolis of England. But if the drink curse should be added to other evils and at last get a footing, like a fell disease, among the poor of India, then their condition would be terrible beyond description.

If it be argued that the Indian poor are too wretchedly ill-paid to have money to spend on drinks, such an argument betrays an ignorance as to what people will do among whom the drink habit is once formed. The last pice will then be spent on drink and drink alone, and wife and children will be left starving, if only the drink craving can be satisfied. I speak of things I have seen and known. The "country" liquor is so cheap and at the same time so rapidly demoralizing in its effects, that a beginning of the drink habit is fatally easy in this land. In this case, more than in any other, the proverb is true "Prevention is better than cure."

But it may be urged that while in Europe and America the drink habit has taken root and spread widely, there is no danger of such a habit becoming prevalent in Asia. Those who argue thus have overlooked the recent history of China. What the drink habit has done in the West, the Opium habit has been in the Far East,—a national disease. A century ago no one could have predicted the lengths to which

the opium evil would spread in the Chinese Empire. Yet today it is such an overwhelming danger that China's greatest statesman and philanthropists seem almost powerless before it. Opium smoking would probably never affect India in the same way as it has affected China, but **bhang** and **charas** and, above all, the consumption of country liquors are almost serious and immediate dangers. They already count their victims by tens of thousands. A short time ago I was visiting one of the poorest quarters of Delhi. I saw a man lying on a **charpoy** in the last stages of physical decay. He was more like a skeleton than a human being. I was going to help him with money to get food, when the worker who knew the district said to me "You may do so, but it is of little use; he is a confirmed hemp smoker and will not give it up, though it is slowly killing him." I have rarely seen a sadder spectacle.

How can work be done by educated Indians to safeguard the people of the land?

There are great and critical problems of Government policy, such as the issuing of licences etc. These need careful scrutiny by independent and philanthropic gentlemen, who have time and capacity to go thoroughly and deeply into such questions and approach Government upon them. No country in the world has found it safe to leave the liquor traffic in the hands of a State Department uncriticised and unchecked. The temptations of easy methods of increasing revenue are too great, and human nature is too fallible. even in departmental work which is efficient and painstaking. For example, the Poor Law System during the last century in England was conducted with great care and ability. Yet the need for the co-operation of independent workers in poor relief administration has now become fully recognized in that country. Here in India there are few fields of greater social usefulness for

Indian educated gentlemen, who desire to help their country, than that of carefully inquiring into the details of the Government Excise and License policy, pointing out both its successes and defects, and publishing through the Press the results of independent investigation. What a Raikes or a Howard or a Wilberforce did in Europe for other's social interests, may be done today in India by the patriot and the philanthropist who would be ready to make the Temperance question of India his life work.

But apart from the larger field of framing a national policy there is the supremely important personal work of dealing at first hand with the evil itself. Here the first method I would mention is that of education in the schools. The younger generation that is growing up needs instruction, and a well organized Temperance Society can generally obtain the right of entry into Government and private schools for the purpose of an occasional lecture in the vernacular on the evils of intemperance. One of the first requisites of a Temperance Society is a thoroughly servicable Magic Lantern. When that has been purchased, slides can easily be obtained on hire or loan. An interesting school lecture can be delivered with the Lantern pictures as illustrations. The help and interest of the Head Master and teachers in the schools should always be solicited, for if their interest in the subject is roused, they can do more by their personal influence to make the seriousness of the issue felt than can be done by an official lecturer from the outside. My own custom has been to enlist also the sympathy and support of college students and to give them as full a share in the work as possible. In Delhi I have found Mahommedans, Hindus and Christians wonderfully ready to help me. It has been delightful to witness their keenness and enthusiasm.

Another practical way of advancing

the cause of temperance is to go down to the poorer quarters of the city for an open air Lantern lecture addressed to those sections of the community among whom it is well known that drinking habits are on the increase. The pictures for such lectures should be of a more general character,—pictures of Indian life or scenery, or the illustrations of some story. The lectures should be full of anecdotes and personal appeals. During the long summer nights the poor people will sit and listen for hours to such a Lantern Entertainment. If music can be added, the effect will be all the greater. Such meetings very rarely close without special requests to the workers to come again as soon as possible.

Much can be done just before those special seasons of the year when drinking habits are likely to break out. In the North the most important of all such times, if the evil is to be forestalled, is the week before the Holi festival. Many an Indian has learnt his first habits of intoxication during that Festival. Perhaps for a long time it has been the only occasion in the whole year when he has given way to temptation, but at last a year comes when the drink craving gets hold of him at Holi time, and after the Festival is over he goes on secretly drinking till at last he has no powers of resistance left and becomes a confirmed drunkard. Again and again the fall comes this way. On the other hand a kindly word of warning, given before the time of merriment begins, might have made all the difference to his career and kept him from ruin. During the Holi Festival itself the Temperance worker should be most active. A series of games and amusements which are both innocent and attractive should counterbalance the

excitements of the streets. A **Pawitr Holi**, (in the form of an entertainment) to which especially the children may be gathered from the streets, can often be held in the public parks or gardens and help to keep them out of harm's way. By these and other means much may be done to tide over what is, perhaps, in the North of India, the most dangerous period of the year,—a time somewhat corresponding in its dangers to the Easter Monday or Christmas Bank holidays in England.

The last method to be mentioned is the distribution of leaflets, especially at **melas** or holiday gatherings. These should always be in the vernacular and as homely as possible, relating incidents from the great stories of India in past ages, and calling on Indians today to be true to the traditions of their country. Passages from the **Ramayana** are peculiarly effective. Sometimes an incident from the **Ramayana** or **Mahabharata** may begin the leaflet, and lead up to the appeal to Indians to be temperate in all things.

I return in conclusion to the story of the dykes of Holland. Upto the present in India the dykes of Indian abstinence have been kept fairly intact, but there are ominous cracks and leakages beginning to appear. Let us, who love our country and are in earnest about our willingness to serve the Motherland, make haste to repair the damage and make India strong once more.

(The Modern Review, June 1910,  
Pp. 557-59)

We have very great pleasure to reproduce the above excerpts from an old writing by Dinabandhu Andrews preceded by a like old poem in this issue as a special mark of commemoration of his 95th birthday last month.

# RASH BEHARI BOSE AS A REVOLUTIONARY

UMA MUKHERJEE

[ Based mainly on original sources and records, both official and unofficial, the paper confines itself to the revolutionary activities of Rash Behari Bose up to the year 1923 when he became naturalised on the Japanese soil. ]

## RASH BEHARI'S BOYHOOD AND EARLY EDUCATION

While the activities of Rash Behari Bose as an Indian revolutionary outside India have received a good deal of publicity since Independence, his activities in India for the revolutionary cause still remain largely obscure and forgotten.

Born in the village of Parala-Bighati near Bhadreswar in the Hooghly District in the house of his maternal uncle on May 25, 1886<sup>1</sup>, Rash Behari Bose passed his

1. Rash Behari's own sister Sushila Devi, aged about seventy-seven, who is still living at Benares, has recently informed the present writer that both her elder brother and herself were born in their maternal uncle's house at the village of Parala-Bighati in the Hooghly district. This view also fits in with the finding of Sri Harihar Sett of Chandernagore. But in a written statement dated April 16, 1961, Kunja Behari Mandal of the village of Subaldaha categorically states on the basis of his own direct knowledge that Rash Behari Bose, the eldest son of Benode Behari Bose, his friend, was born at the village of Subaldaha ( vide the Pravartak Sangha's fortnightly organ NABA SANGHA, dt. April 19, 1961, p. 1 ).

childhood in his paternal home at the village of Subaldaha in the Burdwan district. He received his early education at Chandernagore where his father Benode Behari Bose had purchased a house. His father, at first a Government servant in the Bengal Secretariat, later secured a new job at the hilly health resort of Simla in U. P. Never a "good" boy in the conventional sense of the term, Rash Behari even in his boyhood showed in his character signs of turbulence and refused to bend his neck to authority on asking. None, however, was aware at that time of the immense promise that this wayward boy had in him for the future.

While a student of the Second Class at the College Duplex ( now known as Kanailal Vidyamandir ) in Chandernagore, Rash Bahari had a confrontation with his teachers, which soon forced him to leave that school and take new admission in the Morton School, Calcutta. But a comfortable routine life was never destined for him. His innate nature always goaded him to beat new tracks of adventure. An expert lathi-player from boyhood, he soon took fancy to the idea of entering the British Army with the immediate object of learning the art of modern warfare. As the desire deepened, he fled away twice from his home to try his luck as a potential

recruit in the army, but apparently having failed in his mission, he returned home with subdued feelings of frustration. From that time onwards he gave up his routine study and education in school. Disillusioned by her son's wayward life, his mother before long took him to Simla and got him employed through his father in the Government press. But here also Rash Behari could not pull on for a long time, and under command from his father who suspected his complicity in a press trouble, he had to resign his post. This was followed by his third flight from home, opening a completely new chapter in his career<sup>2</sup>.

#### RASH BEHARI'S FIRST ADVENT IN DEHRA DUN

Having served for a short period in the Pasteur Institute of Kasauli (South-West of Simla), Rash Behari came at last to Dehra Dun in or about the year 1906 and was probably employed as a laboratory assistant to Sirdar Puran Singh who was in charge of the Chemistry Department in the Forest Research Institute<sup>3</sup>. While at Dehra Dun, Rash Behari at first took shelter in the Tagore Villa, the garden house of Prafulla Nath Tagore, grandson of Kali Krishna Tagore. Atul Krishna Bose, the care-taker and manager of the Tagore Villa, (although mistakenly referred to in the I. B. Records as Atul Ghosh) took kindly to Rash Behari

without his master's remotest idea about it. Rash Behari stayed there for some time. Even after his change of residence he regularly frequented the Tagore Villa where a group of young men met together and discussed various topics. Sri Prasanta Nath Tagore, the third son of Prafulla Nath Tagore, informs the writer that the Villa consisting of 100 bighas of land and looked after by a redoubtable manager with his quarters situated at a remote corner of the garden and surrounded by mango and lichi trees, naturally offered a very congenial shelter to Rash Behari as well as to the secret activities of the Bengali youngmen at Dehra Dun. It is also reported that Rash Behari even arranged for bomb manufacture in that garden Villa and was sometimes helped even with money by its 'sympathetic' manager from the funds placed at his disposal by the owner for its proper maintenance<sup>4</sup>. The Intelligence Branch Records of the Government of West Bengal affirm that "Rash Behari Bose, Atul Ghose, Haripada Bose and one Sailen Banerjee used to meet daily at Dehra Dun and were very friendly to each other". They further state that Jogindra Nath Choudhury, a prominent pleader of the Allahabad High Court, came to Dehra Dun for a change and stayed for three months at the Tagore Villa. Rash Behari and his associates were regular visitors to Jogin Babu ( Vide File Nos. 130-14 and 579-18 of the I. B. Record of the West Bengal Govt ),

#### RASH BEHARI'S CONTACT WITH

J. M. CHATTERJEE

A memorable episode of this period was Rash Behari's contact with Jitendra Mohon

2. These facts about Rash Behari's early life have been, in the main, taken from Prof. Bejon Behari Bose's ( his younger brother's ) Bengali work entitled KARMABIR RASH BEHARI published in 1956.

3. The Judgment of the Delhi-Lahore Conspiracy Case of 1914, however, describes Rash Behari as the Head Clerk of the Forest Research Institute.

4. Vide S. N. Ganguli's article in Weekly BASUMATI, Aug. 12, 1965.

Chatterjee at Dehra Dun. Jitendra Mohan, a resident of Saharanpur where his father was a Government pleader, had already started there a secret society following the Partition of Bengal <sup>5</sup> with the object of taking revenge against the inhuman cruelties and oppression of the British soldiers, particularly at the railway stations. In 1906 he came to Dehra Dun on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of his nephew (eldest son of his elder sister) and put up for four or five days at the house of the brother-in-law Purna Chandra Banerjee. In that milieu he picked up intimacy with Rash Behari Bose who also attended that ceremony. From his talk with Rash Behari Jitendra Mohan could get a glimpse of the workings of the latter's mind, and the intimacy thus formed later proved valuable for the revolutionary movement.

The Punjab and the United Provinces were at that time important centres of Bengali revolutionary activities. Bengal's role as an inspirer of the revolutionary spirit in the Punjab was embodied, first, by Jatindra Nath Banerjee (later known as Swami Niralamba) and then by Rash Behari Bose. After his split with the early band of the Bengal revolutionaries headed by Barindra Kumar Ghose, Jatindra Nath left Calcutta on a roving mission. In course of his travel he came to the Punjab in 1906 and got together a group of young men and inspired them with the ideal of Swaraj for India even by violent revolutionary methods. This group included,

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5. Vide INDIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM (Calcutta, 1958, Chapter 1) written jointly by the present writer and H. Mukherjee for a detailed account of the Bengal Partition of 1905.

among others, Lal Chand Phalak, Kissen Singh (father of Bhagat Singh), Lala Lajpat Rai, Sirdar Ajit Singh as well as Dr. Hari Charan Mukherjee of Ambala, Dr. Charu Chandra Ghose of Peshwar and Lala Amar Das of Sealkot <sup>6</sup>. On his return from England to India in 1906 Lala Hardyal was soon drawn to this group, and before long he gathered round himself a band of devoted workers, of whom Jitendra Mohan Chatterjee was the most prominent. Hardyal's major pre-occupation was then political propaganda through speeches and writings, with a pronounced advocacy of boycott. Although he did not openly preach at this stage any cult of violent revolution, yet it is mainly from him that his followers, after he had left for England, took their cue for a violent political fight against the British.

On Hardyal's departure for England for higher education (1908), his mantle naturally fell on his comrade Jitendra Mohan Chatterjee whom he had chosen as the second in command and whom he had so introduced to Amir Chand also at the Delhi station on his way to Bombay en route to England <sup>7</sup>. Amir Chand, a rich man of

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6. Vide Jadugopal Mukherjee's VIPLAVI JIBANER SMRITI (Calcutta, 1956, p. 301). It may be noted in this connection that in 1927-28 Kissen Singh, accompanied by his son Bhagat Singh travelled to the village Chana in the Burdwan district to pay homage to his Guruji Jatindra Nath Banerjee. Again, in 1929 Bhagat Singh, then an absconder had also been to Baranagore to see Jatindra Nath Banerjee.

7. As shortage of funds appeared to be a great impediment to political work, J. M. Chatterjee and his co-worker Chiranjit Lal



and a school master, had already gathered round him a band of youths including Abad Behari, Bal Raj and Bal Mokand. Jitendra Mohan got down at Delhi, put up for a few days at Amir Chand's house, and afterwards returned to Saharanpur. He then plunged into the great work assigned to him by his leader. He contacted many persons with Hardy's letters of introduction, gathered new recruits and laid down the programme of work for the party in his own handwriting. He also sent emissaries to Rash Behari at Dehra Dun, asking him to forge links with the Bengal revolutionary groups. It is through Rash Behari's medium that Jitendra Mohan got into touch with Srish Chandra Ghose supposed to be "the most desperate and dangerous" figure of the Chandernagore revolutionaries<sup>9</sup>. Srish Chandra thereafter not only paid several visits to Saharanpur (1909-10), but also kept up correspondence with Rash Behari sometimes under the

pseudo name of 'Amir'<sup>9</sup>. Before long unforeseen troubles arose for Jitendra Mohan with the seizure by the police of his secret MSS embodying the party's programme of work from the office of JHANGSYAL (a journal of Sirdar Ajit Singh) and their detection of his authorship. In no time he decided to hand over the charge of the secret party to Rash Behari Bose (1910). He summoned Rash Behari to Saharanpur, gave him every relevant information and left for England to prosecute studies in Law<sup>10</sup>. Needless to say, Rash Behari also did not sit idle at Dehra Dun during this time: he was also busy weaving schemes of work and getting together a band of ardent spirits.

After Jitendra Mohan's retirement from the Indian scene, Rash Behari Bose naturally assumed the central command of the Punjab revolutionaries, and his Dehra Dun residence became a RENDEZVOUS of secret political activities. As Mr. Denham of the Intelligence

were engaged in 1908 in the collection of subscriptions for their party as wandering SADHUS or friars. In course of such missionary work, when they had once taken shelter at Sirdar Puran Singh's residence in Dehra Dun, Jitendra Mohan received a wire from Hardy from Lahore instructing him to meet the latter at Saharanpur. Accordingly, both Jitendra Mohan and Chiranjit Lal met Hardy at Saharanpur via. Hardwar and thence accompanied him to Delhi, where at the station Hardy introduced Jitendra Mohan to Amir Chand as his right hand man.

8. Vide Home Deptt. (Pol.—A) Proceedings of the Govt. of India, July 1911, Nos. 48-50.

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9. Vide File No. 473/14 of the I. B. Records, Govt. of West Bengal, for a letter intercepted at Delhi, in which the signatory 'Amir' requested the addressee 'Manik' to come down with some money to study the situation at first hand. The Intelligence Branch authorities of the time identified 'Manik' with Rash Behari Bose and 'Amir' with Srish Chandra Ghose.

10. It has been learnt from Barrister J. M. Chatterjee at Dehra Dun that it was he who introduced Rash Behari Bose to the Punjab and Delhi group of revolutionaries by providing him with several letters of introduction to various persons before he left for England. This point receives corroboration also in the Judgment in the Delhi-Lahore Conspiracy Case of 1914.

Branch wrote in his report : "as far as can be ascertained at present Dehra Dun appears to have been the meeting place between the Bengal and Punjab conspirators ; Rash Behari Bose had resided there for seven years and had obtained a position of importance in the Bengali community"<sup>11</sup>. At Dehra Dun Rash Behari's activities were canalised in two main directions, first to secure secretly acid from his office laboratory for the manufacture of explosives, and, secondly, to purchase second-hand revolvers from the retired Gurkha officers. He also sent a letter to Jitendra Mohan Chatterjee at London with the request to arrange for the despatch of some revolvers to him through a London book-seller ; but the idea did not materialize because of the sudden critical turn in the situation following the Hardinge Bomb Outrage<sup>12</sup>.

#### RASH BEHARI'S INITIATION IN THE CULT OF ATMA-SAMARPAN

In 1911 Rash Behari came down to Chandernagore on receiving the news of his mother's illness, and thanks to Srish Chandra Ghose, he was before long introduced to Moti Lal Roy, the then leader of the Chandernagore group of revolutionaries. A devoted follower of Aurobindo Ghose and the founder of the Prabartak Sangha at Chandernagore, Moti Lal Roy cast a great influence on his junior colleague. Rash Behari was inspired with the Gita ideal of

ATMA-SAMARPAN or self-surrender and took the solemn vow of dedicating himself to the supreme cause. As Moti Lal Roy puts it :

"I remember the day when Rash Behari Bose first came to me with my revolutionary disciple and colleague Srish Chandra Ghose. We were sitting together closetted in the small historic room where Sri Aurobindo sat hiding a few months before during his abscondage at Chandernagore. Inspiring words seemed to pour out of me, while I was explaining to him the spiritual Yoga of Atma-Samarpana that had been revealed to me by Sri Aurobindo. Rash Behari seemed to drink in the spiritual message in deep silence. Then suddenly at the end of the discourse, he burst forth in ecstatic exclamation :

'It is God's instrumentality a spiritual automation—isn't Motilal ! I have to move about with my head held in the palm of my hand. So, indeed, shall I do !'<sup>13</sup>

In the mean time Rash Behari's mother died and as his leave expired he returned to Dehra Dun for some time. This, however, was followed by his long leave probably from September 1911 and his return to Chandernagore. During this period fruitful discussions were held among Moti Lal Roy, Srish Chandra Ghose, Rash Behari Bose and Pratul Chandra Ganguli of the Anusilan Samiti. In course of these discussions, precisely after the annulment of the Bengal Partition at the Delhi Durbar in December, 1911, the idea of throwing a bomb at Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India, caught the imagination of this revolutionary group.

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11. Vide Denham's third and final Report on the Rajabazar Case, dated March 26, 1914, as preserved in the I. B. Office, Calcutta.

12. Vide the writer's interviews with J. M. Chatterjee at Dehra Dun in October, 1965.

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13. Vide Moti Lal Roy's statement printed on the cover of J. G. Ohsawa's *THE TWO GREAT INDIANS IN JAPAN*, (CALCUTTA, 1954).

The evident object of the plot was to demoralise the British bureaucrats in India by striking terror into their heart and to demonstrate in the most convincing way possible that the Government's new repression-CUM-conciliation policy would not pay in the long run.

#### RASH BEHARI AS THE SCHEMER OF THE HARDINGE BOMB PLOT

According to Moti Lal Roy, the idea of throwing a bomb at Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, sprang from Srish Chandra Ghose's brain, and Rash Behari took it up immediately to give it a practical shape<sup>14</sup>. With that end in view, he brought to Dehra Dun along with him a young man, Basanta Kumar Biswas, ostensibly as his cook and personal attendant. Basanta Biswas and Manmatha Biswas were two cousin brothers of Poragacha in the Nadia district and had for some time been staying with Amarendra Nath Chatterjee of Uttarpara as workers of the "Sramajibi Samabaya", a Swadeshi workshop housed in the present Y. M. C. A. building standing at the junction of Harrison Road ( Mahatma Gandhi Road ) and the College Street, Calcutta. Opened in 1908 as a business concern through the joint efforts of Amarendra Nath Chatterjee and Khirode

Ganguli, the Swadeshi shop soon grew into a centre of revolutionary activities with Moti Lal Roy and Srish Chandra Ghose of Chandernagore as among its regular visitors. The Biswas brothers, originally enlisted for the "Sramajibi Samabaya" by Khirode Ganguli, the Headmaster of the Poragacha School, were afterwards handed over to Moti Lal Roy by Amarendra Nath Chatterjee for the revolutionary cause. Moti Lal introduced them to Rash Behari who selected Basanta for his secret mission.

Having trained up Basanta for several months at Dehra Dun with the utmost care and precision, Rash Behari escorted him to Lahore and got him employed, thanks to Bal Mokand's help, in the Popular Dispensary as a Compounder. On or about October 13, 1912 Rash Behari held a secret meeting in a room adjoining the Agarwal Asram, where, besides himself, Abad Behari, Dina Nath and Bal Mokand were present. "At that meeting it is said that a plan of campaign was formed, and that it was decided to issue leaflets and to organize the throwing of a bomb and that Abad Behari, Dina Nath and Bal Mokand were appointed heads of the organization."<sup>15</sup> Shortly after this Rash Behari visited Chandernagore to give a finishing touch to his preparatory work. During his short visit he met one day Sri Nalini Kishore Guha at 88, Upper Circular Road ( where a mess of the Anusilan Samiti opposite to the Rajabazar centre of Amrita Hazra was situated ) and asked him to write an article in the Swadhin Bharat denouncing the

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14. The truth of Moti Lal Roy's statement is also borne out by Pratul Chandra Ganguli of the Anusilan Samiti. In a written statement dated July 4, 1955, Pratul Chandra says that the plan of throwing a bomb at Lord Hardinge was hatched by Moti Lal Roy's Chandernagore group of revolutionaries then working in the close cooperation with the Anusilan Samiti of which Mr. Ganguli was himself an important leader.

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15. Vide the Judgment of M. Harrison, the Additional Sessions Judge, in the Delhi-Lahore Conspiracy Case, dated October 5, 1914.

proposed celebrations to be held in honour of Lord Hardinge's state-entry into Delhi as very much detrimental to the national honour and interests of Indians. Rash Behari also provided Sri Guha with instructions written in typed script in a small slip hidden in the folded cuff of his shirt. Nalini Kishore Guha acted accordingly, although he was unaware at that time of the underlying plot.

According to plan, Basanta Kumar Biswas left Lahore for Delhi by December 21, 1912, and Abad Behari also followed suit in no time. Basanta Kumar at Delhi put up in the house of Amir Chand, and it appears that Abad Behari also was away from Lahore at the time of the outrage<sup>16</sup>. On the fateful day of December 23, 1912, Rash Behari also appeared in Delhi in order to conduct the bomb-throwing operation under his personal guidance. As the Viceregal procession was entering Delhi in right royal pomp engaging everybody's attention, suddenly cracked a bomb on the elephant on which the Viceroy was seated, killing instantaneously an attendant and injuring the Viceroy seriously. In the ensuing pandemonium both Rash Behari and Basanta successfully

disappeared from the scene. Although the plot in its fulness could not be executed (which aimed at killing the Viceroy), yet the effect produced was nonetheless significant. A feeling of horror swept over the country and the Government, after an initial setback, resorted to more rigorous repression.

As regards the way in which the plotters managed their escape from the scene of occurrence, Moti Lal Roy narrates that Basanta, dressed as a beautiful lady called Luxmee Bai, threw the bomb from among the women spectators standing on a house top at Chadney Chak, quickly put off the lady's garment and melted away in the crowd. Bejon Behari Bose, Rash Behari's younger brother, offers, however, a different account on the basis of the information derived by him from Amarendra Nath Chatterjee and Srish Chandra Ghose. He says that at the time of the final execution of the plot Basanta did not actually put on woman's dress, although it was so previously arranged. A second close thought of the difficulties that might arise from the contemplated course probably prompted Rash Behari to make a last-minute change in the operation plan<sup>17</sup>. It is difficult to ascertain at this stage what

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16. Ibid. The Judge states in this context thus : "The evidence on the subject is entirely circumstantial and consists in the fact that Basanta Kumar Biswas left Lahore a couple of days before the bomb was thrown under suspicious circumstances, that Abad Behari was also away from Lahore at the time, and that Dina Nath, the approver, had a conversation with Abad Behari which showed that the latter knew the details of how that bomb was thrown...Both of them returned in January 1913, and Abad Behari remained in Lahore...from January to June, 1913."

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17. Vide Bejon Behari Bose's article in PRAVARTAK dated Sravan 1366 B. S. Also see the unpublished Bengali MSS of Amarendra Nath Chatterjee on "Bharater Swadhinatar Itihas" lying at present in his family at Uttarpur (p. 36). According to Amarendra Nath, Basanta Biswas threw the bomb not from the top of a house but from the road side as confessed by Basanta himself in course of his meeting with the former at the "Sramajivi Samabaya" shortly after the Hardinge Bomb outrage.

type of dress was actually worn by Basanta on that occasion. But this much is certain that Rash Behari himself was dressed as a Punjabee at the time of the occurrence.

Immediately after the bomb outrage Rash Behari fled to Dehra Dun and organized a meeting in which he vehemently condemned the criminal attack on the Viceroy. The obvious motive behind this policy was to hoodwink and befool the police, and in this he was successful <sup>18</sup>.

For his pronounced pro-Government speeches and actions at Dehra Dun Rash Behari very soon won the favour of the police officers of the U. P. and the Punjab. One of them, Sushil Chandra Ghose, picked up intimacy with him, probably with the object of eliciting information from him about his relative Srish Chandra Ghose, the political suspect of Chandernagore ; but Rash Behari also in his turn utilised this contact with the police for his own purposes. In the battle of wits Rash Behari obviously proved the

stronger. The trying Judge in the Delhi-Lahore Conspiracy Case observed that "Rash Behari was an even cleverer man than he is generally supposed to have been, and that he made use of his connection with the police to further the ends of this Conspiracy". Rash Behari, by his speeches and visible actions, produced at that time such a favourable impression on the police as he was even allowed to enter the Circuit House at Dehra Dun when the Viceroy Hardinge had come there for treatment following the Delhi outrage <sup>19</sup>.

#### THE LAHORE BOMB INCIDENT OF 1913

The second overt act committed under the inspiration of Rash Behari Bose was the Lahore Bomb Incident of May 17, 1913. The target of this bomb was Mr. Gordon, the former Sub-Divisional Officer of Sylhet, under whose orders the police raid on the Jagatsi Ashram of Swami Dayananda was conducted (1912), killing Mahendra Nath De, the ex-Head Master of Habiganj National School, and for taking whose life Jogendra Chakravarty of the Anusilan Samiti had sacrificed his life at Maulavibazar ( March 1913). The schemer of the details of the plot was Abad Behari and the thrower of the bomb was the same Basanta Biswas, both being Rash Behari's trusted lieutenants. Two or three days before the incident, Abad Behari received clear instruction from Rash Behari through his letter written to Dina Nath <sup>20</sup>. He thought out the details of

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18. It is worthwhile to notice in this connection what Lord Hardinge wrote in his book entitled MY INDIAN YEARS : 1910-16 (London, 1948).

At Dehra Dun "when driving in a car from the station to my bungalow," wrote Lord Hardinge, "I passed an Indian standing in front of the gate of his house with several others, all of whom were very demonstrative in their salaams. On my inquiring . . . I was told that the principal Indian there had presided two days before at a public meeting at Dehra Dun and had proposed and carried a vote of condolence with me on account of the attack on my life. It was proved later that it was this identical Indian who threw the bomb at me !" (p. 83)

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19. Vide the Weekly Report of the Intelligence Branch, Bengal, dated July 29, 1914.

20. Vide the Judgment in the Delhi-Lahore Conspiracy Case, dated the 5th October, 1914.

the operation plan and at the scheduled hour when a group of Europeans including Mr. Gordon, then an Assistant Commissioner of the Punjab, were seated at the bar in the Lawrence Gardens, both Abad Behari and Basanta Biswas appeared on the scene, carrying secretly bomb with them. But as Basanta's courage failed at the last moment, he placed the missile on the Library Road instead of throwing it at Mr. Gordon, thus eventually causing the death of one unfortunate CHAPRASI on his way back home. Although not a single bit of evidence could be obtained in connection with the Delhi outrage, clues were found out of the Lahore bomb incident. Consequently a conspiracy case was instituted in 1911 against eleven persons of whom Amir Chand, Abad Behari, Bal Mokand, and Basanta Biswas were ultimately hanged.

#### NATURE OF THE DELHI-LAHORE BOMBS

Different sources indicate that the Delhi bomb was supplied to Rash Behari Bose by the Chandernagore group of revolutionaries then headed by Moti Lal Roy. It was a picric acid bomb of the Dalhousie Square (March, 1911) and the Midnapore type (early Dec., 1912) manufactured by Manindra Nath Naik of Chandernagore and finally tested by Suresh Chandra Datta of the Ripon College (now the Surendra Nath College), Calcutta. Sri Naik has informed the writer that an experimental bomb exactly similar to that sent to Delhi was caused to burst in the presence of Rash Behari and Srish Ghose in the bamboo bush behind Rash Behari's Fatakgora house in Chandernagore on the Kali Puja night (Nov. 8) in the year 1912<sup>21</sup>. Satisfied with its potency, Rash

Behari sanctioned it for use for the proposed Delhi outrage. The Lahore bomb was also similar to the Delhi bomb, and in the opinion of the Sessions Judge in the Delhi-Lahore Conspiracy Case the Lahore bomb was in all probability supplied by Rash Behari Bose. That the Delhi and Lahore bombs were almost identical in composition is clearly pointed out in the following letter of the Chemical Examiner to the Government of the Punjab and North Western Frontier Province, to the Superintendent of Police, Lahore, dated May 22, 1913 :

"It is hardly necessary for me to note the similarity between this bomb and that used last December in the attempt on the life of His Excellency the Viceroy at Delhi. The same explosives were used in both cases, and the small fragments of tin foil, jute carding needles, and pieces of wire were exactly similar in both. There can be no doubt that the two bombs were practically identical in composition and construction".

A fair idea of the Delhi-Lahore bombs may be formed from the following report of Major J. W. Turner, Inspector of Explosives, to the Intelligence Branch, Bengal, dated January 8, 1914, on the unexploded Chandernagore bomb (a like-type of the Delhi-Lahore bombs) thrown into the Bhadreswar

Sri Manindra Nath Naik, who was in those days in charge of bomb making at Chandernagore. Sri Naik states that the Delhi bomb was brought to Calcutta by Nalin Chandra Datta and, having been tested by Professor Suresh Chandra Datta of the Ripon College, was taken to Delhi (or elsewhere) by Jyotish Sinha of Chandernagore.

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21. Vide the writer's interview with

Thana on December 30, 1913<sup>22</sup>. Major Turner writes in his report thus :

"The bomb, a perfectly constructed specimen of its kind, is cylindrical in form, measuring  $3 \times 3\frac{3}{16}$  inches, weight about 1 lb. 11 ozs., and consists of the following parts :

(a) A cigarette or tobacco tin ( W. D. & H. O. Wills ) containing the explosive.

(b) Two iron discs, one perforated, inside the tin.

(c) Four iron clamps, about  $\frac{5}{4} \times \frac{1}{16}$  inches  $\times$  3 inches.

(d) A number of jute carding pins of varying sizes, laid point to point between the iron clamps.

(e) Iron or steel wire about 17 W. G. bound round the whole.

(f) About 11 ozs. of an explosive substance consisting of, so far as I have been able to ascertain by practical tests, a mixture of Picric acid and Chlorate of Potash, with a piece of guncotton wool for igniting the charge.

(g) The paper cover or frill."

The explosive charge generally consisted of (i) either Picric Acid and Potassium Chlorate or (ii) Ammonium Picrate, a compound from Picric Acid, both in powder form. On the outside of the tobacco tin were two layers of loom needles ( i. e., jute carding pins ) kept in place by iron wire. Then the tobacco tin fitted with the loom needles was kept intact by means of our clamps. At the bottom of the tin inside were a number of needles ( about 25 ) passing through a perforated iron disc placed over them. Then the explosive substance was filled in and a

second iron disc with a hole in it was placed. A hollow tube with gun-cotton inside went through a hole in the lid of the tin and then passed through the hole of the disc thus touching the explosive charge. Two processes were generally applied for detonating the bomb—first, by putting phosphorus solution on the gun-cotton before the bomb was thrown and secondly, by placing a paper cap containing potassium chlorate, antimony sulphide and red phosphorus on the top of the tin. The cap by its contact with the earth used to burst.

#### 'LIBERTY' AS RASH BEHARI'S ORGAN

The next important event in the life of Rash Behari was the publication of the English leaflet, LIBERTY. It has already been noted that in the meeting at Lahore (October, 1912 ) presided over by Rash Behari Bose, an important decision was taken towards the publication of anonymous leaflets with the object of fomenting discontent in the people against the British Government. A positive step in this matter was the issue of a leaflet in English, named LIBERTY, in May, 1913 following a resolution adopted at another meeting held by Abad Behari, Bal Mokand and Dina Nath ( April, 1913 ). The leaflet was written by Abad Behari, printed at Kapurthala and distributed from Lahore in Northern India, preaching such ideas as the following :

"Revolution has never been the work of men. It is always God's own will worked through instruments. Those who are commissioned to bring about mighty changes were full of the force of Zeitgeist. Spirit enters into them. God Himself worked through Khudi Ram Bose, Prafulla Chaki, Kanai Lal Dutt, Madan Lal Dhingra and others (Hallowed be

22. Vide File 1-14 of the I. B. Records, Govt. of West Bengal.

their sweet memories ). The thrower of bomb on the representative of the tyrannical Government at Delhi was none else but the spirit of the Dispenser of all things Himself...The debt we owe to the noble spirits of the martyrs will be paid only when young men of India will begin to come forward in numbers each to prove a worthy successor of these departed sons...

"A grim Revolution is the greatest need of the times. Rise, brothers, in spirit. Individual incidents like the one at Delhi may strike terrors into the hearts of the tyrants but they cannot bring you the desired goal. They are helpful to a very great extent ; but let us not forget the end and should loose no time for the real work. Let us be up and doing for the great work of Revolution, our cherished ideal."

The ideas expressed in the leaflet were so much akin to his own that Rash Behari sent a message of congratulation to Dina Nath stating : "Now big work should be done in the Punjab" <sup>23</sup>. It needs be noted in this connection that by "big work" Rash Behari obviously meant armed rising in that sector. The second series of Liberty embodying a call to revolution was issued in July, 1913.

#### RASH BEHARI ON LONG LEAVE

After the bomb outrage at Lahore when intensive hunt was undertaken by the police, Rash Behari, prompted by prudence, came down to Chandernagore in August, 1913 taking long leave on medical grounds. During this leave he frequented the Calcutta

centres of the Anusilan Samiti and kept close touch with its important members. One day in September, 1913, while he was at the Badur Bagan mess in company of Pratul Chandra Ganguli, he happened to examine a few revolvers recently brought from Dacca by Biren Chatterjee. To the surprise of all, one of them suddenly sent off a cartridge causing a violent sound and injuring the third finger of Rash Behari's left hand. Blood was oozing profusely from his finger. But without caring a little for his personal wound, Rash Behari at once covered it with a bed sheet and went along with Pratul Ganguli to the Rajabazar centre for having first aid and then left for Chandernagore at night <sup>24</sup>. It may be observed in passing that those revolvers were meant for murdering the Head Constable Haripada Deb, which was soon effected in College Square by Pratul Chandra Ganguli in alliance with Rabindra Nath Sen and Nirmal Kanta Roy on September 29, 1913 <sup>25</sup>. ( To be concluded. )

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24. Vide Moti Lal Roy's *AMAR DEKHA VIPLAV O VIPLAVI* (Calcutta, 1957, p. 101) and the writer's interview with Sri Nalini Kishore Guha of the Anusilan Samiti in April, 1965. Sri Guha was present in the Rajabazar centre when Rash Behari along with Pratul Chandra Ganguli went there just following the accident.

25. Vide Pratul Chandra Ganguli's serial articles entitled *VIPLAVIR JIBAN-DARSHAN* published in the monthly *PRABASI* during 1367-68 B. S. See the *CHAITRA* issue of 1368 B.S. in this connection. The fact noted above is also corroborated by Sri Prafulla Kumar Biswas of the Anusilan Samiti, with whom the present writer had an interview at Sodepur near Calcutta, in July, 1965.

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23. Vide the Judgment of the Additional Sessions Judge of Delhi, Mr. M. Harrison in the Delhi-Lahore Conspiracy Case of 1914.



# Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

## The State of the Economy

To present a survey of the state of the national economy to the Union Parliament by the Finance Minister about a week or so ahead of the presentation of the Annual Budget to the Lok Sabha, has come to be regarded as a necessary ritual of the Budget session of Parliament. As we write, Shri Sachin Chaudhuri, our present Union Finance Minister, has just presented this survey to the Lok Sabha.

As a necessary and customary preface to the Budget which was to follow in a very few days, this would generally be regarded as an important document, presaging, in broad outlines, the trends that the Government's fiscal and monetary policies are likely to pursue during the ensuing financial year. To briefly summarise the Union Finance Minister's statement in this behalf, he seems to consider that the "essential ingredients" of Government policy designed to promote rapid economic growth while, at the same time, reducing inequalities of income and wealth are, first, a greater degree of mobilization of resources for investment; secondly, expansion of public investments and savings; and, finally, selective application of controls at strategic points where they can be effectively en-

forced in the pursuit of social objectives. This does not, surely, reveal any very deep wisdom or capacity for fresh and realistic thinking on the part of the Minister concerned and would, indeed, sound almost as trite as any elementary school-boy essay. Nevertheless there would seem to be some compensation when it is averred that a greater reliance in budget-making "will have to be placed primarily upon increasing the yield of **taxes at current rates** (emphasis our own) and of the surpluses of public undertakings through greater and more efficient production." One can only hope that this part of the Finance Minister's economic survey actually presages, no doubt in the broadest possible terms, what is to be expected in the coming Budget in the matter of fresh taxation.

One is also led to take especial note of what the Finance Minister has to say on the matter of excessive money supply with the public without corresponding acceleration in production incidences, with its inevitable inflationary pressures upon the price structure. If this presages the formulation of an effective price-wage (or income) policy in the immediate future or, at least, the beginnings of one in the right direction, there will be cause to congratulate the Minister for his courage and fore-

sight. The exercise will be bound to be a difficult and a highly complicated one and it is easy to foresee that there will be bound to be political side effects of any such endeavour which may not be possible to disregard or even overlook in a general election year.

One must concede that much of the present malaise from which the national economy has currently been suffering, have largely developed as a result of the policies that the new Finance Minister has inherited from his predecessors in office. There seems to be a broad recognition of the various points at which corrective measures are urgently called for, except the crucial one of the basic structure on which the edifice of taxation has been raised in this country. We are reminded, in this context, of the copy book maxim of the present Finance Minister's predecessor in office who said, last year, that taxation, while serving the needs of public revenues, must also, at the same time, serve as an effective instrument of price policy. Shri Sachin Chaudhuri appears to be deeply concerned with the need for orienting taxation to promote the growth and functioning of a dynamic capital market, but nowhere in course of his survey, there appears any recognition of the need, which has become insistently urgent today, of a thorough and complete revision of the taxation structure and orient its policies to serve as an effective instrument of disinflation. Any copy book economist would tell Shri Chaudhuri that apart from serving as an instrument of public revenues, one of the essential functions of taxation is to arrest inflationary trends and, thereby, promote stability which is a basic *sine qua non* for development and progress. Given such conditions, savings will be automatically stimulated and a capital market flourish as a matter of course. All this may, however, be implicit in the thesis presented by the present

Finance Minister in course of his survey of the economy and we are looking forward to the Budget which is to be presented in a very few days now, to see them being begun to be translated into reality.

### Who are the Racketeers ?

Addressing a public meeting in Delhi on the 17th February last, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was reported to have warned that "1966 would be the most critical year since Independence in respect of food supplies." She was reported to have added that "it is for the people to realise that food is a national problem and not confined to any particular party." She was also reported to have said several other things which might have, with greater propriety, been left unsaid, but we would not refer to those here. But what we must deplore, with all the emphasis that we are able to command, is this tendency that the new Prime Minister is already beginning to demonstrate so early in her career in this office, to blow out of all proportions justified by the actual realities of demand and supply, the so-called problem of food. She has, thus, only been treading the very same grooves etched out by both her predecessors in office, the late Lal Bahadur Shastri as well as, earlier, by her illustrious father, the late Jawaharlal Nehru.

In fact for over the last several months, immediately following the cessation of armed hostilities between the Indian and Pakistani armies, we have been hearing nothing but about the increasing criticality of the food situation in the country. The Union Food & Agriculture Ministry appears to have had no more positive role to play in the matter than to issue, from time to time, "scare" statements every one of which would be calculated to further intensify an

already panic-laden situation in the country as regards food. Strangely enough, all that the so-called Opposition Parties in the Union Parliament or in the State Legislatures have been called upon to do in the matter is to pursue the negatively deplorable policy of slogan-shouting and hooliganism, creating a much heavier burden on the already heavily burdened life of the ordinary citizen, by dislocating essential transport and other services—sketchy and inadequate as they all are in most cities of the country—and incidentally creating fresh law and order problems.

One can understand the Government's reluctance to get down to a critical examination of the realities of the food situation in the country. It would seem as if

respect) it is only natural that food, the commodity most easily vulnerable to speculative pressures and illegitimate gains, should be played up by the appropriate representatives of the ruling party—it would be a travesty of truth to call them representatives of the people in any sense of the term—for all that it may be worth to the pockets of the food grains trade in the country.

We have, in these columns, endeavoured to present from time to time a realistic picture of the food situation in the country as it actually developed from time to time. According to an estimate obtained from an accredited Government agency, the supply position last year appeared to have been as follows:

Gross production of cereals during	1964-65	....	88 million tonnes
Imports from abroad .....	"	....	7 " "
Gross Availability .....		....	95 million tonnes
Gross Consumption Offtake ..		....	87 " "
<hr/>			
Gross carry-over to the 1965-66 season		....	8 million tonnes

the Government, that is the ruling Party, have a vested interest in a situation of continuing food crisis. Any very critical and realistic assessment of the food situation in the country at this moment by any accredited Government agency may very well lead to a situation in which the major source of supply of funds for election victories may dry up. Human nature being primarily guided by self-interest above all things (and the leaders of the ruling party would appear from our experience of how they have acquitted themselves generally over the last eighteen years since Independence to be more than normally fallible in this

The consumption off-take estimated at a gross 87 million tonnes for the year 1964-65 does not, however, represent the actual consumption quantum of the people, but includes the quantities removed from market supplies by the food trade for purposes of speculative hoarding with a view to playing up the price levels. It is estimated by an expert in food grains prices in this country, that only about 3 million tonnes withdrawn from market supplies out of a total availability of 95 million tonnes would effectively play-up price levels to a considerable extent.

The position, as estimated by Govern-

ment during the 1966-67 season would appear to be as follows :

Production (earlier estimated at 76 million tonnes)	..	80 million tonnes
Imports	..	10       "       "
Carry over from the last season	..	8       "       "

Gross availability   98 million tonnes

Government have estimated the total uninhibited demand during the season to be around 100 million tonnes, but that current restrictions by way of the zonal system and statutory and modified rationing in various parts of the country, would have the effect of inhibiting this market demand by some 10 per cent, leaving an effective demand of 90 million tonnes that would have to be met and covered.

A matter of considerable significance in this context would appear to be the Union Food & Agriculture Ministry's new attitude of allowing forecasts about crop prospects to be made known to the public early on in the season, which is diametrically opposed to usual Government policies in this behalf in the past when these information used to be jealously guarded against any

According to the 1961 Census figures, the gross population of India in that year was 43,90,72,582. According to several estimates prepared from time to time by the appropriate agencies of the Planning Commission, our net population has currently been increasing at the annual rate of 2.4 per cent of the total. On this basis, the gross population in the country at the end of 1966 should be a little above 490,000,000. According to the analysis of age structures in the census figures, the proportion of those in the age group 0-4 years comprised 15.1 per cent of the total, those in the age group 5-14 26.0 per cent, 55.9 per cent were in the age group 15-64 and those in the age group 65 years and above 3.0 per cent. The breakdown of the population by actual numbers according to the above age groups should be :

(Taking the residual population at 500,000,000 for purposes of calculation)

Age group 0 to 4 years	{ 15.1	
and 65 years and above	{ 2.9	per cent of total       90,000,000
Age group 5 to 14 years	26.0	per cent of the total       130,000,000
Age group 15 to 64 years	56.0	per cent of the total       280,000,000

possible leakage, lest speculators took advantage of these before final estimates of the actual crop position could be firmly drawn up.

It would, once again, be worthwhile if a clear picture of the actual consumption requirements of food cereals in the country could be drawn in course of this discussion.

Now if cereals for consumption were to be allocated at a daily quota of 16 oz. per day for those in the age group 15 to 64 years, 12 oz. per day for those in the age group 5 to 14 years and 8 oz. for those in the age group 0 to 4 years and 65 years and above, the actual gross consumption requirements would work out to the following figures :

For adults 280,000,000 people at 16 oz daily	45,632,300 tonnes
For infants and aged, 90,000,000 at 8 oz. daily	7,335,205 tonnes
For children 130,000,000 at 12oz. daily	15,886,260 tonnes
Gross actual consumption demand	68,853,765 tonnes
Add 10 per cent for unavoidable wastage/and seed grains .. ..	6,885,376 tonnes
Total consumption supply required	75,739,141 tonnes
Add 10 per cent to the gross for stocks against bad seasons .. ..	7,573,914 tonnes
Total	83,313,055 tonnes
say	84,000,000 tonnes

If the realistic position as regards food approximates near enough to the above picture, the normal quantum of uninhibited market demand, provided of course, that no very heavy incidence of speculative pressures supervene to vitiate the actual quantum of demand, should not exceed some 85 million tonnes as of the current season. We have already seen that the approximate incidence of availability in the current season should be somewhere around 98 million tonnes including a 8 million tonne carry over from the previous season.

Where, then, is the food shortage?

### India's Food Habits

Speaking in New Delhi on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's death anniversary, Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi had been referring to certain vital matters affecting the interests of the country, like the alleged progress the country was supposed to have made "in almost every field" since the Mahatma's martyrdom, the country's battle against

poverty, the food situation and other similar matters. One could wish that Mrs. Gandhi had not followed traditionally in the footsteps of her predecessors by claiming progress where there has been none or, in effect, worse than none; claiming, that is, that the country has advanced even by an iota on the road which leads to lesser poverty, lesser measures of deprivation and wider fields of freedom and social advancement for the people of the country. The putting up of large machinery here and there, mammoth dams at odd corners in the country, hydel turbines which, on an average, work at no more than 30 per cent load factor throughout the year and other similar marks of progress which appear to have been putting increasing measures of wealth at the disposal of a favoured few and the economic power that goes with it, usually at the expense of the large masses of our people, do not, to us, connote any measure progress or advancement.

What, however, we would like to especially underline in this connection, is Mrs.

Gandhi's reported statement that "the food situation, though not satisfactory, would be found on a closer look, to be hardly as 'bad' as it was made out. One of the reasons for the present situation was people's refusal to change their food habits."

Basically the food situation in the country is, certainly not quite as bad as it is made out to be, **mostly by Government agencies**, be it heavily underlined, and by accredited representatives of the Food Trade and many chambers of commerce and industry.

The Prime Minister appears now to blame it all on the **food habits** of the people. There is certainly a large measure of substance in what she had to say on the subject, and this has flowed from recent changes in the people's food habits rather than from their adherence to old practices in this behalf. On account of the changes in the economic climate, there seems to be a general scramble, all over the country, to feed on the finer cereals like rice and wheat, the total production of which, even in a bumper-crop year like in 1964-65 aggregated 50 million tons against a total of 88 million tons of all cereals. If the whole country had to be fed only on these two finer grains we would, of course, be bound to go woefully short. On the other hand, if those who have been used to subsisting only on rice as in Kerala and West Bengal and, generally, in the whole of South and Eastern India, a liberal element of wheat had to comprise their total diet, it would be equally difficult to cover the entire consumption demand of those regions by wholly replacing one by the other. Total paddy production in the country in 1964-65 in terms of the finished rice was reported to have been of the order of 38 million tons and that of wheat 12 million tons. During that year we also imported some 6.5 million

tons of wheat; that is, together with home production and imports, total availability of wheat in terms of rice (of which imports have been only negligible) would appear to have been only about 50 per cent of the latter. So if all habitually rice eating people in Kerala and elsewhere were to wholly switch away from rice on to wheat, the situation would grow to be even more critical than it is at present. What would be a more intelligent and more practical solution of the problem would be to induce a change in the people's food habits all over the country so as to include an appropriate proportion of different kinds of cereals,—the finer grains like rice and wheat, as well as the carser varieties consisting of **jowar, bajra, raggi** and others. On such a basis,—and it should not be impossible to achieve this by more broad-based persuasions than appears to have been used so far although, there is no doubt, it would prove initially difficult enough,—there should not be any very serious deficit in our present cereals production (even if the total crop this year, as earlier prognosticated by Mr. C. Subramaniam, aggregated only about 78 million tons), so far as actual **consumption-demands** of the people are concerned. This is a change in the people's food habit which would seem to be very necessary, for it is essential that the country's dependence on food imports from abroad, even when they are available on such easy terms as under PL 480 from the U.S.A., should be eliminated as early as possible, if the tempo of economic growth has to be sustained even at its very lowest levels (in terms of the investments that have already, in the past, been undertaken and that are envisaged for the immediate future). We could not lend our support more wholeheartedly and vigorously to Mrs. Gandhi's appeal in this behalf, if she will see the measure and manner of change in the people's food habits that are really necessary at the present juncture.

## Unity in Diversity

The special characteristic of India with her complex civilisation is Unity in Diversity. Culturally, racially, linguistically, historically and in numerous other ways India presents great differences; yet, all these various manners, customs, rituals, ceremonies, ways of life, languages, appearances, laws, historical and political origins and connections, have a sort of fundamental unity which somehow makes them specifically Indian. That is why India could be divided into so many different States which at the same time formed one India. From the point of view of civilization and culture all Indian forms of thought, expression, aspiration, ethical or aesthetic preferences and rejections and intellectual acceptabilities have their roots in the same psychological soil. That is why strong antagonisms are not *natural* in India among different groups and communities. If any violent and fierce conflict arises anywhere at any time, one should look for the human element which has worked up hatreds by acts of injustice and denials of natural rights to fellow beings. In pre-Independence India communal or other disturbances were usually brought about by the agents of the imperialists whose policy required that Indians should never be united. When India became independent after a partition had been forced upon her as a condition, so to speak, of freedom from British overlordship, the ruling party did not act wisely in fixing the separate administrative zones or the States on a racial-linguistic basis. The various groups which formed the ruling parties of the States looked for privileges and advantages which would not normally come to them had they stuck to the racial-linguistic basis strictly on a factual basis or had to uphold the principle of equality unequivocally. The result of this party overlordship and greed was the creation of minorities in the States. Thus Assam had numerous minority groups which did not like to be ruled by the Assamese for the reason that the Assamese politicians did not, perhaps, consider these minorities as their co-sharers and equals. When some years after independence the Assamese persecuted a large minority group and subjected its members to all kinds of ignominy and humiliation, such lawless conduct further lowered the

prestige of the Assamese and all minorities in Assam lost faith in the political leaders of Assam. Pandit Nehru, at that time, did little to restore the faith of the minorities of Assam in their political V.I.P.s. Bihar was another such artificially enlarged State with large groups of minorities. Here again the minorities were subjected to difficulties by reason of forcing Hindi where it was not the language of the local inhabitants. In the matter of economic advantages too discrimination was practised in favour of certain groups as against others. In certain other States separation of zones and even partition had to be arranged to satisfy the demands of the suffering minorities.

The creation of States on a racial-linguistic basis was fundamentally wrong and it became a positive destroyer of national unity when bunches of self-seeking men were allowed to exploit and to rule over other people whose rights as citizens of India were not in any way less than that of those who became their rulers by a subterfuge. The State political parties thus became a menace to the peoples' freedom and rights of citizenship. Men who are politically mature can tolerate the dominance of undesirable types without taking any desperate steps as a remedy; but the unsophisticated habitually make hastier decisions. The really guilty are those who seek political power at any cost and do not feel any shame when they destroy the rights of fellow citizens and grab what is not theirs rightfully. Those who aid and abet such usurpation and illicit snatching of political and economic rights are equally guilty of damaging national solidarity and the foundations of true human equality. Outbursts of undisciplined and misguided groups can be put down by force; but a better and surer way of achieving perfect national unity is to remove the causes of disunity. One thing is very clear. The States require to be reorganised on the basis of facts. More states may have to be set up; but that is better than having all human rights sacrificed at the altar of party Raj over numerous people who were not homogeneously united with the ruling groups. The idea of rulers and subjects is contrary to the ideas of liberty, equality and true brotherhood. The present state of affairs in Indian politics can not be described as conducive to the growth of real freedom. And the coteries

and cliques which have the upper hand in various areas are not competent to hold down the masses by their superior wisdom, efficiency or strength. They suffer from all human weakness and failings too and that makes things more unstable. So that political reorganization in India would involve creation of proper constitutional instruments for the protection of the rights of minorities in the various conglomerate states, creation of further and additional states and redistribution of the zones of dispute for the satisfaction of those who belong to those areas.

If a survey is made for the discovery of the causes of unrest in the various states it will be soon found how the majority groups have exploited the minorities and denied them their rights in various spheres of life. Unless these injustices are put right, it will not be possible to hold together the various little communities which constitute some of our states. The greedy and thoughtless elements which believe in *raja-praja* relations in a secular democratic republic should be eliminated from the administrative field in order to re-establish unity and equality in Indian politics.

"Among the industries which have a great future in India is that of automobiles. These are coming into use as private carriages, as buses for passenger traffic, and as lorries for the transportation of raw materials, manufactured goods, &c. But the vehicles used in India are all imported from abroad. Sometimes the parts are separately purchased from abroad and 'assembled' in India. What is necessary, however, is that all the parts, including the engines should be manufactured in India and also 'assembled' here."

Ramananda Chatterjee

*The M. R. for March, 1923, p. 102*



## ANGLO-AMERICAN ATOMIC STRATEGY

RABI SENGUPTA

End of the anti-Fascist war found the Americans in monopolistic possession of the atomic weapons. They made no secret of making political misuse of this atomic monopoly in the cold war that they unleashed against the socialist camp. They gloatingly boasted that the American monopoly in the atomic weapons had reduced the Soviet Union to a second rate power.

They talked of 'preventive war' against the Soviet Union, of annihilating its cities, industries, communications and a large chunk of its people.

In October 1948, Churchill said : "The western nations will be far more likely to reach a lasting settlement, without bloodshed, if they formulate their just demands while they have the atomic power and before the Russian Communists have it too."

These 'just demands' were, when shorn of their diplomatic coverings, that the Russians should wind off the socialist system, and the Bolsheviks should cease to be Bolsheviks.

The 'Observer' in its issue dated 27 June, 1948, summed up this attitude in the following words : "It is we who hold the overwhelming trump cards. It is our sides not Russia, which holds atomic and post-atomic weapons, and could, if sufficiently provoked, utterly wipe out Russia's power and threat to the world peace from the face of the earth."

In August 1949, the Soviet Union held its first atomic test, and struck at the American

monopoly. During the 1952-55 period, not only atomic weapons, 25 times more powerful than the first two dropped over Japan, but also thermonuclear bombs, 1000 times more powerful, had passed the 'Test' stage, and were menacingly stockpiled in the arsenals of both the camps.

The Soviet Union had not only tested the 'hydrogen' bomb in 1953 but by the year 1957 had also attained superiority over the Americans in the sphere of rocketry-ballistic missiles equipped with nuclear warheads.

### AMERICAN STRATEGY IN IMPASSE

By 1954, it was definitely known to the American intelligence that not only had their monopoly been smashed but that the Soviet Union had in her stockpiles an atomic and thermonuclear capacity that in retaliation, even to a 'pre-emptive' American attack, would destroy most of the American cities and her industrial complex and communication network.

A 'rethinking' and 're-appraisal' of the Atomic Strategy appeared in the western circles.

In 1954, Gordon Dean, the Chairman of the American Atomic Energy Commission, in his report 'On the Atom' (1954) deplored as follows :

"The Japanese surrender, then found the U. S in the uniquely favourable position of being the sole possessor of a weapon that was almost universally credited with a capacity to destroy cities on a ratio of one

bomb per city, and to end wars on a ratio of two bombs per war.

"An enormously important new factor was introduced into this world situation, when the first atomic explosion took place in the Soviet Union. This may not have been too important in itself, for it is a long way from a first test bomb to a significant stockpile. But it was most important so far as the future was concerned, for it meant that one day the Russians would undoubtedly have enough bombs to deliver an atomic attack on the U. S. and the other countries of the free world, if they chose to do so. Thus since 1949, we have been watching the value of the main ingredient in our national defence arsenal gradually diminish as the Russians build towards a stockpile of atomic bombs which, no matter how crude their design, will some day reach sufficient proportions to CANCEL OUT THE ATOM AS AN INSTRUMENT OF WARFARE. If such an impasse occurs the U. S. would appear to be left in a rather unenviable position. The most useful product of our technological competence should appear to be lost to us, except as a deterrent to the use of atomic bombs by the enemy, and the Russians would appear to be free to take full advantage in world diplomatic and military parleys of their vast superiority in man-power, and their highly favourable strategic position dominating the Eurasian land mass." (Gordon Dean—Report 'On Atom'—1953, New York. 1954, London)

'F. O. Miskhe', a military writer of the western world, famous for his prophetic appraisal of the role of Tanks in the Second World War, indulged in a laborious analysis of the 'position of the Atomic Strategy' in a period when America did not enjoy monopoly in the field. In his book

'The Failure of Atomic Strategy', he has reached the following conclusions :

"The idea that it would be possible for a power to base its military strategy on nuclear weapons, or, as it is euphemistically expressed, to 'secure peace' with atomic or hydrogen bombs, no doubt sounded very promising in the years immediately after the war, and it was largely responsible for guiding the strategic planning of the West towards technical extremes. Before the first Soviet atomic tests in August 1949, it was, of course, conceivable that a great power would within a few hours or days be bombed into submission without the possessor of the bomb running a like danger." (The Failure of the Atomic Strategy—P. 83).

He continues : ".....The scene is changed after the loss by the Americans of the monopoly of what had been their greatest secret... Now it is no longer of decisive significance whether one side or the other has more bombs stockpiled. The only fact that matters is that they are now in possession of both sides." (Ibid., p. 84).

Concluding his analysis he states :

"From what we have argued so far we can reach the following conclusions :

1. "Atomic weapons so long as they were only in possession of one power, were the most dangerous means of attack of all times";
2. "The circumstance that at present three leading powers ( Now five including France & China ) possess atomic weapons largely neutralises the possibility of their being used" ;
3. "For this reason they have ceased to be offensive weapons, and the certainty of reprisal excludes their use as weapons of defence against all kinds of attacks" ;
4. "Their significance lies exclusively in

the fact that they deter the enemy from a form of warfare which would be fatal for him too”;

5. “Regarded in this sense, the possession of atomic weapons has become indispensable and their main purpose lies in their mere existence”;

6. “They cannot, however, be chief means on which a military policy is built.” (“The Failure of the Atomic Strategy”).

Another military ideologue, Liddle Hart, continues :

“Nuclear parity leads to nuclear nullity—because the suicidal boomerang result of using such weapons induces strategic sterility.” (Defence or Deterrence...page 43).

He further adds : “Nuclear nullity inherently favours and fosters renewal of non-nuclear aggressive activity.” (Ibid., p. 43)

Kissinger's is the most exhaustive study of the nuclear weapons, reflecting the thinking of the top-most strategic planners of the U.S government and the Pentagon. Gordon Dean, Ex-Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, evaluates the book as follows :

“Three years ago, the Council of Foreign Relations called together a panel of exceptionally qualified individuals to explore all factors which are involved in the making and implementing of foreign policy in the nuclear age.” (Dean in his introduction to the book, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*, pp viii)

The protracted deliberations of this body are incorporated in Kissinger's book.

Kissinger notes the fact that the biggest single factor that has pushed the American Strategy, policy and planning into a blind alley—into an insurmountable impasse—is the development of nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union. This is the salient fact that

has led to the talk of ‘atomic annihilation’ being feeble.

Kissinger does not miss this factor and allots it a very high place in the determination of atomic strategy of the western powers. He states : “Nuclear technology makes it possible, for the first time in history, to shift the balance of power solely through development within the territory of another sovereign state. No conceivable acquisition of territory—not even the acquisition of Western Europe—could have affected the strategic balance as profoundly as did the Soviet success in ending our ‘atomic monopoly,’” (Ibid. p. 9—10). He grumbles and rebukes the American government for ‘missing the bus’ by not annihilating the Soviet Union in the period of the former's atomic monopoly :

“Much has been talked of nuclear stalemate which is supposed to have come with the development of the thermonuclear weapons by the Soviet Union and a long range air-force to deliver them...For nearly a decade the U. S was immune to Soviet retaliation. It was a stalemate, none the less, in the sense that we never succeeded in translating our military superiority into a political advantage.” (Ibid. p. 11)

While recounting the horrors of a thermonuclear war, that would be a thousandfold more devastating than what fell to the fate of the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki ; moaning over the fact that America had lost her monopoly of atomic weapons ; realising that more countries are going to have their thermonuclear weaponry ; Kissinger correctly concludes :

“For better or for worse, strategy must henceforth be charted against the ominous

assumption that any war is going to be a thermonuclear war." (Ibid. p. 14)

"Given the power of modern weapons it should be the task of our strategic doctrine to create alternatives less cataclysmic than a thermonuclear holocaust." (P. 19—Ibid.)

The essence of Kissinger's main conclusions can be summarised as follows :

Total all-out thermonuclear war is an impossibility in the context of atomic parity existing between the two 'contestants in the cold war', as it would conclude into a mutual suicide. No power thus will resort to all-out and total thermonuclear war. But to think that to a total all-out thermonuclear war the alternative is peace and stability in the world is wrong. It is equally wrong to think that war is no more profitable business. Taking advantage of this atomic strategic impasse in which the American military strategy is enmeshed, and her unpreparedness to wage limited wars with conventional means, Kissinger thinks, the communist camp will nibble away the Asian, African and Latin American countries through a steadily moving process of revolutionary upheavals. Hence, Kissinger recommends, the U. S must prepare to fight a local war with conventional arms and TACTICAL atomic weapons. Through a cynical logic, Kissinger thinks that use of tactical atomic weapons—using them only on the battlefield and not against the non-combatant areas, the U.S.A will be able to make up through fire-power what she lacks in man-power in comparison with the socialist camp. He forgets that in a war the 'enemy' will not allow such a gain to the western forces when the former is, in a far superior way, equipped with atomic teeth. Even the slightest use of atomic weapons either in tactical role or strategical role will escalate

the war into an all-out thermonuclear war—a possibility which both the contestants dread the most. How would, thus, Kissinger squares up his correct reasoning that the atomic parity has led to atomic nullity with his absurd reasoning that 'Americans' will be 'favoured' by the socialist camp to freely use the tactical atomic weapons when the latter is in a position to have them as well.

Here the western ideologue is straining himself to find a way-out of the strategic impasse into which the imperialist atomic strategy has entered. Instead of drawing the logical conclusions that the thermonuclear weapons have to be out-lawed as instruments of warfare, that all the nations possessing them have to simultaneously bury them in the ocean, he soothes the nerves of the imperialists that it is all not waste, there is a use for atomic weapons : use them in local wars against the Afro-Asian and Latin American people. He forgets that the objective positions that have been created in the sphere of atomic weapons do not even permit the tactical use of these weapons. An atomic war is indivisible—you cannot have it 'locally' and avoid it 'totally'. The forces aligned in opposite arrays in the international sphere, with 'parity' in atomic weapons, have determined a situation that the world will never witness a thermonuclear war—local or total. The objective force that creates this certainty has emerged from the situation wherein American monopoly in this sphere has been broken and the socialist camp has not only attained parity but superiority over the western atomic maniacs.

Americans now justify the stockpiling of these weapons as a deterrent to 'aggression,' talk of possessing 'tactical' atomic weapons as a deterrent to Soviet

'aggression' against Europe and a counter-balancing fire-power factor in face of superior man-power of the socialist camp.

Blackett, the famous 'physicist and soldier, takes a more sober attitude and emphasises the basic fact that has neutralised the 'Atom' as an instrument of warfare. In his *Studies of War*, he advocates the building of conventional forces in the U. K. and U.S.A and evaluates the perspective in the following way :

"Assuming, the USSR does not make a major aggression and America does not precipitate a preventive war, nor spends huge sums on defence system, a day will come when the Soviet stockpile will be large enough, to quote Mr. Dean 'to cancel out the atom as an instrument of warfare'." (Ibid. p.36) This was said in 1954.

About the tactical use of atomic weapons, Blackett holds the view that it may escalate the war to the level of a total thermonuclear war, and thus may bring about an event that it originally sought to overcome. He says : "If, however, they and other analogous proposals to make distinction between strategical and tactical weapons do prove impracticable, then I am convinced that the alternative is not to return to massive atomic retaliation against cities, except in a situation where a nation is prepared to commit suicide to avoid defeat, but to use no atomic bombs at all—not even on the battlefields."

This is the picture of the 'rethinking' that has gone on since mid-fifties in the imperialist camp. What is that factor that has brought about this 're-appraisal and re-thinking' ?

'The Important Factor' :—What stopped the Americans from launching a preventive

atomic blow against the Soviets ? What has created conditions that would inevitably compel them to discard atomic and thermonuclear weapons as instruments of warfare ? It is the development of atomic and thermonuclear weapons in the USSR.

From the now defunct concept of a 'preventive annihilation', in a preventive nuclear war, of the socialist camp an uncertain and bluffing jump was made to the strategy of 'Massive retaliation' or 'Massive Response'. This was given up too, to be replaced by a more amorphous concept of developing, holding and deploying nuclear weapons as a deterrent against 'communist aggression'.

#### STRATEGIC CONCEPT OF PREVENTIVE WAR

The Soviet Union tested its first atomic bomb in 1949. Till then, the American imperialists had enjoyed the atomic monopoly. At this stage the atomic maniacs and their ideologists advanced the theory of Preventive War.

Brodie, an American ideologist, working with the Rand, defined the Preventive War as follows :

"I am using the term to describe a premeditated attack by one-country against another, which is unprovoked in the sense that it does not wait upon a specific aggression or other overt action by the largest State, and in which the chief and most immediate objective is the destruction of the latter's over-all military power and specially its strategic armed forces. Naturally success in action would enable the former power to wreak whatever further injury it desired or to exact almost any peace terms it wished." (Brodie in 'Strategy in the Missile Age').

But what stood in their way? Was it the moral factor or the inherent sense of Christian mercy that halted the hands of the Americans? These are what the atomic strategists of American imperialism cite as the main factors that stood in their way. What had, however, happened to this 'moral sense' at Nagasaki and Hiroshima! It was well-known to the Americans that it was unnecessary to 'atom-bomb' the Japanese people to hasten the end of the war. It was revealed in the immediate post-war years that soon after Fascist Germany's defeat in Europe the Japanese government had sued for an armistice through a neutral Government.

In reality, different factors operated in immediate post-war years that prevented 'Preventive War.' Let, once again, an Imperialist military ideologue unfold those factors:

"During the 4-year period of atomic monopoly, that is from 1945 to 1949, America's stockpile was not nearly adequate to defeat the U.S.S.R. Thus quick and cheap victory was not militarily possible during the first period. Moreover, the immediate incentive to it was also not very great, as it was erroneously believed that the USSR would not get any bomb till well in the 1950s."

"However, these were two preventive military factors, in addition to the very strong moral and political ones, against the West initiating preventive war during the second period (1949-54). The first was that, however successful atomic attacks on Russian cities might prove, it would not have prevented the Red Army, if it wished to, from over-running Western Europe. Alternatively, though Soviet atomic stockpile, no doubt, was then small, it could have inflicted very serious damage on West European cities." (Blackett

—Atomic Weapons and East-West Relation', p. 85)

It is the might of the Soviet Red Army that deterred the American imperialists in the first period of its atomic monopoly coupled with the inadequacy of its atomic stockpile to wipe out the Red Army. In the second period of 1949—57 onward, American atomic monopoly had been smashed and an atomic retaliation would have made the things boomerang.

On January 12, 1954, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles made his notorious 'massive retaliation' speech to the American Council of Foreign Relations. Korean war had just ended and it was feared that it may start again. War of national liberation of the Vietnamese people was entering a decisive phase rolling back the forces of French imperialism, backed by the American imperialists. National liberation struggles were surging forward in other Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. It was at this critical historical juncture for American imperialism that Dulles once again attempted to bluff and blackmail with a threat of atomic holocaust. He declared: "The way to deter aggression is for the free community to be willing and able to respond vigorously at places and with means of its own choosing."

"Now, so long as our basic concepts in this respect were nuclear, our military leaders could not be selective in building our military power...Before military planning could be changed, the President and his advisers, represented by the National Security Council, had to make some basic policy decisions. This has been done."

"And the basic decision was . . .to depend

primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate by means and places of our choosing."

This was to 'blackmail' the Socialist camp into a passivity not to help the national liberation wars of the Vietnamese people and Korean people. No doubt this 'massive retaliation' bluff unnerved the revisionists, who evolved a theory that all wars in the future will be thermonuclear wars, that they were against all wars, that a local war may escalate into a total thermonuclear war. Bluffed by this 'blackmail' revisionists began to advance 'Peaceful co-existence as the GENERAL LINE of the world communist movement,' and sought to freeze the revolutionary movements of the Asian, African and Latin American people, and refused to give them effective help despite the direct imperialist intervention to suppress them.

But the unfolding of history in the following years proved that the 'massive retaliation' threat was a bluff. At Dien Bien Phu, French imperialism was buried. In Cuba a socialist state came into being only a hundred miles from the American shores. Algerian people won their war of liberation. Once again the Atom Bomb proved a 'Paper Tiger'. Not only they could not retaliate against a place of their choosing—they meant Russia and China—but were thrown out from Cuba, Algeria and North Vietnam.

Today American imperialism is intervening in South Vietnam with conventional forces. Huge mobilisation of the American land forces is afoot at home. Is this not a departure from the planning and threatened execution of 'Massive Retaliation?' Is it not a failure of the atomic strategy?

It will be interesting to hear from another

ideologue about the fate of the 'Massive Retaliation' bluff:

"The fallacy of massive retaliation was not in the doctrine but in its timing." (Brodie)

It was enunciated at a time when Sokolovskii in his book 'Soviet Military Strategy' states:

"The main reasons for the failure of the strategy of 'Massive retaliation' were the overestimation of American strength and capabilities, and the obvious underestimation of the economic, technical, scientific and military capabilities of the Soviet Union. As a result of the Soviet Union's significant superiority in inter-continental ballistic missiles, a real threat to American territory had arisen. Therefore, American political and military leadership was compelled to reassess its strategic position". (Ibid. Page 155)

"As a result of the spectacular Soviet success in the field of missile construction and in conquest of space, the strategy of 'Massive retaliation' collapsed. Being completely unrealistic in its assumption, it was soon rejected by its own creators. Dulles himself declared as early as October 27, 1957 that the United States and its allies must take necessary step if a local conflict occurred 'without provoking by our actions a general nuclear war'. (Ibid. page 154)

To free themselves from this impasse in which their Atomic strategy has now entered, they talk of 'pre-emptive' attacks. But then in the same breath they correctly argue that, even if full surprise was achieved in a pre-emptive attack, it would leave enough nuclear capacity untouched and unharmed that in retaliation would be enough to destroy the main centres and cities of the U. S. A.

They now talk of 'city-free' strategy and

use of Atomic weapons in the battlefields alone. They forget that the Socialist camp, which abhors atomic wars and would never resort to one except as a retaliatory measure, will provide no such concessions knowing fully well that its (Socialist Camp's) superiority has created conditions not for a limited use of these weapons, but for their total abolition.

#### DETERRENTS—AGAINST 'AGGRESSION'

U. S. A and U. K fully realise by now that the fact of the Soviet Union ( and now People's Republic of China ) having broken through the American monopoly, and attained superiority in the process, has cancelled out all atomic-thermonuclear weapons as instruments of warfare. Yet they insist upon not formally outlawing them from the sphere of armament. They argue that this alone is the instrument in their possession that deters the 'aggressive' Soviet camp from overrunning Europe.

A deeper study, however, would reveal their real motives in retaining them in their arsenal and in continuing to multiply them. The real reasons, it seems, are as follows :

1. To keep the disintegrating NATO alliance together and to ensure American domination over this alliance on the pretext that it is the latter that alone can protect Western Europe from a thermonuclear Soviet onslaught.

2. The dissemination of tactical atomic weapons to the NATO forces in Europe aims to perpetuate this dependence of the West European countries on the Americans in the military sphere.

3. A futile attempt to build up the 'morale' and 'confidence' of the NATO forces in face of the superior conventional forces of the socialist camp.

4. To practice atomic diplomacy and blackmail against the revisionists in the Soviet Union and the backward and weaker nations of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

5. To fill the purses of the monopoly business Trusts of America who have developed vested interests in the Atomic and thermonuclear manufacture.

How this presentation of 'deterrent' has deteriorated into a bluff, we should know from Blackett's opinion about it :

"In my view the efficiency of the great deterrent as the main basis of British and American military policy has become extremely doubtful as soon as the USSR started to acquire a sizeable stockpile of ordinary Atom bombs. Now we have to assume approximate H-bomb equality. I believe the theory and practice of the great deterrent in fair way to becoming the theory and practice of the great bluff." (Atomic Weapons and East-West Relations ).

#### US, UK AND USSR COLLABORATION

To retain this blackmailing instrument as an ingredient of American diplomacy, treaties are entered into by the Americans with the Russians.

Partial test ban treaty, banning overground tests and permitting the underground ones, was to perpetuate their monopoly in the field and to exclude People's Republic of China from having her own atomic arsenal. After having carried out over 500 overground and underground atomic and thermonuclear tests, these countries talked of the environment being poisoned and radio-activated to the great detriment of the human race as a result of two solitary 'tests' held by the People's Republic of China ! Now they are talking of banning the proliferation of atomic weapons



by non-atomic powers. The purpose of this demand is underscored by the same old desire of retaining the monopoly and using it for blackmailing non-atomic countries.

This 'partial test ban', this attempt at blocking other nations from having their own atomic arsenals, is a clever diversion from the basic facts of the situation, necessitated by the objective realities prevailing in this sphere, that nuclear powers possessing stockpiles of atomic and thermonuclear weapons must destroy them first before they ask other nations and people to refrain from proliferating them. Any talk or proposal that does not seek to destroy the existing stockpile of atomic and thermonuclear weapons as a basic preliminary to the prohibition of manufacturing such weapons appears to be a fraud against the people of the whole world.

#### BASIC LAW OF STRATEGIC PLANNING

In the entire activity of organised warfare, the factor of self-preservation while destroying the enemy, operates with the force of an objective law. This concept in practice is embodied in the fact that while we fire at the enemy with a rifle or a machine gun, we do so from behind a cover. In the olden days shield accompanied the sword. In the present day aerial bombers are accompanied by aerial fighters for their protection. Or fighter-cum-bomber functions are combined into the manufacture of an aeroplane.

It has always been a binding law on all military planning that if a 'surprise weapon' of relatively greater destructive power is EXCLUSIVELY in one's possession one would certainly not have any compunction to use it against one's enemy, provided the latter cannot retaliate with it. But if both the contestants in war, potential or actual,

possess a weapon of unprecedented destructive power, with no means of defence or protection against its inflictions, such weapon, which as a result would not combine in its use the principle of self-preservation while destroying the enemy, cancels itself out from warfare.

A recent example of this is available from the history of the First Great War. Germans used the gases towards the end of the war as a surprise weapon. But soon the counter-dotes were found and by the time the war was over the allies too had gases of unprecedented destructive power. But as this enormously destructive weapon had no effective defence against its inflictions, it cancelled itself out of warfare. In the 1923 Convention, held at Geneva, all the nations agreed not to use gases as an instruments of warfare.

The same applies to the atomic and thermonuclear weapons. As long as the Americans had them, they used them against Japan with impunity. But the situation radically changed as soon as the Russians came to possess them as well. Here the same law again came into operation. Americans could not destroy the Russians without getting destroyed in return. Hence this strategic rethinking in the atomic mania.

We would briefly deal here with the destructive power of these new weapons.

The bombs used against Nagasaki and Hiroshima had a lethal radius of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles, which means that 70% of everything human got destroyed within this distance. Its blast-effect set fire to everything that existed within the radius of 4.4 square miles. The bomb dropped at Hiroshima killed 70,000 people and injured another 100 thousands. At

Nagasaki 15,000 people lost their lives, another 50,000 were injured.

In today's atomic arsenals 25 times more powerful atomic weapons are stocked than what were dropped at the two Japanese cities. On top of that, thermonuclear weapons, thousand times more powerful than atomic weapons, are now available to both the camps. A 20-Megaton Hydrogen bomb would have a lethal radius of 8 miles wherein it would destroy everything. Within another 48 square miles it will destroy 75% of human life and injure the rest. It will radio-activise an area of 10,000 square miles.

Here one quotes from Robert Fryklund, an American journalist, who claims, in preface to his book "100 Million Lives", to have based his conclusions on information he got from the "sources in the three services, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Office of the Secretary of Defence etc." :

"In every series of war games, no matter how the situations were changed, the results were roughly the same. If cities were attacked we lost at least 100 million and the war.

"It seemed clear that there was no way for this country to improve its position by starting an exchange of city blasting attacks. The two officers could only conclude that America would be insane to begin such an exchange." ( Page 16 )

This 'sanity' is due to the successful development of atomic weapons in the Soviet Union that knocked this sense into that ferocious skull. This alone created objective conditions that would cancel out these weapons as instruments of warfare.

#### WARS WILL OCCUR

The fact that while this thermonuclear development in both the camps, possessing these weapons, will necessarily eliminate the

use of the same as instruments of warfare, it would not eliminate wars, and wars will not be excluded from present-day society. Weapons are not cause of war but its instrument, and whether a particular weapon will be used as an instrument of warfare or not depends on whether it ensures the observance of this law of self-preservation while seeking to destroy the enemy or negates it. In its latter instance, the weapon itself is negated out of a particular war. War may be there in a world where prevail colonial and neo-colonial systems.

No bourgeois theoretician of repute has argued like the Revisionists that thermonuclear weapons have made those social laws obsolete that give birth to wars. And they have correctly analysed to the effect that their atomic strategy will be of no use in these wars. Hence they have in their conclusion 'recommended' large-scale conventional forces to their masters to develop. And their recommendations are not going unheeded.

Kissinger while doing so had talked of tactical atomic weapons being given to the NATO forces and other forces that may have to operate in 'limited wars'. In later years Kissinger 'dropped' his tactical weapons.

This is what Robert Fryklund observes in this context :

"Henry K. Kissinger . . . became the prophet of 'tactical nuclear war' and our forces in Europe and elsewhere, around the fringe of the communist world were given nuclear weapons and little else.

"Popularity of the nuclear war theory waned among American military leaders, however, even as the new weapons were distributed to the soldiers. It looked, on sober reflection, to be extremely difficult, if not

impossible, to keep a small atomic war from ballooning into a big one, and, of course, the communists were in a position to acquire small atomic weapons too.

"With the massive and tactical nuclear war doctrines both found unsatisfactory, some army leaders and many civilian writers on military affairs were declaring by 1960 that the only way to save our friends was the conventional weapons and extended American and allied armies. Again, the most prominent public spokesman for the new approach to strategy was Mr. Kissinger, this time in 'The Necessity for Choice'.

"This new theory brought us nicely around the circle because it was to escape that apparently impossible task of raising conventional armies powerful enough to stand up against the communists all-over the world, that Mr. Dulles had announced his policy of massive retaliation". ( Ibid. Pages 10-11 )

By 1954 the policy of preventive war was dead. By 1960 no one anymore talked of massive retaliation. Now even its value as a 'deterrent' is being doubted. And the day is not far off if the socialist camp does not relent in its efforts to develop full steam ahead in the direction of

retaining its superiority over the westerners in this sphere when they will be forced to agree to ban these weapons as instruments of warfare.

The development of these weapons in the Peoples' Republic of China will ensure this superiority for the Socialist camp and will bring about the day much closer when the westerners will be forced to accept a ban on these weapons and destroy their stockpiles. The fact of the Peoples' Republic of China becoming an atomic power ensures the pursuance or a correct policy in this direction—that the Socialist camp will never be the first to use the themonuclear weapons in preventive or pre-emptive actions against the imperialists.

This situation will constantly demand the banning of these weapons as instruments of warfare and destruction of the existing stockpiles of all the countries as a preliminary step to stop their manufacture or testing.

This policy and strength of the Peoples' Republic of China and the Socialist camp will inevitably ensure that the world will never be exposed to the holocaust of a thermonuclear war, as some people apprehend.

## BUDDHIST FESTIVALS IN BENGAL

SUDHANSU BIMAL BARUA

Fairs and Festivals give us a clear perspective to understand the social modes and ethical concepts of a people. In Bengal there is a widely current saying that the Bengalee Hindus have thirteen festivals in twelve months. If we compare similar festivals held in other parts of India with those of Bengal the distinctive characteristics are at once revealed. We need hardly add that such rituals are largely enlivened by the vitality of the Bengalees. In the Buddhist festivals of Bengal such characteristics are equally manifest.

During the days of Palas and Chandras Mahayana brand of Buddhism was predominant in Bengal. At that time besides Lord Buddha the Buddhists worshipped many other gods and goddesses. In course of time Bengalee Buddhists became Theravadin like their counterparts in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand. Their festivals are connected with the dates associated with the hallowed memory of Gautama the Buddha. In the social life of the present generation of Bengalee Buddhists one will hardly find any mention of gods and goddesses conceived by the Mahayanists.

**VAISAKHA PURNIMA :—**The main events of Buddha's life occurred in different full-moon days. The full-moon day in the month of Vaisakha is otherwise known as Buddha-Purnima. This is the holiest of the holy days among the Buddhists. This day is associated with the advent, Enlightenment

and Mahaparinirvana of Lord Buddha. This explains why it is regarded as Buddha Purnima. Buddha, as all know, was born in the Lumbini gardens at the foot of the Himalayas. He attained Enlightenment under the Bodhi-tree on the bank of the Niranjana in Buddha Gaya. In the Salas grove of Kusinagara, he attained Mahaparinirvana. In these places, hallowed by the memory of the Buddha, Ashoka the great had left his heart's obeisance enshrined in the rock-pillars. In fact Ashoka has immortalized all the different places visited by the Buddha by creating beautiful art works. No wonder they have become the sacred places of Buddhist pilgrimage. Bengalee Buddhists observe this day with great eclat.

**JAISTA PURNIMA :—**The full-moon day in the month of Jaistha is a red letter day in the calendar of the Ceylonese Buddhists. On this day Ashoka sent his son Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitra to Ceylon to preach Buddhism. This is also observed in Bengal by the Buddhists here.

**ASHARA PURNIMA :—**The full-moon day in Ashara is also known as Dharma Chakra Prabartana tithi. This is a significant day not only for the Buddhist but also for the religious, social and political life of India as a whole. After attaining Enlightenment Lord Buddha preached his First Sermon on this auspicious day in the Deer Park at Sarnath. Ashoka built in the sacred spot of Sarnath the Wheel of Law which subse-

quently came to be regarded as Ashoka Chakra. Now the Ashoka Chakra is not merely the symbol of India's political aspirations, it is also the symbol of India's eternal tradition and ideal. In it are crystallised the ideal of renunciation, universal fraternity and humanity. This day is also memorable for another reason. Prince Siddhartha renounced the world on this great day. This renunciation is known as the Great Renunciation. The day following the full-moon day in Ashara, the Buddhist monks begin their vow of Monsoon known as Barshabasa. For three months from this day they remain engaged in religious meditation in their respective monasteries. They are forbidden to leave their monasteries except on indispensable ground. Bengalee Buddhists observe this day with much pomp and splendour. It may be mentioned in this context that Rabindranath Tagore realized the great significance of Buddha Purnima and Ashara Purnima in the national life of India. In Santiniketan Dharma Chakra Prabartana festival has been celebrated every year in the full-moon day in Ashara ever since the time of Rabindranath.

**SRAVANI PURNIMA :—**The full-moon day of Sravana is associated with the memory of the First Buddhist Council. The First Buddhist Council was held in Saptaparni Caves in Rajagriha ( Modern Rajgir ) under the patronage of Ajatasatru immediately after the Mahaparinirvana of the Buddha. The hero of this Council was Mahakasyapa. Venerable Upali, Ananda and Aniruddha took leading parts in the discussions on Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma Pitaka. To commemorate this historic event Bengali Buddhists observe Sravani Purnima.

**MADHU PURNIMA :—**It is said that a

wild elephant rendered useful service to the Buddha when he was living in the forest of Parileya. A monkey brought him honey which pleased the Buddha. For this noble service both the animals were born after death in the heavenly world. As the honey was brought to the Buddha on the full-moon day in the month of Bhadra, it is known as Madhu Purnima. Bengali Buddhists contribute honey on this sacred day.

**PABARANA PURNIMA :—**The full-moon day in the month of Aswina is regarded as Pabarana Purnima by the Buddhists. Pabarana means confession of the Buddhist monks. They have a pleasant convention of inviting the notice of the fellow-monks to their moral lapses, if any. Once they know their deficiencies they resolve to do their best to remove them. The convention is based on the psychological truth that by a free and frank confession one can feel considerably absolved. It is interesting to know that it is from the practice of the Buddhist monks that the Christians adopted the ritual of confession.

**KARTICK PURNIMA :—**One of the chief disciples of the Lord Buddha was Mahamoggallana. He attained Mahaparinirvana on the full-moon day in Kartick. So the Bengali Buddhists observe this day with due solemnity.

The three full-moon days in the months of Agrahayan, Paus and Chaitra are not associated with any principal event in the life of Lord Buddha. But in the famous Ceylonese chronicles the Mahavansa and the Dipavansa it is mentioned that Lord Buddha went to Lanka on the full-moon day in the month of Paus. It is necessary to remember that all Full-moon days are sacred to the Buddhists.

**MAGHI PURNIMA :—**On the Full-moon day in the month of Magh Lord Buddha foretold the day of his Parinirvana in the Chapala Chaitya at Vaishali. In the Buddhist scripture this day is known as Ayusanskar-Visarjan day. On this day the Tathagata proclaimed to his disciples : "O Bhikshus, creation is not permanent. So be engaged in the Path of Nirvana with due heedfulness. The Nirvana of the Tathagata is nearby. He will attain Nirvana three months hence." When the disciples fell into a mood of despondency the Lord said, "I have crossed the limits of my time. Now is the time for me to bid farewell. Try to be heedful, well-behaved, determined in all that you think and do. Try to restrain your passion. Whoever pursues this path of Dhamma and humility will have found an end to all the miseries of worldly life." Needless to say, this day has a special significance for the Buddhists and they observe the day with joy and celebrations.

**FALGUNA PURNIMA :—**The Full-moon day in the month of Falguna is associated with Lord Buddha's first visit to Kapilavastu after the Enlightenment. Prince Siddhartha left his palace and princely pleasures for the sake of the suffering humanity. After the Enlightenment he preached the eternal message throughout India. But should Kapilavastu, his dear parents and near relatives be deprived of it? At last he went to his dear motherland with his disciples. At that time Prince Rahula approached the Buddha and claimed his patrimony by the instruction of his mother Yashodhara. Lord Buddha made him a novice monk along with the Prince Nanda. To commemorate this historic event Bengalee Buddhists observe the Falguna Purnima.

**NEW YEAR'S DAY :—**The first Vaisakha is celebrated as New Year's day in India by the Buddhists and the Hindus as well with much pomp and splendour. But it is particularly associated with the hallowed memory of Lord Buddha. Hitherto Agrahayana (Agra-Hayana) was reckoned as the first month of India, the land of agriculture. Later on the Buddha's India showing her reverence to her noblest son, glorified the month of Vaisakha as the first month of the Indian calendar. It may be mentioned in this context that the Buddhist countries like Ceylon, Burma and Thailand observed this New Year's day with much joy. Bengalee Buddhists illuminate the Buddhist temples and worship the Lord Buddha on this sacred day. It is a custom to invite the monks on this day. It may be mentioned in this connection that ancestor worship is prevalent amongst Bengalee Buddhists on the day of Chaitra Sankranti (equinox).

**PAPER BALLOONS AND AKASH PRADIP :—**To fly paper-balloons is a pleasant function amongst the Bengalee Buddhists on the Full-moon day of Aswina. Sometimes they enkindle the sky with the help of a light which is called 'Akash Pradip.' After renouncing the house prince Siddhartha cut off his hair by the sword and it flew up. When it was raised to the heaven the gods preserved it in a shrine. The Buddhists offer their homage to that heavenly shrine with paper-balloons and 'Akash Pradip.' It is interesting to note that the Buddhists enkindle the light on every occasion. In that sense the Buddhist festivals in general may well be described as the festival of light. It may be recalled that in Burma there is a nice festival called 'Thadin-jay' which means the festival of light.

Tibetans also observe similar types of festival on the death anniversary of Jetsun Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Gelukpa sect, by lighting thousands of tiny lamps round the houses and monasteries. Light is the symbol of wisdom and transitoriness according to the Buddhist philosophy.

**KALPATARU FESTIVAL :—**It is basically a folk festival with a colouring of Buddhist observance. The legend is that the 'Kalpataru' is a heavenly tree which gives anything we desire. Here the primitive desire of man is manifested. Bengalee Buddhists celebrate this between the month of Aswina and Kartick. Generally they put a tree on the stage like the Christmas tree and decorate it with different things. They observe this 'Kalpataru' festival almost every year with great pomp and splendour.

**KATHINA CHIVARA DANA :—**It is one of the greatest festivals of the Buddhists. According to the Buddhist Vinaya Rules 'Kathina Chivara Dana' should be observed between Aswina Purnima and Kartick Purnima. It is 'Kathina' or difficult in the sense that it involves a good deal of hardship and devotion on the part of the giver. The yellow robe of the monks is called 'Chivara.' Every year the Buddhists offer yellow robes along with other things to the monks. It is a most sacred religious function to the Buddhists. It is said that in his previous birth Gautama the Buddha was born as a man in this world during the time of Sikhi Buddha. By offering 'Kathina Chivara' to the monks he acquired boundless wealth, happiness and glory in his next birth. Generally the Buddhists assemble in the nearby monastery and offer 'Kathina Chivara' to at least five monks at a time.

**BYUHA-CHAKRA FESTIVAL :—**The world is like a maze. It is very difficult to find a way out from this labyrinth. This Byuha-Chakra festival may be the symbol of Sansar-Chakra or the wheel of life. Apart from this, one Jataka Story is connected with the Byuha-Chakra. In his previous birth Lord Buddha was born as the Prince Vessantara. He became famous for his charity. To save the people of the neighbouring state from the great famine he kept open the treasury in absence of his father. By the instigation of a few ministers the king banished him to the Bankagiri Hills on charges of treason. Princess Madri along with their children followed him. On their way to Bankagiri Vessantara gave up his chariot, horse and even the princely costume. Once at Bankagiri an old man claimed his son and daughter for his household works. Vessantara offered his son and daughter to that man. Being afraid of his charity, Indra, the king of the devas, thought that in this way he may give up his wife even. Thinking that, one day he came down to Vessantara in the disguise of a Brahmin and claimed the princess Madri for himself. To fulfil the vow of charity Vessantara dedicated his wife to Indra. Then Indra exclaimed, "I congratulate you, oh the greatest of the donors! But now the princess is mine and I like to keep her in your custody to serve in your noble cause. Now you should not give her to anybody." On his way back Indra made the path of Bankagiri in the form of a maze, so that nobody could cause any further disturbance to him. Bengalee Buddhists generally make a maze of bamboo splits woven together to form the walls of the maze and in the centre place the Buddha image. Buddhist people worship

there after making their ways through the maze.

**UPASAMPADA OR ORDINATION :—**Among the Bengalee Buddhists, as also among other Buddhist communities of South East Asia, it is customary that every boy or young man should spend at least seven days as Samanera (novice) or if he is old enough, as a Bhikshu (monk). The idea behind this factor is that every young man should have at least one short period of intensive religious training even if he cannot become a full time monk. Sometimes however it so happens that the people who have no son make a vow that if they are blessed with one they will offer him to the Sangha. Even those who have not a son of their own sometimes meet the expenses for the ordination of some other boy.

**A FEW VOWS OF THE BUDDHISTS :—**  
(a) To free the birds, animals and fishes—Animal sacrifice or a vow to please the gods in different ways is more or less common to all the nations of the world from the dawn of history. It may be said to be a primitive tendency of human beings. Primitive men used to worship the nature gods and demons mainly out of fear. On the advancement of civilization man imagined God the Supreme Creator. But still they offered vows, with fear and respect as well, to please the gods. Indian Hindus also sacrifice goats etc. to the goddess Kali and many other gods and goddesses. But animal slaughter is strictly prohibited for the Buddhists. They believe it to be a heinous crime. The foremost of the Five Precepts is to abstain from killing living beings. Lord Buddha says :

All tremble at the rod,  
To all life is dear,  
Comparing others  
with oneself,  
One should neither  
Strike nor cause to strike.  
(Dhammapada)

Instead of animal slaughter Bengalee Buddhists take a vow to free the birds, animals and fishes. Generally they take this vow praying for the quick recovery of their children and for the welfare of a dear one who lives in distant land.

(b) **BURNING THOUSAND LIGHTS**—It is a pleasant function amongst the Bengalee Buddhists to enkindle a thousand tiny lamps or candles in a monastery or any other Buddhist place of pilgrimage. Generally for the success at any work or praying for the welfare of the children they take an oath to enkindle thousand lights. It may be observed in a Full-moon day or any other day.

(c) **BURNING THE CANDLE OF ONE'S HEIGHT**—Particularly they take this vow to be free from a great danger. A candle is made of one's height and lighted in the temple at any time. Buddha-Puja is also observed on that day.

**MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF BUDDHIST FESTIVALS :—**1. Pancha-Sila or the vow of Five precepts—is the foremost in all religious functions of the Buddhists. At first they vow to take refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha and then take the vow of five Precepts as given below —

- (i) I undertake to observe the precept to abstain from onslaught on living beings.
- (ii) I undertake to observe the precept to abstain from taking what is not given.



- (iii) I undertake to observe the precept to abstain from sexual misconduct.
- (iv) I undertake to observe the precept to abstain from wrong speech.
- (v) I undertake to observe the precept to abstain from intoxicating drinks and drugs causing heedlessness.

The Buddhists go to the monastery at least once on Full-moon day and take the vow of Five Precepts.

2. **WORSHIP WITH FLOWER, LIGHT AND PERFUMES**—Buddhist Festivals in general may well be described as the festival of light. On the Full-moon day or whenever they go to the temple generally they enkindle the lights. It may be said to be a Buddhist tradition. Previously I mentioned one nice festival in Burma which is called 'Thadinjay' or the festival of light. Indian Hindus observe Dewali or light festival in a particular day of

the year, in that sense the Buddhists observe it almost everyday. They also worship the Buddha with perfumes and flowers.

3. **MUTUAL GREETINGS** is another custom of the Buddhists on the Full-moon days. It may well be compared with the Vijaya greetings of the Bengalee Hindus and Christmas greetings

4. **CHARITY** may well be said to be the born instinct of the Buddhists. Giving of material gifts and alms to the monks and the needy is a great virtue for the Buddhists. Giving alms and material gifts to at least five monks at a time is called 'Sanghadana.'

5. Most of the Buddhists take **VEGETARIAN MEALS** at least on the Full-moon days. Compassion towards living beings is at the root of it. The Buddhists cultivate the virtue of compassion and love throughout their life.

## RADIO AS A WORLD-WIDE EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE

"But as even in the year 1923, few in India have seen a radio set, we need not indulge in thought of what might have been. Better far should we be occupied if we could bring about such political changes and scientific and educational progress in India as would enable us to serve the countless illiterate millions of India by means of the radio. This need not be considered an impossibility....."

[Ramananda Chatterjee]

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## SOME FEATURES OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

S. GOPALAKRISHNAN

What is the meaning of America ? What is its civilization ? What is the American, 'the new man' ?

These questions have been asked again and again by people all over the world—and they have never been answered satisfactorily. The confusion of ideas regarding America is indeed startling. The general bankruptcy concerning these questions is revealed at every meeting convened to discuss any aspect of America. Such a discussion always runs up against the question of goals, and if this question is pursued, also the question of what America really is.

Why should we assume that America has ANY meaning ? Is not the U. S. A. a nation ? And does a nation have any meaning other than the fact that it is a nation ? A nation is an aggregate of people who have banded together under a certain governmental form, to assure their survival and promote their interests. What other meaning can America have ?

This kind of pragmatic thinking casts a powerful spell over the modern mind. Yet by any criterion of truth, it falls far short, for it is overwhelmingly evident that America ALWAYS HAS HAD a meaning for Americans ( and indeed, for most of the world ) over and above the merely national. This fact can be documented to any desired extent in the utterances of American leaders, from the very beginning until now. America stands for certain principles—the reality of which—however metaphysical—is extremely difficult to deny. These principles, of course, are not

in the least new. Their roots go back two thousand years or so. Western history is largely the story of their development, in which every western—and many eastern nations were involved. Then in the eighteenth century, by an extraordinary concatenation of circumstance and talent, they were brilliantly formulated, in the language of that day, by the men responsible for founding the U. S. A. The language in which they were couched may seem to modern ears somewhat quaint. But this does not mean that the principles are quaint. It is the language, the way of thinking, that has changed, not the principles. These remain dynamically at work in American society. They have been transformed, but they are not dead, on the contrary, they embody the meaning of America just as much as they ever did.

The word "America" is rich in historical significance. For centuries it has expressed to humanity a message of optimism for the future and hope for the welfare of mankind. When a citizen of the New World uses the adjective "American" he is judging that the thing described has a special meaning in new world history, that this action as a policy coincides with what he thinks is the American historical destiny—to create a more perfect human society in the New World.

America also stands in a special historical relation to the rest of the earth. Carl Van Doren has written : "America is historically a colony whose mother country is the world". In a very real sense this is true,

for the country's inhabitants have come from all the other continents ; from many nations. If we assume that the fundamental process of modern history is the Europeanization of the world then America as a world colony, has influenced every significant phase of the movement since the arrival of the first Europeans on the Western shores of the Atlantic at the end of the fifteenth century. As a global colony, moreover, America's very Americanism, the sum of those qualities which make the Americans one, has tended to take on a universal aspect and become the ecumenical aspiration for one world.

American civilization is an offshoot of European civilization. Or to put it in another way, the cultures of the various national societies in the western hemisphere are component units in the broader complex we call 'Western civilization' as distinguished from 'Oriental civilization'. For the differences between the natural cultures that compose the civilization of the western ( European and American ) world are far less marked than those which distinguish the civilization of the west from that of the east. The culture of the U. S. is but one of the national cultures that make up the whole of western civilization. It originated along with those of Canada and the British West Indies with which it is almost identical, as an offshoot from the civilization of England. But under the stress of adaptation to the new environment of north America and the admixture of other European streams, the original English culture became diversified--it split up into a variety of forms that were at once different from the mother-culture and from one another. It was only by growth and by expansion until they touched each other, and by the uniting effect of common enemies and common

problems of law, commerce, government and defence, that they came at last, at the end of two countries, to coalesce into a culture which though internally still diversified, could now, in a very real sense, be called an American civilization.

#### CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

Plainly, the whole of the American experience cannot be summed up in a short article like this. Few things true of the early America bear much relevance to the mid-twentieth century one. Not merely the physical aspects of the nation have changed, from rural to urban, log cabin to skyscraper, homespun to nylon, mule wagon to jet plane ; so has the mental make-up of the people and the institutional characteristics of society. Change has been the law of life in western civilization generally, but most particularly in America. Constant experimentation, the evolving of new institutions and ideas, the "pragmatic" philosophy—here is the very genius of the United States.

The peopling of a continent, the winning of independence, the making of a suitable political system, a great civil war, the travail of industrialisation, then the trials and responsibilities of becoming a great power—amid all these experiences there has been little time to rest or standstill. The American people have been drawn from the least tradition-conscious classes of Europe and confronted with frontier conditions. The school of American historians placed the greatest stress on the frontier as moulding American character but perhaps equally important has been the factor of selection in the great migration from the old world. For it was mostly 'Common men' who came, often under circumstances which led them to reject their old country. Both factors worked together to produce a people

without much regard for old ways and forms. To cultured Europeans the United States has always seemed rootless and chaotic—'all sail and no anchor'. The American revolution was in part a revolt against the upper classes of European derivation, and as time went on, the cult of the common man grew until it became the typical American philosophy. The goal of America has been the economic improvement of the masses, and this remains a goal which requires social and economic change.

On the other hand, it is possible to find some important areas of persistence and continuity. The basic idea of democracy has persisted, though it may meet different obstacles and take varying forms. The energy and drive of the American people leading them to ignore the past and push impatiently into the future, is itself a permanent feature. The basic legal aspects of a free society, while sometimes threatened, under conditions of modern life, still count for much. The constant experimentation, the eagerness for novelty, so apparent in many aspects of American life is not displayed in government. Here at least, Americans have exhibited an unusual reverence for the past and its accomplishments, a conservative trait which has lent a needed stability to American life, otherwise so volatile and mobile.

The basic idea that the common man is entitled to some share of the good things of life has also persisted. To many of the colonial ancestors it meant the hacking of a farm out of the wilderness. To the present generation it seems to mean the owning of a small suburban home, a new automobile every few years, and a share in social security. While the forms have changed, the goal is still that of providing a decent living for

everyone. In this respect, the great corporations, the labour unions, and the subsidized agriculture of the present day, so different from the carefree individualism of the past may be seen to seek the same end, a good life for the mass of the American people. The ideal of mass economic welfare has been an element of continuity, binding together early and modern America.

#### AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The phrase, "The American Way of Life" has become productive of a great deal of misunderstanding and friction. What is the American way of life? This phrase is comprised of two important elements:—one, the particulars which Americans do not expect other peoples to share with them, inasmuch as they are peculiar to Americans; the other, certain universals which Americans believe belong to all mankind.

To the foreigner, the most disturbing thing about the American way of life is its unabashed 'materialism'. Any visitor to the U. S. is drenched with sights and sounds and smells emanating from a man-made environment to what almost all Americans appear to give almost all their energies. Pervading these sensory experiences there are the psychological ones—the way in which the radio combines 'entertainment' with the most humiliating requirements of the human organism—the ubiquitous advertising seeking to identify human happiness with bright teeth—the infantile movie heroes—the wasteful 'abundance' protruding from every retail store. The visitor sees all this, and is impelled to somber speculations concerning the fate of humanity. What price 'The American Way of Life'?

The somber speculations lead to two forms of criticism. The first runs to the

effect that the American capital exists for the purpose of exploiting the people, who have thereby been degraded. This attack, however, is an easy one to meet. It may be a halfway adequate picture of what capitalism in America used to be like, or of what it is still like in some places today.

The American capitalistic system still works injustices, but to think of it in terms of exploitation is to think in terms of a past century. It is perfectly evident that it is not the capitalists who are using the people, but the people who are using the capitalists. Capital has become, not the master of the American society but its servant. No better evidence could be adduced than the figures made public by the Federal Reserve Board which show that four out of ten American families possess at least \$ 5,000 in assets over liabilities; and that very nearly one family in ten has net assets of \$ 25,000 or more. It is not just a capitalistic system. It is a capitalistic people.

But this raises the second form of criticism. If the trouble is not with the capitalists, then it must be with the people. Men and women who insist on such a high standard of living, and are willing to spend so much energy to get it, must be hopeless materialists.

Now the American admits that his society is materialistic, that standardization is an essential of 'the way of life', that conformity is a danger he must watch and learn to counteract. Nevertheless, this criticism baffles him because it seems to overlook more than it takes into account. For example, it overlooks the great American love of DIVERSITY.

The Americans respond to diversity as to something good, absolutely. The presence in their society of a bewildering number of races

and national origins, creeds and shibboleths, economic interests and explosive ideas, is to them no problem at all. On the contrary, it is a great asset. In their labyrinthine political system the same idea is carried out. The Americans see diversity as the expression of freedom, the living proof that men and women are given the opportunity to be true to themselves.

There is a practical side to this also, as there is to everything American. The tendency of industrial enterprise is to wind up into big units in the name of efficiency, but Americans have always been aware of another kind of efficiency, a more creative kind, that can be achieved through decentralization—that is to say, through a diversity of operations. Outsiders often boggle at the idea of competition. Competition has caused suffering in America. Competition involves the releasing of energies, primarily, for the development of new ideas, new modifications, new 'slants', any one of which may end up by revolutionizing some segment of human affairs. That is what diversity means to the Americans. That is why they welcome the existence in their society of people, of beliefs, of ideas that are difficult, if not impossible to reconcile.

Thus it will be found upon closer examination that there is not just one American way of life. There are American WAYS of life, almost without number. For example, there are the great regional differentiations, where nature herself has conspired with American institutions to create ways of life as different from each other as those of two nations might be. It is true that these American 'sub-nations' are bound together by many common ties, including the important tie of language, yet their temperamental characteristics, their customs, their values and views, their personal

objectives differ so greatly that a man who is happy and effective in one, might be miserable and frustrated in another.

Which one of the ways of life does the American mean by "the American way of life"? The answer is none of them. New England is no more 'American' than the north-west. This diversity itself is the way of life—nations within a nation.

Yet, there is an extraordinary unity in the diversity, a coherence that resists all eccentricities, all power concentrations even. And this unity which is not merely national in the ordinary sense of the word, pertains to quite another level of existence, another level of values, from that which manifests itself with such diversity. It has to do with ideals, with a complex of principles and beliefs, to which all American life has reference. The truth, which many people do not seem to understand, is that Americans live on two planes at once—the practical and the ideal. The conflicts created by this ambivalent existence, does not worry the Americans.

In the view of the American, life is not just a matter of the conservation of energy. On the contrary, in his experience, energy creates energy; a good hard game of tennis will actually improve one's mental faculties the next morning. Thus the pace of technological life is maintained, not through the cultivation of repose, but by building up a kind of counterforce through physical exertions.

The strenuous life, then, is an American characteristic. But it is interesting, not merely as a characteristic, but because it illustrates so aptly the ambivalent nature of the American. The strenuous life derives, on the one hand, from the practical necessities of a virginal continent on which there

was much work to do. But it derives on the other, from an ideal—the ideal of the perfectibility of man, of human improvement, where this ideal came from, is an interesting subject for discussion—it has in any case been accepted in one form or another by Americans, from the very beginning. It has given rise to many American faults, such as over-optimism, and a superficial concept of progress. But above all, it has kept Americans working, risking, venturing, striving, it has sparked the strenuous life.

This same ambivalence manifests itself in many other American characteristics. For instance, the characteristic having to do with the great ideal of Equality, the fundamental tendency of American life. The confidence that he is the equal of any man gives the American a certain ease of manner even a brashness, which can be extremely irritating to those who have not been bred to 'equality'. The American has an ideal of generosity also. Another ideal related to the general ideal of equality is that of kindness. This the American regards as a democratic virtue, whether they are friendlier than other people, or more generous is not at all the point. Such generalisations can never be proved and only lead to resentful arguments. The point is that Americans, practical and pragmatic by temperament, have nevertheless taken very seriously certain ideals having to do in a general way with the ideal of democratic equality.

This is the most valuable contribution that Americans have to offer to the world. It is wrong to expect, at the present stage, some great 'cultural' development in America equivalent to the culture of Europe that extends back for twenty or twenty-five creative centuries. The intellectuals who casti-

gate Americans on this score miss the point. In the first place, we must not overlook the fact that there is a great activity in the creative arts throughout America, especially at the community level; and second, they too easily forget that American culture is of necessity a **POPULAR** culture! The great American contribution to world civilization has to do with certain qualities of the heart deriving from democratic ideals. These ideals, in the form of recognised American virtues, are constantly at work in American society, and have a great deal to do with what is meant by "the American way of life". In fact, if this were not so, if the ideals were to vanish, or if Americans were to abandon the hope that people would some day learn to practise them, then the American way of life as Americans construe it today, would also disappear. It would become something quite different. It survives as it is only on the presumption that most of the people will try to realize the democratic virtues most of the time.

#### THE AMERICAN PROPOSITION

'The American way of life', then, is a phrase that must be read in two different ways. On the one hand, it refers to a vast and complex network of human particulars which have developed on American soil and which characterize American society. These particulars are, so to speak, non-transferable; they cannot be imagined as native to any other society on earth. But on the other hand, 'the American way of life' is animated by certain ideals. To a large extent the American ideals replace the conventional concept of nationality. The American, in short, takes them to be human ideals—universals belonging to all mankind of which he is, in certain respects, the custodian.

The universal relevance of the American proposition has been asserted again and again by American leaders; and so it has its corollary that America itself—"that grand scheme and design in Providence", as John Adams called it—has a mission to present the proposition to the rest of the world. Liberty and self-government, said George Washington, are "finally staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people". Lincoln called the revolution "the germ which has vegetated, and still is to grow and expand into the universal liberty of mankind". Wilson said the American people were "destined to set a responsible example to all the world of what free government is and can do;" nor was he the first or last President to try to express that sense of mission on a missionary diplomacy. Said Emerson, "The office of America is to liberate".

According to the American proposition, the special status of the individual is couched in certain Rights with which every one is endowed. It is specifically stated in the Declaration of Independence that man is endowed with these Rights **BY HIS CREATOR**. They are, inalienably, grounded in the universe itself, reflecting universal laws of nature; that is to say, they are natural, not merely political, rights. The human individual is clothed with them and no other man or group of men is entitled by God's law to strip them from him.

The three natural Rights mentioned in the Declaration of Independence are Life Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. These natural Rights have not been mere theories in America. They have lived in the hearts of the people. They actuated the revolutionary War, the Civil War, and much thereafter. Indeed, the thesis can be sustained

that in the last analysis, American history has been a struggle to define and implement these Rights, and that this struggle is still going on.

#### THE AMERICAN SYSTEM

Having declared their belief in the natural rights of the individual, and thus laid down the universal essence of the American proposition in the 18th century—the Founding Fathers next faced the practical consequences of this bold stand—how to harmonize these rights with the fact that man, ever sacred, is also a social and political animal?

The strength and durability of American civilization in the political sphere has derived from an uncommon historic phenomenon of unity between idea and action. American political thought, in so far as a coherent body of doctrines may be said to exist, has been mainly the product of America's distinct political character which was shaped in the first place by men who became its Presidents, legislators and judges, and secondly—on a different level—by its philosophers and professional writers. A William James or John Dewey, whose interests in any case were not primarily political, came after such statesmen as Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall and laid the foundations in both action and formulation.

The political leaders have not only shaped and articulated prevailing currents of opinion and sentiment, they have also served as living symbols which in turn influenced the stream of thought and behaviour. The granite character of George Washington, the brooding humanity of Abraham Lincoln, the cheerful boldness of Franklin D. Roosevelt—such figures have been the permanent embodiments of American political civilization. They have been its makers and its image.

Devotion to the ideal of liberty has

pervaded America's political thinking and attitudes from the beginning of its history as a republic. It runs in a straight line, from Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall to Franklin D. Roosevelt and Earl Warren. Loyalty to liberty has been advocated by the political left as well as by the right; by liberals as well as conservatives, by intellectuals as well as business men. It has been preached by nineteenth century Populists and by twentieth century Socialists. It has been explicit in Walt Whitman and implicit in Henry George. It could be observed in the publications of the Chamber of Commerce and in the activities of the labour unions.

Given the pervasiveness of the ideal, the question may be asked whether it has any specific meaning. The answer is that, apart from the ideal of liberty as a national symbol, it has had in practice a dual interpretation. It has evolved on the one hand the right of the individual to be unrestrained in his activities and expression, and on the other hand, the conception of government as hardly anything else than a protector of those individual rights.

The individualization of politics has been one of the unique features of the American civilization. Unlike many other cultures, where emphasis has been on the state or the society, in the United States, the stress has been on the individual. Beginning with the Bill of Rights the significance of which transcends merely legal-constitutional aspects in the sense that it symbolizes a national attitude, Americans have placed the individual at the centre of their political life. They have taken the position that Government exists for freedom, and that freedom means individual freedom 'vis-a-vis' Government.



## AMERICAN ACHIEVEMENTS

Their own great success has led the American people to be enthusiastic advocates of the export of their ways to the rest of the world. They have felt that sufficient doses of American individualism and ingenuity will suffice to transform the 'backward' areas of the globe into miniature replicas of the United States. They have tended to become impatient with these peoples for not showing a quick enough appreciation of the virtues of Americanism. In large areas of the world, it is unhappily true that "Americanism" stands for much that is ugly and uninspiring along with much that is promising. The American is accused of being a mere materialist, of lacking a rich civilization of the mind, of having created a rich and powerful but drab society, in which every one has plenty of gadgets but no ideas of culture. The objective student of history must agree that the U. S. in the 20th century has no literature and or philosophy to compare with certain older countries of the world.

Some sceptics ask if the American record of achievement, admittedly impressive in the past, can be maintained in the future. Exuberant and optimistic, even to the extent of possessing what an eminent British student of American affairs called a "myth of omnipotence", the American people face more difficult frontiers than those they have overcome in the past. The American past is the story of a successful people, subduing a continent by main strength, fortunate in having an abundance of human and physical resources and no problems which could not be solved. The world now looks to the United States for leadership in solving these problems. Getting used to a permanent crisis which has to be lived with is not easy

for America. The patience necessary for the problems of diplomacy which are qualities of a frontier people had not much developed. Energy and will power alone cannot bring peace to a troubled world, and a good part of the world looks to America to maintain its peace and freedom.

## PRESENT AMERICAN PROBLEMS

It has become commonplace to say that an extraordinary burden has been laid upon the United States today, as she shoulders her world responsibilities. It would be well to indicate exactly what this means. Two vast historical processes have come to a climax today : the decline of Europe, and the resurgence of Asia. Western Europe, for hundreds of years the centre of world power, has lost its ascendancy and has been hard put even to maintain its economic solvency. Those tasks of maintaining world order which it once performed have now fallen on the U. S.

At the same time there has occurred a movement among non-European peoples of vast significance. It is a movement against European domination but also a revolution in which old societies are being transformed into new ones in partial imitation of the European pattern. Asia is "out of control"—in revolt, on the move, in a process of turmoil which makes for additional world instability. This restless turmoil in Asia and Africa provides an opportunity for Russian Communism and a terribly difficult but clear challenge to the United States. The democratic world looks to the United States for the leadership necessary to prevent a universal breakdown in which civilizations are at stake.

America, therefore, cannot live in isolation. She cannot separate her destiny from the rest of the world's. The world understands

very well that American power and wealth are a great factor throughout the present day world. With power goes influence, and influences emanating today from America to all parts of the world are far greater than ever before.

The future of the United States is mixed up with that of the rest of the world. The Americans must rediscover the ties that bind them to the parent civilization of Europe and to all other civilizations as well. The old world and the new world will stand or fall together. For example, if democracy fails in one, it is likely to fail in the other. For better or worse, the old days of American separateness are certainly over.

#### SUMMING UP

It seems fitting to conclude this article on American Civilization with a reference to some of the merits of the American people. First on such a list might well be placed their generosity. All through American history runs a thread of open-handedness, expressed in dozens of ways—not only in the familiar hospitality of pioneer or plantation owner but in such matters as overseas missions where the American philanthropic impulse led the world. The Americans have generously distributed their surplus food to relieve distress throughout the world, through the facilities of the CARE programme. History perhaps has no parallel of such mass generosity growing out of the good-will and charity of a people toward erstwhile enemies and suffering humanity, in most parts of the earth.

Then the virtue of tolerance, notable in colonial times, has always characterized America. She has been tolerant of religion, of people, of new ideas. The tradition of religious freedom, from Roger Williams and

William Penn on down, has been honoured and cherished, with Catholic and Jew and all manner of Protestants living peacefully together along with many other religious minorities. The same has been true of races and cultures. Immigrants from every part of the world have come to the United States, and it is remarkable that the history of this vast intermingling has been marked by as little violence as has been the case. The United States is thus in itself an example of successful internationalism and this success has been based on an unusual degree of tolerance. The Americans have welcomed and embraced a great diversity of faiths and opinions, and unorthodox views have been tolerated except in times of very unusual tension. If the record here is far from perfect, the ideal of toleration is a goal toward which America continues to aim.

As a third in the trinity of American virtues, we may put forth faith in the future of mankind, most especially, has been the American habit of mind. It stems ultimately from the Enlightenment and it is today somewhat less prevalent in Europe than formerly; too many tragedies there have undermined it. But America is still optimistic, still feels that through education and the spread of reason mankind will win through to a final triumph over all kinds of evil. The vision of universal peace continues to exist in America. The 'true grandeur of nations', Americans have always felt, lies in peace, not war; in social improvement, not military glory. This optimistic hope that a final utopia of enlightenment, of world peace, of universal brotherhood will prevail, may be naive, but it is a powerful force for good in the troubled world of today. A land where miracles have happened, and unhappy men,

have, become happy, America is a country with a national faith that this can go on happening, until democracy in the words of Walt Whitman, has fashioned "a new earth and a new man".

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## 'EQUAL PARTNERSHIP' OF INDIA

"The white settlers of Kenya threaten to use physical force in case the just rights of Indians as recognised there. In South Africa a fresh attempt is going to be made to segregate the Indians in one particular area. Thus the prospects of India's 'equal partnership' in the British Empire are not brightening as the days pass. On the contrary, racial arrogance and exclusiveness appear to be on the increase.

We do not want to be equal partners with anybody in any imperialistic enterprise. We only want to be masters in our house. It is the attainment of that object that can make us respected abroad."

[Ramananda Chatterjee]

*M. R., April, 1923, p. 526*

## LITERATURE AND THE MODERN MAN

J. N. BAHUKHANDI

Religion conceived of man as created by God after His own image. It believed in the presence of a spark of divinity and a streak of devilishness in him. The forces of good and of evil that these engendered were considered to be in constant conflict in the heart of religious man. The moral struggle which this conflict necessitated was regarded the essence of man, as he emerged from primitive savagery.

Man, as we find him in Shakespeare, Dante and other writers of earlier ages, retained this moral conflict. It was not possible for this man to sleep soundly after a murder as happens in a modern short story and is suggested in Hemingway's 'The Killers'. Macbeth plunged into disorder and darkness and Lady Macbeth was thrown out of gear after the murder of Duncan. Hamlet could not regain his equanimity after his faith in the moral order was shattered. Othello's soul was shattered and his whole outlook was clouded simply because his ideal was destroyed.

The Elizabethan age which Shakespeare depicted, was an age of transition. It marked a change from the medieval outlook, a change from denunciation to irony, from the tone of the preacher to that of the wit. The crisis of the early seventeenth century was a far-reaching conflict of values—social and individual, between the religious traditions of the middle ages and the secular bias of the Renaissance. "The man of this age", as Priestley observes in his 'Literature and the Western Man', "was neither the religious hierarchic man of the true middle ages nor the sharply individualised man of the Renaissance. He was between two worlds; he was divided between a new and often cynical realism and wild superstition and fantasy. In the literature of this time, there is a similar division, a widening gap between what was rooted on observation and actuality and what was essentially fantastic and fanciful; division between realism and romance, the rising middle class and the chivalry of the feudal age." The underlying

theme of the great part of Elizabethan literature is a conflict between individualism and the traditional sense of a moral order. It is apparent in 'Julius Caesar' with the cleavage between society and individual greatness; it deepens in 'Hamlet', where there is a profoundly suggestive dualism between the man and his mask in Hamlet and Ophelia. Hamlets' fooling "is like sweet bells, jangled out of tune", and the disorder in Ophelia's songs symbolises the disorder in her world.

Renaissance brought about a significant change in the stature of man. Beginning as a revolt of man against the terrestrial agents of God, if not God himself, it "strove to realise the almightiness of God in man's sovereignty, dignity and creativeness." It found man capable of infinite greatness. The world, to him, appeared as Russel puts it, "no longer a Vale of tears, a place of painful pilgrimage to another world, but as affording opportunities for pagan delights, for fame and beauty and adventure", and consequently "the long centuries of asceticism were forgotten in a riot of art, poetry, and pleasure". In the light of knowledge the Renaissance man argued that if man was the noblest creation of God, Godliness was inherent in him and the desires of his body so created could not be impure and their satisfaction sinful. This new man took his soul in his own care and by selecting his own ideals moulded his minds to them. "He was no longer an humble creation of God, but the inheritor of a Golden Globe, free to reach heights or plunge into depths by his abilities and choice to triumph or to ruin himself."

Renaissance thus brought about the spiritual rebirth of man and discovered his full and whole nature. The man so emerged was the universal man, who claimed whole human culture to be his heritage. This new man stood in sharp contrast to that of the middle ages when he was conscious of himself only as a member of a race, people, family and guild.

Man, as we find him today, is a shrunken image of his predecessors. He has neither their passion nor their piety. He is tame and timid. He has neither the defiance of Prometheus nor the 'indomitable will' of satan. He is lost and rootless. His insignificance is the only striking feature of him.

Influenced by the two world-wars literature, today, in general, and the novel in particular; is not an improvement on the life it depicts. It reflects the impact of the knowledge of psycho-analysis and social sciences and incorporates the latter's tendency to exonerate man and lay him bare, as it were, in the final analysis. The democratic cult of the ordinary chap, the 'Social man' and the 'economic man' find a more vocal expression in the novel, which depicts the modern man and the conditions and society that determine his lot with great honesty. In the novels of this age, there is an increasing tendency for the hero to be "a person to whom things happen, rather than some one, who to any extent, imposes his will on life."

Norman Mailer's 'The Naked and the Dead' is a novel of World War II. Two of its characters: General Cummings and Sargeant Croft are army personified and symbolise respectively the irrational and the destructive authority of society itself. General Cummings is a man of rising middle class, ambitious and imaginative, with great gifts for organisation. He thinks of his men as instruments of history . . . .his own will here. The soldiers in Crofts' platoon, who endure intense suffering, follow mindlessly in their Sargeants' footsteps as he leads them up Mt. Anaka, are the masses of mankind, who lack the individual or collective will to resist being driven to annihilation. The army, which, in the name of historical necessity destroys the common life of humanity, is modern society as Mailer sees it. Lt. Hearn, the intelligent liberal, whom Cummings cannot seduce to his own way of thought and hence gets killed, represents the conscience of modern man, which is ultimately destroyed.

Another novel that deals with almost the same theme—the insignificance of man in an organisation—is James Jones' 'From Here to Eternity'. Here the writer suggests that the organisation—Army here,—robs men of their individuality and freedom. When Sargeant

Warden decides to seduce Capt. Holme's wife, Jones writes :—

"He still knew that he would do it, not as vengeance, or even retribution; but as an expression of himself (to regain the individuality) that Holmes and the rest of them, unknowingly, had taken from him."

Prewett, round whom the plot of the novel centres, is every inch a soldier. He is an ex-boxer, who refuses to enter the company boxing team and in consequence, is subjected to a long course of petty indignities. He accepts this without protest though he knows that there is nothing in the army regulations which can force him to box. He also knows that there is nothing in army regulations to prevent Capt. Holmes, the company commander, for giving him hell for his refusal to box. He simply refuses to do so in order to assert his individuality, which Holmes is trying to crush.

In 'From Here to Eternity' and 'The Caine Mutiny' by Herman Wouk, a particular organisation, the army or navy, is the hero. In American fiction, in general, society itself, or the socially well-adjusted man is the hero. James Gould Cozzens' 'By Love Possessed' is a study of a socially well-adjusted man, the man with a genius for human relationship. Its hero, Arthur Winner, is a middle aged lawyer, and possesses all the social virtues. He is a perfectly adjusted member of society, with an ability to handle people. He is the hero who does not come in conflict with society; he rather promotes its interest and prospers there on.

This tendency to make something other than a particular individual as the hero of a book, has become an accepted tradition in American literature. In Sinclair Lewis' 'Main Street', and Sherwood Anderson's 'Winesburg, Ohio', and other novels of the type, the central character only holds the book together, but the emphasis is upon the town. It is the Town or the City that is the hero. In Faulkner, the whole country is the hero in a series of novels. His works—'Light in August', 'The Sound and the Fury', and others—are a study of the defeated man. They imply that the age of petty, calculating little men has come in. Among playwrights Eugene O'Neill writes constantly of defeat. In the contest between society and the individual, it is the latter who is always defeated. Similarly, the plays of Tennessee Williams—Cat

on a Hot Tin Roof, and The Street-car Named Desire—are true to the modern spirit of unrelieved failure and disaster. Arthur Miller's plays reveal the same pre-occupation with the individual defeated by society. His 'Death of a Salesman' is about an organisation man and his defeat. Even Hemingway, whose characters have a heroic individualistic tone and still enthusiastic about fine mornings, wine and women; sport and being alive, makes a confession of defeat when he writes in 'Farewell to Arms'. "You died, You did not know what it was all about. You never had time to learn....Stay around and they will kill you."

In England things were not very different. Here beginning was made by writers like Eliot, Joyce and Huxley in the 1920s. Their works describe the sense of frustration and disillusionment of the twentieth century. These writers believe in the cult of the ordinary chap. Huxley, in particular, deals with the average man. His characters, when they are above the average, suffer from inferiority complex. Gumbriel Jr. in 'Antic Hay' finds himself a complete man only in disguise. Philip in 'Point Counter Point' is always painfully conscious of his physical infirmity.

Huxley ignores many aspects of living experience. Even his concern with values, his quest for a sane and sensible view of life; is purely intellectual. He depicts a world that is vicious and stupid, a world where the spirit of man has succumbed to the temptations of triviality and fallen; a society which instead of enhancing life has sapped it of its vitality, and a man who is complacent with a condition of being 'blind with knowledge' as Eliot puts it, helpless and loathsome, a victim of his own perversity.

Huxley's 'Brave New World' complements George Orwell's '1984'. Both deal with states of totalitarianism and foresee a future in which human rebellion can be scientifically eliminated. In 'The Brave New World', the motto is—Community, Identity and Stability, and these are ensured by a biological process which produces scores of identical twins by a series of arrests in the human embryo. In this book indoctrination and conditioning are complete and science has perfected a world that cannot be upset. Here, Ford has replaced God. Natural impulses have been discouraged. Literature is forbidden. Soma pills prevent depression and feelies maintain ex-

citement. Human personality has been conditioned by hypnopaedic methods. In this world, Savage—an intruder,—makes a choice and prefers the right to be unhappy. To him Miranda's cry of exultation in 'Tempest', "How beauteous is mankind, O brave new world!" becomes ironically an outcry of wonder at Lenina and her brave new world whose denial of human values drives Savage to despair and death.

Orwell's '1984' is like Koestler's 'Darkness at Noon.' It draws a nightmare of events in the future and envisages a society where the individual has been reduced to a dummy. Its hero, as Wyndham Lewis puts it, is the Robot hero. He is rebellion inclined but the world, in which he lives, has laid its snare too wide to allow him such a luxury. He is soon caught and crushed by a process of brain-washing and mental ventilation.

Faulkner, Salinger, Eliot, Joyce and other creative writers of this century derived their energy from an obsessive hatred of a civilization that destroyed the inner-world of man and shattered his illusion of life, its very myth. In the absence of this world—the ideal world of art and of myth—they felt rootless and lost. And as they had no ideal to live by, no values to cherish; they were defeated in the conflict between their disposition and the times they lived in. Yeats describes the sense of the futility of efforts of the creative writers in 'The Curse of Cromwell', when he writes :-

'But there is no good complaining  
For money's rant is on

He that's mounting up must on his neighbour  
mount,

And we and all the Muses are things of no  
account.'

David Lutyens in his book 'Creative Encounter' says that "Man driven back upon himself and compelled to look for values within his own being, is the hero of contemporary literature. Man, who is estranged from his environment; confronted by blind forces that menace his inner world with an implacable threat to the survival of his individual personality is the hero of Camus, Kofka and Orwell."

There is a strong element of the cult of the Ordinary chap in Camus. His works express a feeling of absurdity and misery of human life,

The 'Outsider' pictures the world as 'a beast of a place', where 'they would get you in the end'. 'Myth of Sysphus, compares mans' position in the world to that of Sysyphus, condemned forever to roll a rock up a mountain and then watch it roll down again. In 'The Plague', he symbolises mans' position in the world to a city, trapped by plague; where no one is allowed to get in or out. His stories in 'Exile and the Kingdom,' deal in different ways with people who feel themselves to be spiritual, exiles and search for some way out towards some 'kingdom'. 'The Fall', like Cozzens' 'By Love Possessed', is a study of a socially well-adjusted man. Its hero Jean-Baptist Clamence is wellknown for his charity and championship of the oppressed. He is an ideal member of society, generous, good-hearted and above all, well-adjusted. Camus; then; reveals that his altruism is a form of self-deception. This happens when he hears a woman throw herself into the water, while he is crossing the river. It is late at night, and he hurries on; preferring not to retrace his steps and make futile efforts to save her. For a while he rationalises his failure to save her, but truth ultimately forces it when he realises that his altruism was not a real love of human beings, but a love of being regarded as an altruist.

In Clamence, Camus describes the typical intellectual of today who criticizes everything and everybody in the world including himself, but is incapable of doing much else besides talk. It also shows the breakdown of man's belief in his values.

In his letter to T. Burrow, D. H. Lawrence expressed the rootlessness of modern man. Lawrence writes, "It is our being cut-off that is our ailment and out of this ailment everything bad arises..... I suffer badly from being so cut-off. But what is one to do? One has no real human relations—that is so devastating."

This lostness and rootlessness of the modern man has been described with greater poignancy in modern poetry. The poet, being the more sensitive, looked wistfully at the changes the war and the industrial and technological revolution had brought about. He realised, somewhat painfully, that material gain is spiritual loss. He saw that the ennui and the restlessness of the urbanised man have killed his spirit. The loss that man thus suffered, haunted the poet, whose

preoccupation with 'what is not' pervaded his poetry.

Eliot presents the most appalling aspect of the modern world; of the existence of the millions who merely exist as the inhabitants of the Wasteland. 'the hollowmen', 'the stuffed-men', for whom, 'the world ends not with a bang; but a whimper'. His 'Wasteland' pictures the failure and decay of the modern urbanized man. His poetry is redundant with images suggestive of the bankruptcy and barrenness of man. In one of his poems he writes :—

".....Son of man.  
You can not say, or guess, for you  
know only  
A heap of broken images, where the  
sun beats,  
And the dead tree gives no shelter....."

Yeats expresses the same nightmarish quality of one's existence in 'The Second Song'. He writes :—

"Things fall apart, the centre can  
not hold ;  
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,  
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and  
everywhere,  
The ceremony of innocence is drowned."

Vladimir Mayakovsky, a Russian poet; writes still better when he says :—

"The soul shivers, she is caught in ice  
And there is no escape."

Hart Crane mirrors the discord of modern man whom he finds selfdivided and hence self-defeated. Man enslaved by collectivity, having lost his individuality, his spiritual and ethical heritage, is the theme of Robinson Jeffers' 'The Purse Seine.'

"We have geared the machine, and locked  
all together.....  
We have built great cities and now there  
is no escape,  
The inevitable mass-disasters,  
Will not come in our times or our  
children's  
but we and our children  
Must watch the net draw nearer."

Awareness of a disaster in such an age of moral confusion is widespread in modern literature. "I have the imagination of a disaster . . . . . and see life as ferocious and sinister," said Henry James to A.C. Benson. This 'imagination of a disaster' has made it difficult for the writers to remain aloof of social movements and moral dilemmas. They realised like Read that "At present mankind is undergoing an evolutionary crisis in which is concealed a choice of its destiny ; for a stage has been reached in which the human mind has achieved in certain direction an enormous development, while in others it stands arrested and bewildered and can no longer find its way."

This lopsidedness in the development of man has led the more cynical of writers to lose faith in modern civilization, in man's efforts to improve his lot under the circumstances. It is, therefore, imperative to respiritualise man, "For something". as Camus writers in 'Resistance; Rebellion and Death', 'that only has meaning in this world is man. The world has no justification but man, hence he must be saved if, we want to save the idea we have of life.'

## FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

"According to the advocates of the Calcutta University as it is, one should care for freedom first, freedom second, freedom *n*th, freedom for ever ; but as for democracy—it should never be thought of, because there is a fundamental incompatibility between freedom and democracy. This is an entirely reasonable view ; for in the Calcutta University lexicon as it is, freedom means the freedom of one particular individual."

[Ramananda Chatterjee]

*The M. R. for March, 1923, p. 400*



# CO-OPERATIVE FARMING IN INDIA—ITS PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS

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&  
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## Introduction :

In a country like India where the pressure on cultivable land is high and where the holdings become smaller and smaller with successions of generation after generation, the question of an economic holding becomes important. An agriculturist with small bits of land cannot take to cultivation to his advantage for the impossibility of using mechanised weapons and good chemical manures, which will result in lesser returns with higher costs. Such large-scale uneconomic holdings is a social waste as the available lands are not made use of fully. Our land supports a greater number of people per 100 acres than land in other countries as will be evident from the following figures' :—

Country	Agrarian Population per 100 acres of farm land
India	148
Greece	48
Yugoslavia	42
Bulgaria	33
Rumania	30
Hungary	24
U.K.	6

This high density of population of 148 per 100 acres in India has partly resulted in poor standards of living, low incomes

per head and less technical and agricultural improvements.

## Farming and Economic Holding

A majority of holdings in India is less than 5 acres. In the Madras State holdings assessed upto 10 acres or less, constitute 82.2 per cent. The size of holdings are 'miniature' compared to the average size of 27 acres in U.K., 15.5 acres in France and 140 acres in the U.S.A. Holdings in India stand at less than one acre per person when all agricultural land is spread over. Continued sub-division and fragmentation is due to succession laws in India and high population growth. Several attempts have been made so far to consolidate holdings into economic sizes either voluntarily or through legislation. By the end of the Second Five Year Plan about 29.5 million acres had been consolidated. In the Third Five Year Plan a target of 31 million acres for consolidation was fixed and during the first two years of the Third Plan 14.6 million acres have been consolidated.<sup>2</sup> Such consolidation and prevention of sub-division of holding may create compact units but they may not necessarily enlarge the size of the holding.

## Farming in Socialist Countries

An economic holding wherein mechanisation is possible and where large-scale

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1. Agrarian Problems from Baltic to the Aegean—by J. E. Russel.

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2. Third Plan Mid-term Appraisal—P. 101.

economies could be effected can be made through State Farming and Collective Farming. Under State Farming, the direction and guidance comes from the manager appointed by the State and production is carried on with hired labour. Numbers of such farms exist in Russia. This type of management undermines individual initiative and carries with it administrative delay and inefficiency. Collective Farming, as it is practised in Palestine, U.S.S.R., etc., means ownership of land by the State itself and all the others are only workers, getting wages for their labour. Collective Farming of this type is unsuitable to India which is a democratic country where the individual's property and possession is respected and cherished. But undoubtedly collective farms can create big large scale economic holdings. In U.S.S.R., in the agricultural artel, work is organised on a collective basis; the land and the basic means of production (all the draught animals and part of the productive livestock, farm buildings, and agricultural implements) are socialised.

The personal plots of the collective farmers (land under market gardens and orchards), dwellings, part of the productive livestock and small implements are not socialized. Income from the commonly owned and run farm is distributed, in artels on the basis of socialist principle, that is, according to the quantity and quality of invested labour. A work day unit serves as the measure of labour. This is not a calendar day but an economic unit. It is used to measure not an amount of time but an amount of work and material benefits due for labour invested. All the multifarious operations are sub-divided into nine groups depending upon their labour-consuming nature, complexity and importance, and an output quota is fixed for each.<sup>3</sup>

In socialist countries co-operative farming means only creating large scale units, taking away individual ownership rights, but giving wages for the work and also bonus to workers in some countries at the end of the year. The following data will reveal the extent of co-operative farming in the socialist countries.<sup>4</sup>

Country	Number of Co-operatives	Number of Co-operative members in 1000 persons	Co-operative share in total arable area
Albania	1,484	307	85%
Bulgaria	932	1,756	98.4%
Czechoslovakia	10,816	1,144	88.7%
Korea (1956)	15,800	3,000	78.0%
Poland	1,668	32	1.2%
Hungary (1961)	4,557	1,202	78.6%
Mongolia	565	84	20.0%
German Democratic Republic	19,261	1,116	84.4%
Rumania	13,685	5,225	74.4%
Soviet Union	44,858	50,000	99.0%
China (1959)	26,000	1,20,000 (Families)	99.0%
Vietnam	28,775	1,419	—

3. Co-operation in Agriculture in the U.S.S.R.—P. 22, By A. Zhuravlev.

4. The Co-operative movement in Hungary—P. 249, By Rezso Nyers.  
Farming Societies—Different Types

## CO-OPERATIVE FARMING IN INDIA

But in India, what is proposed and executed is Co-operative Farming Societies which envisage only better service through one form or another but strictly respecting ownership of the individual and his proprietary rights. The different forms of a co-operative farming society may be (1) Better Farming Society (2) Co-operative Individual Farming Society (3) Joint Farming Societies (4) Collective Farming Societies. But since 1946 in India Co-operative Farming Societies are classified only as (1) Co-operative better farming society (2) Co-operative Joint Farming Society (3) Co-operative Tenant Farming Society and (4) Co-operative Collective Society.

Co-operative better farming societies became popular during II World War. For the purpose of introducing improved methods of farming this came into existence in such parts of the country where the co-operative movement had made headway and farmers began looking for something better from the co-operatives than mere provision of credit. The Saraiya Committee Report, (1945) describes this type of society as follows. "The society is designed to introduce improved methods of farming. The members agree to follow a plan of cultivation laid down by it. In furtherance of its object, it may undertake joint purchase of seed or manure or pooling, cleaning, grading and selling the produce or joint ploughing or joint harvesting or joint arrangements for watch and ward or joint use of machinery. Each member is however independent except for the specific purposes for which he joins the society. He pays for the services he receives and at the end of the year he may receive a patronage dividend."

German agricultural economist Dr. Otto Schiller, who was asked by F.A.O. to study agrarian conditions in West Pakistan and recommend measures for improving them suggested a new type of co-operative society. He subsequently visited some states

in India to continue his study and recommended "Co-operative society for the improved individual farming" Dr. Schiller writes "the essence of individual farming on Co-operative lines may be described as follows: all functions which cannot be executed in the limited boundaries of a single farm or are beyond the capacity of the small holder such as planning, including field arrangements and cropping scheme, the financing of investments, the keeping of large sized equipment, the wholesale supply and marketing etc. should be turned over to the co-operative society for improved individual farming. All other functions of Nagpur resolution of the Congress as well as executed within the boundaries of a single small farm should remain with the independent individual." The type of "Service Co-operatives" which were envisaged by the Nagpur resolution of the congress as well as the one adopted by the Lok Sabha in 28th March 1959 are almost akin to Dr. Schiller's conception.

Under co-operative Joint farming societies, the farmer transfers the entire management and possession of the land to the co-operative. As far as ownership is concerned, it continues to vest in him and is recognised by the payment of a dividend in proportion to the value of his land. According to Mr. Tarlok Singh, Member, Planning Commission, the words "Joint management" connote, a system in which the claims of ownership are respected but owners pool their land for the purpose of management."

Ever since the Lokh Sabha adopted the following resolution of Shri Ram Subhagh Sing (Cong.) on March 29, 1959, Co-operative farming societies are being given greater priority on agricultural production plans. "This House recommends that during the next three years every possible effort should be made to organize service co-operatives all over the country and to

develop the spirit of co-operation in general so that co-operative farms may be set up voluntarily by the people concerned whenever conditions are mature."

In a co-operative better farming society each member cultivates his land individually and pays for the service he receives from the society. He may receive at the end a patronage dividend. In this form the agricultural land is not pooled. In a co-operative joint farming society lands belonging to individual members are pooled for their joint use but proprietorship rests with the owner of the land. They work in the pooled land jointly in accordance with the decisions of the committee elected and the manager appointed by them. Each member gets wages for his daily labour irrespective of the ownership of land. The ownership of each member in the holding continues. Members also get a bonus on profit, bearing a proportion on wages. Under Co-operative Tenant farming society, the society holds land in free-hold or leasehold but the entire land is divided into small plots and each is leased to a tenant cultivator who is a member. Such organisation is possible only where large areas of land are available on lease from the landlords or the Government. Each member cultivates the plot given to him and is entitled to the produce of his land, but he has to pay a stipulated rent to the society. In this case every member agrees to cultivate the land allotted to him as a tenant member in accordance with a plan laid down by the society. Co-operative collective farming societies in India undertake joint cultivation. Land is pooled and cultivated jointly and the produce is raised collectively and distributed among the workers in proportion to labour and other resources contributed by them. The co-operative collective farming society has all the features of a joint co-operative farming society except that in the former, the lands belong to the society

as freehold or leasehold whereas in the latter the land is held by the members as owners or tenants. Such societies are generally formed on Government land and land newly brought under cultivation.

Co-operative farming societies are the only way out to create bigger holdings for cultivation. Besides these societies do not in any way interfere with individual ownership. With the help of these societies mechanisation may be made possible. Better housing of livestock, larger storage space for crops and suitable marketing arrangements can be accomplished more economically because of joint management and can achieve improved working conditions.

### **Progress of Farming Societies in India**

By the end of June 1958, out of 3637 farming societies there were 1440 joint and collective farming societies which fulfilled the condition of pooling of land and joint management. The Third Five Year Plan envisaged 3200 Co-operative Farming Societies as pilot projects, roughly 10 in each district. Upto December 1964 only about 1906 societies were organised in pilot projects with a membership of 33518 and with 192265 acres of area pooled or held. In addition to the societies organised in pilot projects, 655 farming societies were organised in non-pilot areas upto December 1962. These figures will indicate that the number of societies started has very little proportion to the expected target.

### **Government Assistance**

Liberal Government assistance is given for these societies and provision is made for medium and long term loan to the extent of Rs. 4,000 and loan and grant of a godown-cum-cattle shed upto Rs. 5,000 and also a management grant of Rs. 1,200

## CO-OPERATIVE FARMING IN INDIA

spread over a period of 3 to 5 years.<sup>5</sup> For the Co-operative Farming societies besides the co-operative department, agricultural department, social welfare department and khadi and village industries commission give financial assistance. The following is the aid pattern to these societies in Maharashtra State.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of such large-scale Government patronage to farming co-operatives success is only a mixed one. There are societies which are working on right lines and are achieving the desired results. One such society is Viswanath Cooperative Joint Farming Society Ltd., Viswanath, Maharashtra State. The village Viswanath

Purpose of assistance	Scale of Assistance		
	Loan Rs.	Subsidy Rs.	Total Rs.
Loan for land development	4,000	..	4,000
Loan and subsidy for godown-cum-cattle shed (75 per cent loan and 25 per cent subsidy)			
Managerial subsidy for 3 years (Rs. 500/- Rs. 400/- Rs. 300/-)	3,750	1,250	5,000
Government share contribution on matching basis (Share capital)		1,200	
	2,000		2,000
		Rs.	12,200

Agricultural Department gives loan and subsidy for social conservation, terracing of lands, development of lands belonging to scheduled castes and tribes, construction of new wells, tractor plough, purchase of model cattle shed etc.

Social welfare department gives the following financial help.

Purpose of assistance	Scale of assistance
Propagation of improved agricultural implements among backward classes	
Iron ploughs	25 per cent subsidy and 75 per cent loan
Dry farming cess	37½ per cent subsidy and 62½ per cent loan

5. Third Five Year Plan Report—P. 209.

6. Co-operative Way to prosperity—Farming and Lift Irrigation,—Government Central Press,—Bombay.

is situated at a distance of 10 miles from Dhulia. The population of the village is 417 out of which 371 persons depend on agriculture. Before the organisation of the society there were frequent quarrels among the villagers, mainly due to inadequacy of holding and unemployment for a substantial period of the year. The Co-operative

farming society at Viswanath was registered on 14-6-1961 by 14 members pooling their lands measuring 95 acres. The majority of the members are small and

medium cultivators. In addition to this, the society subsequently purchased land measuring 46 acres at a cost of Rs. 2,400. The land is however not located in one compact block but is spread in 3 different blocks. The share capital of the society at the time of registration was only Rs. 525/- and at present it is Rs. 9,925 including the share capital of Rs. 2000/- contributed by the Government. The society has now livestock worth Rs. 28,340/-. There are 6 wells out of which 3 are working on which 3 oil engines of 10 and 6 H.P. have been installed at a cost of Rs. 9,750/-. The total area irrigated is 70 acres. During the year 1964-65 the society raised various crops as cotton, bananas, groundnut, bajra, jowar, wheat and pulses, valued at Rs. 35,580/-. The society earned a net profit of Rs. 9,900/- during 1964-65.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand there are co-operative farming societies which are not managed in the right lines and are only not taking benefit of the government assistance. The

Kottapoondi Co-operative Joint Farming Society, Madras State is an example of this type. This society was registered on 11-2-60 and started on 17-2-60. The area of operation of the society is confined to the limits of the Kottapoondi Revenue village. There are at present 19 members including one temple (viz) Sri Kari Vardha Raja Perumal Koil with a paid up capital of Rs. 2,000/-. The total extent of land pooled by the members is 83-31 acres, out of which 77-17 acres are wet, 6-14 acres are dry. Apart from the lands pooled an extent of 130-50 acres are owned by members in other parts of the village and also outside the area of operation of the society. The authorised capital of the society is Rs. 5,000 consisting of 5000 shares. The maximum borrowing power of the society is 50 per cent of the net assets of the members.

The government have sanctioned the following loans and subsidies for the purposes noted against each to the society.

	Loan	Subsidy	Period of repayment
	Rs.	Rs.	
1. To purchase 10 pairs of bulls	2,000	2,000	5 years
2. For irrigation facilities	25,125	8,375	10 „
3. Godown	5,000	5,000	10 „
4. Working capital from Central bank under Government guarantee	20,000		

As on date the society has utilised the following amounts.

	Loan	Subsidy
Towards the purchase of bulls	2,000	2,000
For irrigation facilities	20,841	6,424
Godown	Nil	Nil

## CO-OPERATIVE FARMING IN INDIA

The following is the Trading account for 1964-65 (upto 30-6-65) of this society.

	Rs.		Rs.
Opening Stock			
Fertiliser	488.80	Sales—Sugar	2,802.44
Purchase of Sugar	2,740.60	Fertiliser	427.80
Maida & Ravai	551.54	Maida & Ravai	598.26
Trade charges	108.00	Sale of gunnies	7.31
		Gross Loss	53.13
			3,888.94
	3,888.94		

Cultivation income and expenditure account.

Expenditure		Income	
Cultivation expenditure	19,216.73	Value of harvested crop.	23,862.75
Instalments for pumpsets and bulbs	3,983.25		
Gross Profit	662.77		
	23,862.75		23,862.75

Profit and loss account for 1964-65

Gross loss		Gross profit	
Trading account	53.13	Income and Exp. Account	662.77
Establishment & contingent	185.87	Net loss	3,764.54
Last year loss	4,188.31		
	4,427.31		4,427.31

Though it is a joint farming society it is observed that in practice members are taking individual farming thus violating the fundamental concepts of the Joint Farming principle. As the by-laws of the society allows to do other businesses the society purchases and sells sugar, maida, ravai etc. As the society is not functioning properly to rectify the defects in the working, an enquiry under S.65 of the Madras Co-

operative Societies Act of 1961 has been ordered.

There might be more such societies which are not functioning in the right lines. While co-operative farming is laudable there is no justification in giving enormous funds by way of subsidy and loan where the society is not managed properly. It will only be a social waste and will only help unscrupulous

Committee members of the society. At the time of the passing of the Nagpur Congress resolution it was felt that there was considerable scope for the development of co-operative farming societies in India. The abolition of Zamindari and the opening of the N.E.S. Blocks then and the march of Bhoodan movement, it was thought could provide condition necessary for the success of co-operative farming societies. But today the co-operative farming societies cannot claim to have fulfilled their expectations. No doubt there are exceptional cases of success societies. But the progress of this class of society should be assessed en bloc and not individually.

One obvious reason could be the pressure exercised in organising co-operative farming societies. With the fixation of targets for III plan and a quota for each state the co-operative official of the district would have been instructed to fulfil the target fixed. To do so, there is every possibility that the officer could have compelled some influential people in any village to start the society lest he should be considered inefficient. A co-operative farming society, like other forms of co-operative institutions must spring up voluntarily and external pressures will only create short-lived enthusiasm and spurious societies. It is not the number of societies started that counts. We should only see how many societies are working successfully and what is the benefit emanating from it to its members and to the agricultural production.

It is high time for a rethinking on the policy to be pursued in respect of co-operative farming societies. The congress agrarian reforms committee in its report submitted in 1950 pointed out several handicaps which hinder the formation and progress of the co-operative farming societies.

They are as follows :

1. There is a lack of co-operative spirit in the village life. Individualistic instincts are very strong.
2. People of certain castes do not want to undertake manual labour.
3. Disputes and litigation in village life make co-operative efforts a failure.
4. Red tapism and delays in administration are an open secret.
5. Due to illiteracy, poor health and friction most men are unable to work under strict discipline. Team spirit is lacking.
6. The right type of men to manage the society are not available.
7. Absence of a feeling of collective responsibility among the members leads to careless handling and use of the property of the society.
8. Shortage of livestock, lack of irrigation facilities and the absence of godown etc., kills the efforts of co-operative societies.

Of the above the last mentioned point will not hold good now with heavy government assistance. All the existing co-operative farming societies in different states must be impartially examined and in cases where the working is bad they should be liquidated, lest good money is wasted on bad investments. In future, societies should be organised only in such places where there is local support and genuine need. Greater dissemination of the importance of Joint cultivation and the benefits that will accrue should be explained in detail. The newly started societies shall have members of different people in the village and shall not be the relatives of a family alone or a particular caste alone for if it is a coterie of a few the chances of failure are more, besides it is a violation of basic principles of co-operation.



**Co-operatives Vs. Joint Stock Farms**

Of late the proposal of farming by joint stock farm is proposed. Greater detail is yet to be made available. Farming is a technique and mere capital alone cannot deliver the goods successfully. Co-operative farming itself will be good enough to do agricultural operation jointly and effectively. If co-operative farming does not meet with great success it may be only because of

lack of co-operation and lack of initiative. Personal belongings are looked after and cherished better than common properties. Personal activities are more energetic than common endeavours. Mere institutional change alone will not suffice. What is important is change in the heart of the man who joins a co-operative. This can be possible only with persuasion and pleadings and not by hasty changes on types of institutions by legislation.



## LOVE LEGENDS OF THE LAND OF FIVE RIVERS

K. K. KHULLAR

So rich and intense are the amatorial treasures of the Punjab that every vale and village like its local god has a local legend and lyric of love, every city its own reserves of erotic nostalgia, for love no less than wheat is the staple food of the Punjabis despite centuries of uncertain life and unsavoury experiences. In fact, Punjab is a cradle of love where romance has entered into the very marrow of the bones and blood of its inhabitants. Nowhere else a lover could have made a steak out of his thigh to feed his lady as nowhere else a love-sick damsel could have demanded of her man his entire body as a price and proof of his love. The Chenab is a river symbolising the tragic love of the Punjab having consumed countless pairs of lovers so that there is a saying that the soil on the banks of this river from source to sea is so interwoven with love sacrifices that any one born even somewhere near it is bound to love and lose. Song and drama, tradition and folklore, have all enriched these tales to an extent that they are a part of our cultural past and heritage, if not history, having entered into the life of every Punjabi seeking renewal of his basic beliefs and the flavours of his fundamental faiths in love and life, in sorrow and suffering, in memory and unmemory.

There is a Punjabi proverb saying that if love is man's half, it is woman's whole and entire existence. So central is this sentiment to his personality and so universal is the sense of participation in it that the love

ballads are narrated to the children even at the nursery stage by the Punjabi grandmothers without the slightest injury to propriety. The Punjabis are the eternal lovers and their women the perennial beauties tempting, since the days of the Khebyr, every tourist and merchant from central Asia and Europe so that during the Mughal times they had to be kept in seclusion and under the purdah. Love marriages here are taken much less unkindly than in areas across the gentle Yamuna. The vedic women had the right to choose their men.

Going through the tales of Sohini and Sehati and Sassi and Sahiban, one is amazed at the degree and intimacy of Hellenistic touch and influence they have absorbed and still sustain. In fact, it is so irresistible that the theory about their Greek origin was once almost accepted by authorities on folklore. Though the invasion of Alexander did not yield any serious social and cultural intercourse, the stay of his satraps and the rule of the Parthians and the Bactrians paved the way for an easy acceptance of an Indo-Greek way of life. The story of the Greek wife of Chandragupta Maurya's first wearing of the Indian sari dress at Athens during her first visit home, thus introducing a new fashion among the ladies of the Hellas, is too well-known to have to be repeated. The school of art which flourished at a town called Gandhara, near Parishipura, during Kanishka's reign canonized many Greek heroes and even Lord Buddha was made to look like Apollo.

and Jupiter. The lyrically curly hair of Ranjha emphasised almost in every version of Heer before and after Warris Shah's immortal epic and the element of 'incest' introduced by some poets in the legend of 'Sassi-Punnu' are typical examples of efforts to Hellenise the Punjabi love-lore on the pattern of a Greek tragedy. Savitri—the heroine of an episode in the Mahabharata who wins back her husband, Satyavan, from the door of death—finds intimate parallel in the Greek legend of Alkestis.

The legend of Sohini-Mahiwal is the tenderest ever told by the Punjabi poets. Largely based on the Greek story of Hero and Leander ( 5th Century A. D. ) with a few minor and local variations, it has its versions in Egypt and can be found in the folk literature of the whole of Europe. In the Greek legend, it is the virgin priestess of Aphrodite at Sestos on the sea-shore who waits for her lover, directing his sea journey by holding aloft a flaming torch ; whereas in the tragedy alleged to have occurred on the banks of the Chenab near Gujrat ( West Pakistan ) it is the fair maiden Sohini who swims across the tempestuous river at midnight on the support of an earthen pitcher. Both Hero and Sohini die in the lap of waters and their lovers. There is an excellent painting of Sohini-Mahiwal by Sobha Singh as there is one of Hero and Leander by the Victorian painter J. M. W. Turner which brings to life this harrowing tale of love wandering from shore to shore.

A son of a jeweller of Bokhara, Izzat Beg—later known as Mahiwal—the 'herder of the buffaloes', is so much captivated by the looks of Sohini, the daughter of a Punjabi potter that he purchases the entire pottery of the young Goddess of beauty, and not

only prolongs his stay there but also seeks employment at the pitcher-maker's residence in the guise of an uninitiated tamer of the buffaloes and begins to be called a 'Mahiwal'—with the full understanding and approval of his sweet-heart. To keep her away from the evil eyes and also from the scandalous gossip which had started gathering around her fair name, Tulha, her father arranges his daughter's marriage in the same village in post-haste. Izzat Beg shifts to the other side of the river and the married Sohini visits him every midnight, secretly swimming across the river. During one nocturnal sojourn when the pitcher has been replaced by the ever suspicious sister-in-law, when the river was in fury, Sohini is drowned in mid-stream crying for help and Mahiwal who in turn, hearing her cries splashes into the torrential waters to die with his love. The first authentic version of this legend is found in the 19th century when Fazil Shah wrote this love tragedy under the patronage of Maharaja Ranjit Singh whereas Shah Hussain of Lahore dates the story to somewhere near 16th century. Mahiwal is not an imported lover. He learnt Punjabi language, settled in Punjab, lived and died here. If not by birth, he was a Punjabi by domicile and adoption. The story has been sung and danced in all its fulness centuries before it was formally written by Fazil Shah.

'Heer-Ranha' and 'Mirza-Sahiban' have the same geographical setting in village Sial of District Jhang on the banks of the Chenab. The repeated references to the tomb of Heer in the tale of Mirza cannot be altogether fanciful or fantastic. Sahiban is intellectually superior to Mirza and Heer to Ranjha. If Mirza looks like a Byronic hero, Ranjha looks and sings like a Greek poet, The introduction

of 'Sehati-Murad' as a sub-plot in the main plot of Heer is on the stylization of a Greek drama.

Ranjha, tired of the traditional tyranny of a team of sisters-in-law, leaves his house in search of Heer whose beauty was famed over hill and dale. He is at once accepted as a worker in the household of Heer whom she has met earlier in a boat and 'carried' her heart by his melodies flowing from his magical flute. Within two years of exceptional devotion to the service of the fauna of the household he increases the output of the milk and butter of his employer manifold. The tranquillity of their love flows evenly with his lady-love supplying him his daily ration every day till the cruel fate intervenes in the person of 'Kaido'—Heer's villainous uncle, whose malignity is as motiveless as that of Iago and whose villainy as palpable as ever. Thereafter the story runs easily on Greek lines, viz., the parents crossing the will of the lovers, marriage of Heer to a rich landlord and her historic cries, unity of Heer with another tragic heroine of a sub-plot and the consolation in a common fate, Ranjha's transformation into a yogi-lover. Heer is heroic even in suffering. The lovers are united by a clever stratagem so commonly employed in almost all the love legends the world over. This happiness is again short-lived. Heer is poisoned by the wicked uncle and Ranjha in the attire of a bridegroom stabs himself on the grave of his beloved, to get united in death. Generation after generation since then have repeated to themselves this woeful story of the true love till a Sufi poet of medieval times penned it down for posterity. Sung by peasantry and aristocracy alike, the legend of Heer Ranjha is a very

precious possession of Punjab's heritage. It is a part of their emotional existence. It is said when Heer was first sung in Europe, people went hysterical with wonder and joy. Heer may not be history, but she lives in the myth and imagination of the Punjabis—and there she lives for ever with all her pain and anguish and sorrow.

Sahiban—the heroine of another epic love drama of Jhang (West Pakistan) kills herself, in a pool of blood over the dying and wounded Mirza in the presence of her seven near brothers. This is very much like Juliet. Mirza and Sahiban are the two ancient cousin-lovers since their primary school days till Mirza's father decides to withdraw the boy from any more schooling and puts him under the tutorship of master archers and swordsmen. Mirza turns out to be a fine rider, a master of sword and an excellent shot and eagerly waits and dreams of a union with Sahiban. The lovers meet for brief interval in the house of their aunt Bibo and make usual pledges. Mirza comes in the twilight of the day of her marriage and takes her off to the security of a romantic garden and the caresses of love. Forgetful of the entire world, Mirza is lulled to sleep in her lap by Sahiban. Fearing that her brothers who may be in pursuit of them will all die of Mirza's arrogant arrow and knowing full well that Mirza's strength, like Samson's hair, lay in them, she removes the bow and the box having earlier extracted the promise that he will not kill her brothers. A small battle ensues, Mirza falls and Sahiban stabs herself. Sahiban is the most misunderstood heroine of the Punjabi tales. Due to her allegedly divided loyalties between Mirza and her brothers, some writers have left her alive after Mirza's death. This is not in consonance with

her character. A Sahiban living after her lover's death is preposterous. A peep into her mind will clearly reveal that she had foreseen the events as also the fact that their union lay only in death and that she wanted to keep her love free from any blood stain. To this end, she largely succeeded. It must also be remembered that she has been tutoring Mirza right from the days he absented from the school and Mirza had willingly accepted every plan of his life—and death only if it came from his lady-love who was conscious of her superior thinking. In fact, very few poets have been able to capture the depths and intensity of Sahiban's soul.

The folk fable of Sassi-Punnu belongs to the pre-Mughal period of the valley of Sind fed by the waters of river Indus with all its intensity and fury. Bhai Gurdas who wrote the text of 'Adi Granth' makes a reference to this legend in his poems. Sassi—the ill-fated daughter of the king and queen of Bhambor, a petty principality in the state of Sind, is set afloat in a wooden box in the river under some spell of superstition and is picked up by a washerman called Utta who brings her up as a daughter of his own flesh and blood. Punnu is her dream-lover whom she has never seen nor talked to. Having only seen his portrait which a wandering merchant left among his belongings by mistake. Sassi starts waiting for her prince amidst

song and dance and sorrow, making her youth a source of worry for her Godfather and a challenge to the village youngmen who want her for themselves, many a youth having died or been killed in quest of her. After years of continual waiting there comes a pair of travellers from Baluchistan who are able to identify Punnu as their blood brother. Punnu is brought to Sassi, the lovers meet and the marriage is arranged, but the traditional slander of the neighbours and the villainy of the self-styled suitors of Sassi result in the kidnapping of Punnu; Sassi dying in search of her lover, pining and shrieking for Punnu in the tragic sands of the Thal Maru desert in her bridal attire.

These tales are a segment of Punjabi poetry. They are a part of Punjabi consciousness. No interpretation of Punjabi character is complete without an understanding of this which is so much entwined in the Punjabi personality that it looks like history. And after all history is also the most acceptable of the tales. Punjab lives in this legend and lore even today, as it was when the first cry of Heer was heard, the first glance of Sohini cast a spell on Mahiwal, the first eddie of the Chenab consumed its first lover, the first love dialogue between man and woman conceived, the first love promise made and the first love pledge fulfilled.

# Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is entertained.

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI, Vol. 16. Pp. 581. Publications Division, Delhi-6. Rs. 9.00.

Vol. 16 of the collected works of Mahatmaji, cover the six months from August 1919 to January 1920—a period of uneasy peace following a storm and the foundering of Indian hopes which Gandhiji described thus “.....we are faced with despair everywhere. It was confidently hoped that, at the close of the war, India would get some thing substantial, but the hope turned out to be false. For aught we know the reforms may not come. Even if they do, they will be worthless..... We have to wait and see. The Punjab has been a scene of most revolting episodes. Innocent lives have been lost . . . . The gulf between the rules and the ruled has been widened.”

Now Gandhiji was in full command and guiding the people through the gloomy and troubled times which followed the Rowlatt Act and the Punjab disorders after World War I. A most valuable publication which should be of special interest to future students of Indian history—particularly of the period when India was fighting for independence.

For materials in this volume the editors have recorded their indebtedness to the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation of memorial Trust of Sangrahalaya, the Navajiban Trust, the Gujarat Vidyapith and various others. Every endeavour has been made to adhere to the original strictly—of course obvious typographical mistakes have been corrected and abbreviated words in the text spelt out. The editors have made commendable efforts to, which translating matters from Gujarati+Hindi to achieve fidelity as also readability in English. The Addenda contains textual items received too late for inclusion in chronological order. The Appendices provide background materials relevant to the text and at the end a list of the sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume under notice has been given.

In fine this volume is bound to be, not only of interest, but of great value to all classes of the readers—specially to students of history of the period when Gandhiji commenced his fight for independence in which he carried the whole nation with him.

C. K. H.

# Indian Periodicals

## MAN IN INDIA :

### CLASS AND CASTE

Writing in the *Man In India*, Prof. Nirmal Bose, with his usual objectivity analyses the observations of Dr. Andre Beteille's in course of his lecture to the Indian Anthropological Society on "The Concept of Class In Social Anthropology." In the course of this analysis Prof. Bose draws a comparison between the concepts of class as used by Weber and Marx and observes that the two writers used the term "Class" in two different ways. He then analyses the concept of *Varna* as presented in the ancient Hindu social polity and arrives at the conclusion that the latter was an *ideal* system conceived with a view to bringing order in a society which was the result of the "comingling of many *jatis* or castes.

#### *Weber and Marx on Class*

It is perhaps necessary to draw a distinction between the way in which Weber and Marx have used the term class.

Weber tried to discover by means of comparison and analysis how some societies were actually stratified into classes. One part of a community might be distinguished from another by differences in the level of consumption, in the distribution of economic or political power, or in some other way. After having examined various ways in which classes were marked off from one another, and also how they had evolved in course of time, Weber tried to find out a suitable definition of the term class, so that the widest range of observed phenomena might be covered under it with precision.

By contrast, the intention of Marx was something more than a scientific description of a particular kind of social phenomenon. After having examined the history of many societies,

he came to the conclusion that all of them were divided into privileged and un-privileged classes ; although the dividing line might be obscure in many cases. The *real* difference between classes lay in the manner in which one class laboured and produced wealth, while another, which exercised private rights of ownership over the means of production, lived more or less on the toils of the labourers.

In their own time, Proudhon, Tolstoy and Gandhi also held that, all over the world, men were divided into those who toiled, and the rest who lived on the toils of others, and were therefore thieves. (For Gandhi see Bose 1962a, pp. 1-125.)

It is interesting that the *ideal* distinction of Marx, Tolstoy or Gandhi into producers and non-producers is never neatly defined. There may be a hundred ways in which the dividing line is rendered obscure. Even labourers may be divided into sub-classes, distinguishable from one another by the proportion between what they produce and what they consume, or by the power which they exercise over their fellow men, which helps them in gathering for their own interest and use, varying fractions of the surplus value produced by the toilers. In addition, the same sub-class may function as 'exploiter' in relation to one below it, and 'exploited' in relation to another above it.

According to Marx, it is this indistinctness which is responsible, to some extent, for the persistence of many of these stratified societies all over the world. This is true as much of the present age as of the past. Marx saw through, or he felt that he saw through, this camouflage placed over *basic* and *real* class differences. His reading of history led him to the conclusion that progress has taken place through a succession of class conflicts. Every conflict does not necessarily lead to a victory of the labouring section of mankind ; but it may be guided to that end. At least, that was the view strongly held by Lenin who thought

that the moral responsibility of this leadership lies with the Party which truly represents the interests of the proletariat.

Both Marx and Lenin therefore held that anything which masks *real* class contradictions should be unmasked, class consciousness accentuated, so that class conflicts may come nearer home. Indeed, even defeats are not useless. Every conflict can, at least, be utilized for augmenting class consciousness by laying bare the involved contradictions. This line of action has to be intelligently pursued, and with determination; because it leads to a shortening of the process of progressive evolution which is already taking place in human history. The revolutionist's task is to render the process of social change more economical and more efficient. He thus helps consciously and participates actively in the process of 'natural' change. The polarity of interests has to be heightened by him before progress can take place with rapidity, as it ought to, in the present age of science.

Marx was thus not so much interested in *describing* what was happening in the world. This he did occasionally: and then he played the role of a social philosopher rather than that of a revolutionist in action. For him, the primary duty of a philosopher is not merely *to understand*, but *to change*. Marx thus used the concept of class as an operational instrument rather than as a descriptive term which would cover a wide range of camouflaged and uncamouflaged class antagonisms.

It is therefore not fair to say that Marx now and then contradicted himself in his use of the term class. To say that Weber is logically more consistent, and thus an improvement upon Marx is also not quite correct. One was interested in classifying social phenomena, the other in fashioning an intellectual concept which would pierce through obscurities, and serve as a tool of action. In the use of the same term, Marx and Weber thus stood widely apart from one another.

In examining the concept of *Varna* in the old Hindu polity, Prof. Bose concludes that it was used in the same manner in which Marx uses the term "class", that is; as an instrument of social reorganization. In its essence, therefore, *Varna* was an instrument of an occupa-

tional reorganization rather than one of social privileges although in its application it was intended to create *group occupational monopolies* eliminating *inter-varna* competition retaining, the while, a sufficient measure of resilience within the totality of the *Varna* reorganization to cover possible functional failures within any one or more such groups.

## II Caste : The Four Orders

It is possible to look upon the Indian concept of *Varna* in the same manner as Marx's class, i.e., as an instrument of social reorganization rather than as a description of historical facts.

The Brahminical peoples were confronted in the past by the presence of many communities with whom they came into contact either in peace or in war. Such communities were frequently marked off from the Vedic peoples by sharp contrasts of language, beliefs or social customs. Brahmins had already developed a system of preserving the text of the Vedas by relegating sections of it to the keeping of specific lineages. This system had worked perfectly, and it can be imagined that its success led them to experiment with the pattern in the economic reorganization of society as well.

The rule was established that separate communities of *jatis* should be in charge of separate technological processes, or of services like priestcraft, trade, defence, and so on. They were theoretically to be in enjoyment of monopoly in respect of their allotted function in each regionally distinct area; and there was to be *no competition* between such groups. Yet, a sufficient amount of resilience was introduced into the system by means of 'alternative rules', or *aparadharma*, from fairly early times. Manu has recorded this elaborately in his *Institutes* (X, 71 ff.).

Legislators like Manu had, in their time, to examine the situation arising out of the economic and social mingling of many *jatis*. Some of these were evidently of foreign origin; while others arose out of progressive differentiation of occupations, and also as a few among them tried to climb in social status by concealing their birth and adopting the ways of castes 'superior' to them. (See, for instance, *Mahabharata, Shanti-parvan*, ch. 65) In order to bring a system into



this chance agglomeration of *jatis*, social legislators tried to reduce them *ideally* into a scheme in which only four *Varnas* were recognized.

It is interesting to note in this connexion that the classification into Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra was not confined to the world of men. Soils, temples, gems, gods and even the stars were actually classified into the same four Orders. (See Bose 1962b, 45-47 ; Tagore 1879.)

Manu believed in the possibility of transmission of character-types from parents to children ; and he also held that a person or a community or *jati* eventually drifts into the occupation for which it is temperamentally equipped by heredity. If the origin of a *jati* is not known, it can be found out by reference to the ideal order in which the Brahmin is contemplative, selfless, devoted to learning ; the Kshatriya is fond of fighting or ruling ; the Vaishya interested in trade, and the Sudra in service. By applying this four-fold scheme, he claimed to find out the origin of every *jati* ; and then he assigned each to one or other of the four *Varnas* by means of some other rules.

The *Manu Samhita* in its present form is considered to have been written between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D. The following quotations illustrating Manu's Theory of Heredity are from Sir William Jones' translation entitled '*The Institutes of Manu according to the Gloss of Kulluka*' (Calcutta, 1794).

IX. 31. Learn now that excellent law, universally salutary, which was declared, concerning issue, by great and good sages formerly born.

IX. 33. The woman is considered in law as the field, and the man as the grain : now vegetable bodies are formed by the united operation of the seed and the field.

IX. 34. In some cases the prolific power of the male is chiefly distinguished ; in others, the receptacle of the female : but when both are equal in dignity, the offspring is most highly esteemed.

IX. 37. Certainly this earth is called the primeval womb of many beings ; but the seed exhibits not in its vegetation any properties of the womb.

IX. 38. On earth here below, even in the same ploughed field, seeds of many different

forms, having been sown by husbandmen in the proper season, vegetate according to their nature :

IX. 40. That one plant should be sown and another produced, cannot happen : whatever seed may be sown, even that produces its proper stem.

X. 69. As good grain, springing from good soil, is in all respects excellent, thus a man, springing from a respectable father by a respectable mother, has a claim to the whole institution of the twiceborn.

X. 70. Some sages give a preference to the grain ; others to the field ; and others consider both field and grain ; on this point the decision follows :

X. 71. Grain, cast into bad ground, wholly perishes, and a good field with no grain sown in it, is a mere heap of clods ;

X. 72. But since, by the virtue of eminent fathers, even the sons of wild animals, as Rishyasringa, and others, have been transformed into holy men revered and extolled, the paternal side, therefore, prevails.

X. 59. Whether a man of debased birth assume the character of his father or of his mother, he can at no time conceal his origin :

X. 60. He, whose family had been exalted, but whose parents were criminal in marrying, has a base nature, according as the offence of his mother was great or small.

X. 8. From a *Brahmin*, on a wife of the *Vaisya* class is born a son called *Ambastha*, or *Vaidya*, on a *Sudra* wife a *Nishada*, named also *Parasava*.

X. 9. From a *Kshatriya*, on a wife of the *Sudra* class springs a creature, called *Ugra*, with a nature partly warlike and partly servile, ferocious in his manners, cruel in his acts.

X. 40. These, among various mixed classes, have been described by their several fathers and mothers ; and whether concealed or open, they may be known by their occupations.

By such rules, the people of Bengal became divided into two Orders, namely, Brahmin and Sudra, although there are numerous *jatis* or castes among them. In other parts of India, all four Orders are present ; and this is how many *jatis* became federated into an *ideal* system invented by Brahmin genius.

Although primarily conceived as an effective instrument of occupational reorganization in society, there is no doubt that the top hierarchy in the then social polity arrogated to their own groups a position of privilege and power, relegating the groups which contributed the services by means of which society existed and lived to a comparatively inferior position in the social organization. *Varna* would, therefore, seem to be only another variety of the expression of the "class" system. The higher castes, thus; were more closely allied to and integrated with the ruling classes, as the higher classes in present-day society are seen to be so placed. According to Prof. Bose, however, there are several other elements in the caste system which helped to create a positive sense of loyalty among the subordinated classes even when they knew they were being suppressed, for a variety of reasons.

### III. Class and Caste

Many authors have described caste as one variety of the class system. There is no doubt that Brahminical communities reserved for themselves a position of privilege in society, while the work by means of which people lived was relegated to the 'lower' Orders. Caste was thus class; and this is a fact which has been emphasized by many historians in the past, as well as by sociologists like Bhupendra Nath Datta, M. N. Srinivas and Narmadeshwar Prasad in more recent times.

We must, however, remember the fact that class antagonisms within the caste system failed to generate a sufficient measure of opposition and revolt among the subordinated communities. Narmadeshwar Prasad has tried to account for this by saying that the Brahmins successfully prevented reaction and revolt by the creation of a widespread 'myth' about their own holiness and infallibility; by a belief in the Law of Karma and transmigration of the soul, and so on. M. N. Srinivas is of opinion that the concern and value attached to ritual purity is so deep-seated among Hindus, and the belief in Karma so pervasive, that both the privileged and un-privileged remain content with the status and role into which they have been born. So much

so that there is no desire to rise and revolt against gross inequality.

Srinivas also says that the 'upper' classes have succeeded in maintaining their positions of advantage, not only by extensive indoctrination of the 'lower', but also by usurping positions of authority in other ways. In the past, they did so by ownership of land and an alignment with the ruling powers. In the present age, the same upper castes have taken advantage of modern education, and progressively 'westernized' themselves so as to join the ranks of the new ruling class. This they do by joining the administrative services, or by alliance with one or other of the political parties as they rise into power. The 'upper' castes have thus adapted themselves to change, and still form the upper class; while those who are below, because of poverty, lack of education and social subordination, retain their attachment to caste's ancient values, and prefer to raise themselves in rank by 'sanskritization' instead of by 'secularization' or westernization.'

In the opinion of the present author, however, these hypotheses as explanations of the continuity of caste through the ages in spite of political or cultural upheavals, do not appear to be wholly adequate. In caste, there are several other elements which help in creating a *positive* sense of loyalty among the subordinated classes, even when some of them know that they are suppressed. These possible causes are enumerated below:

(1) In an economy of relative scarcity, particularly when there were swift changes of rulers, the rules of caste were devised in a manner so that various communal groups were woven together into a network of mutual interdependence.

(2) Competition was positively discouraged. An artisan or priest seek the protection of the king, or of the local college of Brahmins, or even of the caste or village-panchayat if he were threatened by competition by any one who infringed upon his preserves.

(3) Each caste was left free to pursue its specific regional or communal customs in an atmosphere of comparative freedom and equality. In other words, cultural autonomy was thus guaranteed to each of the federated communities.

(4) If class differences brought about a growing inequality of income, as they were

likely to do, the evils of increasing polarization could be offset by the custom of 'conspicuous expenditure'. Any one who spent lavishly in beneficent acts, or even in sheer exhibitionism, was applauded more than one who hoarded. A practice was likewise built up in connexion with birth, marriage and funerary ceremonies in which even the poorest householder had to make gifts to priests, scholars and the indigent. The more lavishly one spent, even by incurring debts, the more approbation one received.

These elements in the culture of the people mitigated, but did not obliterate, the evils and strains resulting from class differences within the caste system. And, it is the belief of the present author, that it is this fact, which might either be labelled as a camouflage or a conscious limitation of the growing ills of caste's productive system, which prevented the progressive polarization of class differences. The latter could have led to class war in India; but actually did not on account of the various safeguards thus built into the social structure.

#### *Marxian Class and Caste*

According to the Marxian way of thinking, this ingenious system helped the Brahmin-Kshatriya or upper class leadership to preserve itself intact through centuries. This was achieved by not allowing the contradictions in the distribution of power between class and class to develop as it did in the West.

The contradiction between technological progress and growth of population could not, however, be solved by this ingenuity. People remained poor, famine was followed by famine; and caste persisted because it gave a feeling of

security even under the most straitened circumstances. Under the exigency of famine or natural calamity, people turned either to their joint families, or their own kinsmen or castemen for protection and support. Ancient governments were frequently powerless to cope with such calamities, except by an extensive system of doles or gifts.

The remedy, according to the Marxian, lies in tearing aside the arrangements in the superstructure of caste which prevent the 'natural' sharpening of class antagonisms. That alone can prepare the ground for an already belated class conflict, which will inevitably lead to the victory of the organized proletariat under the guidance of the True Party.

#### *Comments*

It is not our purpose in the present paper either to find fault with the Marxian view-point, or show up its differences with the Gandhian method of bringing about social change through constructive work and *satyagraha*, to which the author is personally committed. We have only tried to present the Marxian view-point with regard to caste as faithfully as possible.

But the conclusion to which we arrive is that, the latter is as much an idealistic system; an instrument of social reorganization as the Indian system of four *Varnas* happened to be in the past. One may, of course; claim that Marx worked for 'human emancipation', while Manu worked for preserving the rights and privileges of Brahmins. That is, however; a point which can be questioned and modified from the social historian's point of view. But we need not indulge in that exercise for the present.

# Foreign Periodicals

Sir HUGH BEADLE'S MESSAGE

## Labour Policy In Africa

Writing Editorially under the caption "Sir Hugh Beadle's Message" the **Spectator** of London endeavours to pin-point the fallacy and the **impertinence** of the Prime Minister's Rhodesian policy which shows unmistakable signs of escalating wider and involve the whole of the **black** African continent and put in jeopardy the future of the white settlers there :

The evidence mounts that the first phase of the Government's Rhodesian policy has been a remarkable success. Mr. Smith's hope that economic sanctions would prove a nine-days' wonder has been rudely shattered : even the threatened oil embargo, against all expectations ; has proved effective. As his friends abroad stand idly by, the *dolce vita* that was white Rhodesia gives way to a siege economy, and the exodus of the disenchanted is about to begin.

The evidence also mounts that the second phase of the Government's Rhodesian policy is likely to prove an unmitigated disaster. This is the view of Sir Edgar Whitehead..... It is also the view of the Queen's representative in Rhodesia, the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs. And it is the view of Sir Hugh Beadle : hence his sudden flight to London last week. These men are not racialists, nor are they disloyal. They are men who know Rhodesia a good deal better than Mr. Wilson does, and in all probability care a great deal more for the future of the black man there, too.

According to the **Spectator** as well as in consonance with the expressed views of the Rhodesian Governor Sir

Humphrey Gibbs' and Chief Justice Sir Hugh Beadle, there is no alternative to Ian Smith as the leader of the White Rhodesian and the Wilson Government must either negotiate with him despite African, Commonwealth and world pressures, or involve himself deeper into a mess from which it would find it impossible to extricate itself in the end :

Sir Hugh Beadle's message to the Prime Minister was unequivocal. There is now no alternative to Smith as leader of the white Rhodesians. The economic war has merely strengthened his position. The idea that the hard-pressed populace will oust Smith and turn to some 'moderate' is on a par with the then Sir Anthony Eden's notion that British troops had only to set foot in Egypt for Nasser to topple. It is true that, if sanctions are continued and intensified, the Smith administration will eventually collapse. But this will not occur before the July deadline accepted by the Prime Minister at the Lagos conference. The best estimate of the Governor and Sir Hugh Beadle is that it is more likely to take a full year, during which time Rhodesia and the Rhodesian economy will have been reduced to total chaos, and irreparable hardship will have been caused to Zambia and Mozambique.

Sir Hugh's conclusion, therefore ; is that the British Government must negotiate with Smith. It must negotiate with him as head of a *de facto*, albeit rebel ; Government ; and it must negotiate on the basis of an immediate transfer to legitimate independence, with no intervening period of direct rule. Both Sir Hugh and the Governor believe that such negotiations, backed by the proven power of sanctions ; would produce a settlement that would ensure progress to majority rule in Rhodesia, on terms more favourable to the black majority than

those Mr. Wilson was prepared to offer before UDI.

In the circumstances that have now arisen, the logic of this conclusion is inescapable. Yet when Sir Godfrey Nicholson, one of the handful of Tory MPs who supported Mr. Wilson on oil sanctions, and who is known to have had lengthy discussions with the Governor and Sir Hugh in Rhodesia, advocated it in the House of Commons on Tuesday, the Prime Minister had the impertinence to accuse Sir Godfrey of having been 'brainwashed.' The truth is that if any one attempted to brainwash anyone, it was Mr. Wilson who tried to brainwash Sir Hugh Beadle before allowing the Chief Justice to meet Mr. Heath. Hence the row. But there is no evidence that Sir Hugh left London any less

convinced of the need to negotiate with Mr. Smith.

The *Spectator* concedes that pressures from the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and, generally, from the world at large have been mountingly heavy, but opines that **blackmail (?)** whether from white or black has to be resisted. By seeking to negotiate with, till then, the legal Ian Smith regime which ended, as it was bound to do in the circumstances the negotiations were held, in a fiasco and the Wilson Government's helplessness to deal with Smith's UDI. Wilson would appear to have yielded to one kind of blackmail. Now, by obstinately refusing to negotiate with the rebel Ian Smith regime once again

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on the basis, as the **Spectator** suggests, of an immediate "transfer of legitimate independence" he has laid himself open to the attack that he is allowing himself to be blackmailed by the opposite parties who are really the victims of UDI. There would seem, however, to be one legitimate point in the **Spectator's** criticism,—that the Wilson Government has, so far, proved itself anaemic and ineffective in African leadership and, despite the vote of confidence wrested from the Commonwealth recently in Lagos, Mr. Wilson has really been following a policy of drift in Africa without any set direction or objective :

Nor, it must be said: is there any evidence that the Prime Minister has changed his mind either. It would be insulting to suggest that his tragic obstinacy is due to a determination to crush Smith, come what may: or to stick by his ill-advised statement, in defence of the egregious Mr. Bottomley, that Smith could neither be negotiated with nor trusted. It must be assumed that the major factor now determining Mr. Wilson's Rhodesian policy is

the pressure from the Commonwealth, from the Organisation of African Unity, and from much of the world.

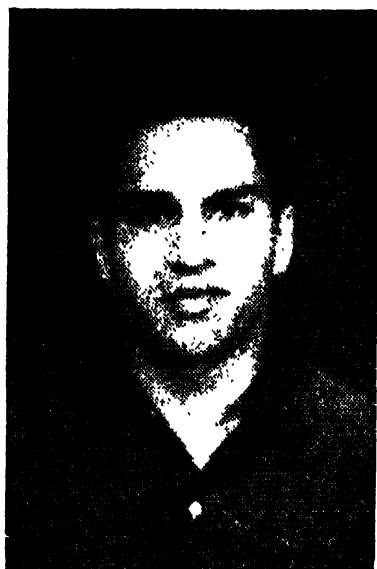
These pressures are substantial, and it is understandable that the Government should heed them. Yet there comes a time when blackmail, whether from white or black, has to be resisted; if further disaster is not to follow. British communities in black Africa may be in jeopardy : they must be protected. A number of nations may leave the Commonwealth : they cannot be prevented. British assets in black Africa may be seized : this would be a bagatelle compared with the cost to the British economy of rescuing Rhodesia and Zambia from anarchy and chaos. But appeasement is never justified.

In a matter of weeks the time will have come for Mr. Wilson to negotiate with Mr. Smith. The negotiations may prove unsuccessful, but they remain the only hope. Should the Prime Minister refuse even to make the attempt, the Governor may not much longer remain silent. If Rhodesia becomes a party political issue, and the representative of the Queen appears to support the policy of the opposition, Mr. Wilson will have only himself to blame.

## INDO-CEYLON BOXING MEET—1966

P. MISRA

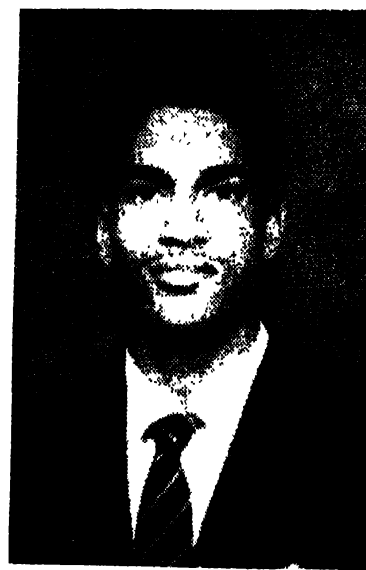
Amateur Boxing, the manly sport, has been, until recently, subject to a bit of criticism, as to its practice particularly from the schoolboy age. And in that respect the Indian Amateur Boxing Federation and the State controlling body, Bengal Amateur Boxing Federation between them have already proved, by promotions of annual inter-School and College Championships for the last 35 years, that there is **no risk** of any type of major or permanent injury to the boxer-participants at any time in the practice of the art of boxing and its international competitions both among the adults and juvenile sectors.



L. Buddy D'Souza (Capt.)



D. Swamy



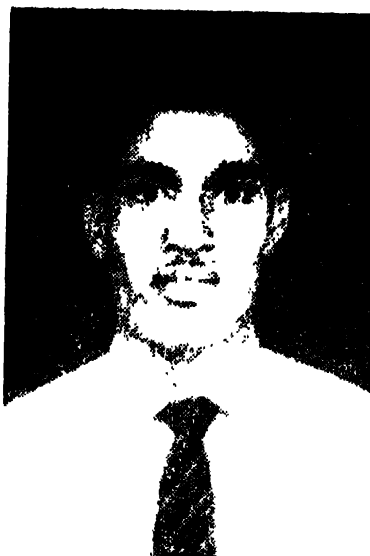
G. Rajan

So, despite many odds amateur boxing marches to the summit in the country. India received invitations from Ceylon to send an **Adults Team** after the Indo-Ceylon Schools' Boxing Meet Series has been in existence for seven years with visits of India and Ceylon Schools' teams to each others' country in alternate years since 1959, the VIIth Series of the said Meet having been completed with the 20-man Indian Boxing Team touring Ceylon in August 1965. And so, the Indian Adults' Boxing Team after having concentrated training for three weeks at Calcutta left for Ceylon on February 15, 1966 with a team of 11 Boxers and three Officials.

The two contests held in Ceylon The Second Contest in Ceylon on February —The India—Ceylon Test at Colombo on 25 between Indian Boxing Federation Pre-February 21 ended in a Victory for India by sident's Team and Amateur Boxing Federa-7 Contests (Won) to 2 Contests (lost). tion of Ceylon President's Team also ended



T. Subramanian



S. Bhosle



N. More

in a rather narrow victory for the Indian Boxing Teams to Ceylon since 1948 and India team by 4 Contests (won) to 3 Contests has received two such visits from the Cey- (lost). This was the **fourth** visit of Indian lon National Team twice so far.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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## WATER-GIVER

By the courtesy of the artist, Mr. Nandalal Bose

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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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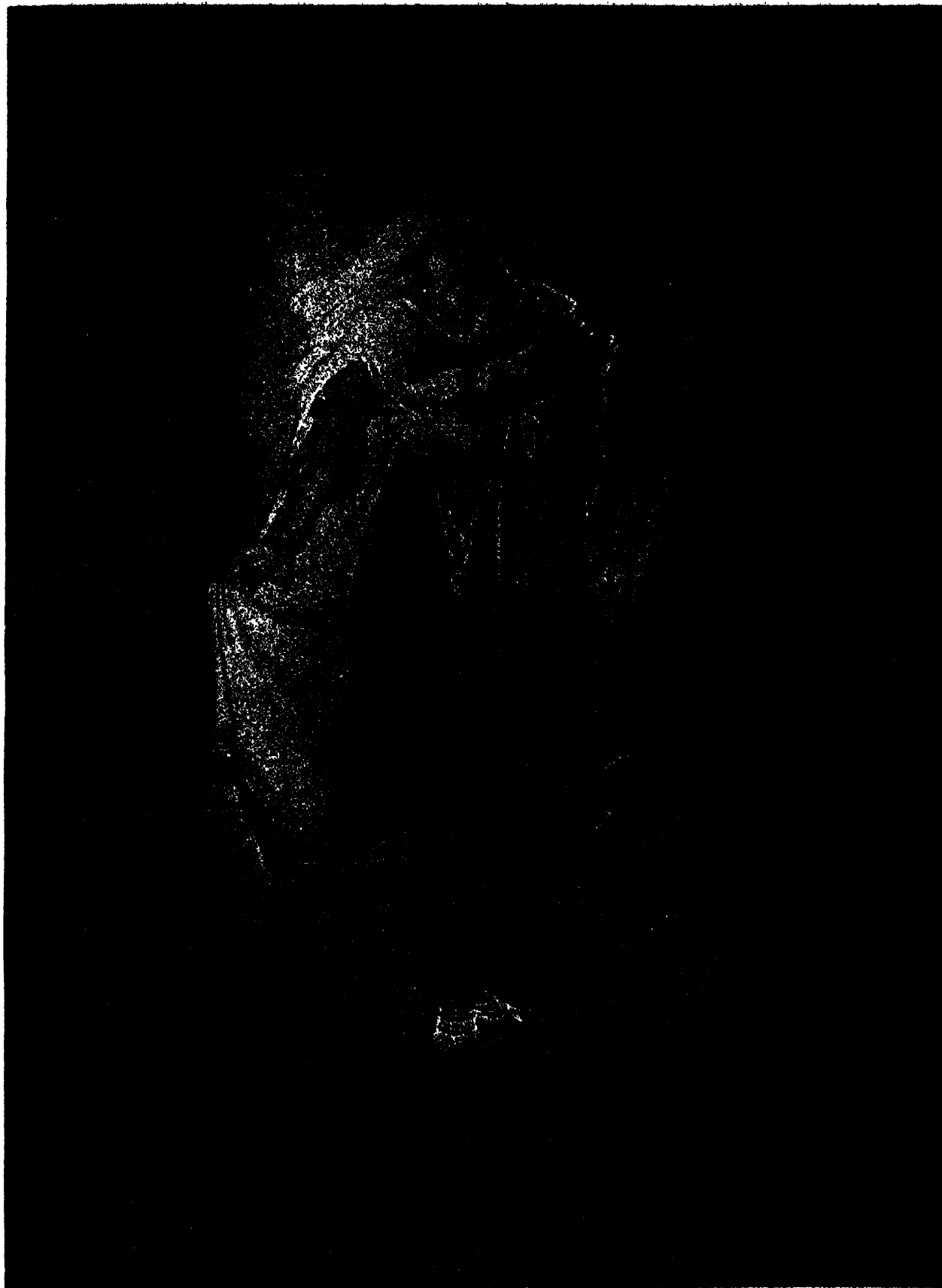
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# THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL



1966

VOL. CXIX, No. 4

WHOLE No. 712

## NOTES

### Was It Attempted Insurrection ?

Mr. P. C. Sen, Chief Minister of West Bengal, thinks that the recent demonstrations, acts of violence and general strikes followed the pattern laid down by international Communism for starting insurrections against established governments. This would prove that only the Left Communists organised all these attacks on Congressmen, Government officers, Offices and Transport vehicles and establishments with a view to induce the people to active rebellion or something very near it. We have recollections of such displays of popular feelings during a very long period. We remember how buses and trams had been burnt in the past during hartals and private cars had been stoned and railway trains attacked. In Pre-independence days, some time in June 1947, the Calcutta-Bombay Mail was stoned by crowds near Kalyan. We were travelling by that train. So that the mere fact of attacks on railway trains, buses, stations, Post offices etc., would not necessarily prove an International Conspiracy to destroy the Sen-Subramaniam

Consortium for food supply to the people of West Bengal. We had not been making an intensive study of those destructive displays of public feeling against the West Bengal Government ; but we noticed how all sorts of people reacted to the "bandh". Many said the young men were over doing things, in a spirit of disapproval mixed with sympathy. Others delivered long speeches both for and against the activities of the anti-government elements. But no one said Mr. P. C. Sen was utterly innocent of all blame. Rather, some said Mr. Sen was haughty, arrogant, uncompromising, unwilling to learn or to admit his mistakes, and so on. Many Congressmen are famous for their spirit of detachment. They ignore insults, abuse and ruthless criticism with an easy grace which one seldom finds in other political types. They also boost each other's morale by mutual advice and adulation in a manner which is worth emulation by those who are less profoundly spiritual. Thus when Prafulla Chandra Sen felt disheartened and wanted to resign, other Congress leaders cheered him up and prevented his resignation.

So, they have by now forgiven one another for all their joint stockpile of faults and they stand absolved of all sin to their complete satisfaction.

Those who are neither Congressmen, nor members of the United Left Front, nor agents of International Communism, in fact are nothing but common garden tax payers and ordinary citizens of India, find all this dictatorial self-assertion by persons who are not very capable and irresponsible law breaking by others who are not at all sensible, quite overwhelming. The non party men and women want to live peacefully and as comfortably as possible in a setting of extremely high taxation, intolerably short supply of essential commodities, useless controls, restrictions and a general state of all round uncertainty created by inexperienced attempts to establish a pattern of socialism which has too many gaps in it. But they cannot live in peace as there are frequent clashes of interests among those who rule India and those who want to replace them and take over. We know from our experience that the present rulers of India are inefficient. The aspirants to power have not given us any proof that they are likely to be more effective. The ordinary citizens and tax payers, therefore, appear to have no choice. They can, of course, form new parties with simple programmes of work. No rarefied political philosophy or high ideals, but just getting one's money's worth in sound, steady and useful administration, effective defence organisation and standard arrangements for social security. But will the Indian public develop that much common sense? Mr. P. C. Sen's romantic colour washing of a plain public disapproval of his administration (improved upon by anti-social elements here and there by violence and arson) cannot absolve him and many other Congress leaders of India of their responsibility for India's economic malaise. The Left, Right, Centre or whatever else of the political body of India which destroyed buses, railway carriages and other property remain largely unknown. The general public have suffered most on account of their negligence in the political field and for allowing self-seekers and socially useless

persons to capture political power. The general public are paying for their mistakes. We do not know how long they will go on paying and getting no proper return for what they pay. One thing is very clear, however, and it is the absolute urgency of more responsible members of the public going into politics. Those who have votes should organise to get themselves properly represented by better types of men and women.

Promises should mean nothing to the ordinary mortals. For we have found Ram Rajya has higher taxes than Aurangzeb's exactions. Moreover in Ram Rajya one cannot have any pure gold ornaments, pure *chhana* sandesh or other sweets, enough rice to satisfy one's appetite and numerous other very necessary things for good living. There are also not enough employment, a living wage, enough housing and sufficient transportation arrangements. And these shortcomings are only the head lines of a long list of wants which have slowly turned peaceful men and women into articulate critics of Rama's great army of ministers, legislators, officials and hangers on. The assurance that by 1969 (Mahatma Gandhi's birth centenary year) we shall have complete prohibition does not compensate anybody for his lack of food in 1966. No one is actually dying to see complete prohibition imposed in India; rather many are actually dying as a result of malnutrition and undernourishment. Those persons who hope to become rulers of India by irresponsible talk or conduct at this stage must be disillusioned too. India does not want any type of communism or dictatorship to be forced upon her by different types of anti-social persons working in concert with the foreign enemies of India. We have had enough unpleasant experience of the pattern of socialism that Pandit Nehru designed for us. We now want lower taxes, higher incomes, full employment, universal education, proper supplies of essential goods and services at reasonable prices, full maintenance of law and order, complete freedom from foreign aggression or interference with India's sovereignty and the maximum of individual freedom and liberty that can exist along with good government on the above lines.

## Symptoms of Good Government

Freedom gives man certain physical and mental conditions of existence which stimulate his life forces in a manner which one cannot find in circumstances of a repressive and restraining nature. If conditions are created by human action which hold up the smooth flow of wishes and their fulfilments, for all or most men, a very good explanation would be required before impartial observers should agree to call such conditions of life conducive to human freedom, liberty and progress. Mere announcements, proclamations or organised propaganda cannot prove the existence of true democracy and political freedom anywhere; for the reason that all acts of political banditry have been called liberation by the bandits throughout the ages and those who had not been quite full-fledged bandits had never admitted their misuse of power, privilege hunting, granting advantages and dipping freely into the nation's coffers. It is therefore very difficult for the public to know clearly, precisely and fully what goes on in the name of government in places far away, like Nagaland, Mizo Territory and so forth. Self-appointed enquiry agents are unreliable as they are usually susceptible to red carpet treatment. One thing, however, proves itself by its own obviousness. It is lack of good government, non-existence of law and order, and a general want of faith in the government's ability to carry on its work. Too many arrests, lathi charges, tear gas shell firing, shooting, imposition of curfew or Sec. 144. etc. etc., slowly undermine government and those who are in power should take timely action to change their policy, personnel and personalities so that the people do not get dragged into lawlessness and forced to change things by their own effort.

We have been told very recently that the ex-ruler of Bastar was "found dead" in his palace with a dozen or so other people too who were also dead. There was a suggestion that this peculiar incident of finding so many dead people had been of the Mizo

pattern (whatever that might mean). As far as we know the Mizos started a rebellion and were put down by military action. Are we to understand that the ex-ruler of Bastar started a rebellion too and was put down by the Indian army? If so, why did we not learn about this before the Madhya Pradesh police "found" the dead bodies inside a palace? The Mizos also had contact with the Pakistanis who gave them military training and supplied them with arms. The dead tribals in the palace of Bastar had bows and arrows and rice with them. Would that prove their connection with Pakistan, China or other foreign enemies of India? The ex-ruler of Bastar was eccentric and used to live like a **Sannyasi**. He gave away his money too and did not bother about protocol. He did not show any great respect to the Indian leaders. But then, there are many Indian leaders who do not rouse any feelings of respect in their visitors. And one should not be "found dead" for such lack of adoration. The government authorities have ordered an enquiry into this strange affair and the public are holding their judgment about this matter in check for the time being. But unilateral enquiries may not satisfy the people whose relations and friends have been found dead.

That there can be such incidents in a non-violent secular democratic, (socialist) republic in which all men are equal and share equally the benefits of various fundamental rights, is beyond the peoples' imagination. That is why there has been unruly scenes in the Lok Sabha which do no credit to that high ranking body of legislators. But if there are men about in administrative power whose actions or inaction cause desperate reactions among the people, which the same administrators try to control by use of force in an unimaginative and ruthless manner, then incidents occur which should not do so in a civilised country. No doubt the enquiry ordered by Government will expose the background of the brutal affair in full.



### Population Control

The idea of replacing quantity by quality has some justification for it. Though it cannot be accepted unconditionally. Certain quantities are essentially required at times for the fulfilment of particular objectives. And there is seldom any guarantee that quantity control will automatically lead to improvement of quality. In the sphere of family planning and population control one may assume that people will be benefitted if they did not have to bring up large families. But there will be no certainty that lesser numbers of children will be better educated, fed, clothed and housed without any positive change of outlook among the people. We know many parents of large numbers of children who have brought them up remarkably well in spite of limited means. On the other hand there are rich parents with fewer children who have failed utterly to bring up their wards in a proper manner. The government's idea in backing population control is based on hopes of reduced responsibilities of food supply, medical aid, education and social welfare. And so they spread the idea that having less children will be by itself a great social advantage. Also that growth of population on the same scale as we have experienced during recent years will cause great misery. In fact things are not quite so simple as they are painted to be by our family planners. We are spending about 100 crores of rupees annually for the dissemination these ideas. How far we shall achieve population control by such propaganda and family planning arrangements is anybody's guess. But the money will be spent. By spending Rs. 100 crores one can bring under cultivation about 1,000,000 ten lakh bighas of new land under cultivation annually with arrangements for irrigation and other aids of a productive nature. This can give us enough extra food annually to feed those extra mouths that ordinary growth of population may bring into existence. There is enough cultivable land in India, which no one cultivates now, to keep us busy adding to our

total of cultivated land for the next 200 years. If our population grows to 650 millions in the next 50 years or to a slightly bigger figure, we should not die of starvation if we went about it in a proper manner. Proper irrigation, use of fertilisers, plant breeding etc., should enable us to produce upto 2 tons of food material per acre without any great difficulty. If we bring 400 million acres of land under cultivation by the time our population grows to 650 millions, we should have enough food and fodder for our total requirements. A large population is not an unmixed evil. With enemies on all sides, India should feel safer with a large population. There is only the question of supporting a large population. The answer is grow more food, work harder, learn to live well. A higher standard of living will check the growth rate automatically.

### Punjabi Speaking Punjab

The glorification of Hindi at any cost by the Nehru Government started many defensive movements all over India in order to keep this undeserving language in its own place, and the idea of a Punjabi speaking State must have developed out of the same reactions. The Nehru Government could not find out precisely what differences existed between Hindi, Urdu, Hindustani and Punjabi and so **had to** lump them all together (along with Maithili, Bhojpuri, Maghdi, the Eastern Rajasthani languages etc., etc.) and to show that 46 per cent of the people of India had Hindi as their language (instead of 10 per cent which should be nearer the truth). Now that the Congress have agreed to create a Punjabi State, many Punjabis are discovering that their mother-tongue is Hindi. The people of some Himalayan States are also of the opinion that they are Hindi speaking. And all this is going to cause more languagewise divisions. If only people remembered that the use of a particular language was of lesser importance than the purpose for which it was used, there would have been greater efforts at education in India, with special reference to

the Hindi speakers, than had been waste- Punjabis will be better off for self-express- fully devoted to establish Hindi on a high sion if they used English as their State pedestal for no rhyme or reason. For the language.

basic assumption that all nations must have a single common language is incorrect. **Foreigners Assist Clear Thinking**

Two persons speaking the same language quite often fail to understand each other if one is a nuclear physicist and the other a bumpkin. Education and not a common language creates the ground for fuller communication between citizens. The majority of Hindi speakers, for instance, cannot understand cultured Hindi for lack of education. An educated Bengali, Marathi or Gujrati can understand high flown Hindi much better than the peasant from Uttar Pradesh. This linguistic complex which is India, therefore, has a more fundamental cause of disunity and lack of easy communication in it than the mere existence of many languages. This is intellectual and cultural inequality. There are many millions of highly educated people in India and then there are more and more millions of part educated, half educated, uneducated and primitives who cannot think together, act together or even live together without causing upheavals. Had the Nehru period Congressmen thought of creating common levels of education, culture, thoughts and emotions throughout India, instead of using "facts and figures" and arguments for establishing Hindi as a common language for all India, there would have been no linguistic States with big minorities everywhere, nor Nagalands, Mizo territories or Bastars brought about by the sheer force of clashes of culture.

It would appear that almost all Sikhs are Punjabi speaking and the Hindus or Aryas are Hindi speaking in the Punjab. We had been of the opinion in the past that all Punjabis spoke Punjabi and used either the Gurumukhi or the Urdu Script for writing. But we have now come to recognize that many Punjabis are Hindi speaking and that they are going to form a separate State. Will Hindi be used for purposes of government in this non-Punjabi Punjab or English? For we believe the non-Punjabi burden must have originated in the Kam-

The usual run of foreigners who come to India for sight seeing or for making their own private enquiries, do not take the trouble to teach Indians anything. They, rather, like to admire what they see or to agree with whatever they hear, no matter how unreal certain things may appear. The reason is quite simple. There are some Indians who like to go out of their way to meet foreigners and to enlighten them about this ancient land. In the back of their minds they have an illogical assumption which is that they are intellectually and ethnically connected with the ancient Indians who built the Mamallapuram Temples and the Taj Mahal; painted the Ajanta Caves, founded the various schools of thought and performed all those other great tasks of civilisation which made India glorious in the past. So that our self-elected or State-appointed spiritual-intellectual guides are never contradicted by knowledgeable foreigners who prefer to listen to rather than voice any opinions. We have therefore an easy time with foreigners when we preach non-violence, prohibition, advancement of undeveloped countries or the abstract principles of government or foreign relations to these very eager and apparently highly receptive foreign visitors. But this time at the plenary meeting of the ECAFE at Delhi, the foreign speakers who followed Mrs. Gandhi appeared to have their own opinions on various subjects. This somehow threw new light on India's unilateral claims upon the world at large for financial assistance. Mrs. Gandhi had found nothing wrong with the assumption that the world owed much to undeveloped countries in a negative manner and had therefore the obligation to produce economic aid in settlement of that "debt".

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raj Camp of the Congress; for Mrs. Gandhi does not come from a background of beg borrow types. The ECAFE members from other countries made it clear that undeveloped countries had no claims on foreign aid in an unqualified sense. Foreign aid would be slowly becoming less and less, and the undeveloped countries had better get developed as best as they could or depend more and more on their own natural resources and man power. We have pointed out, time and again, in these columns during the last numerous years that India's greatest wealth is her man power. If all men worked eight hours a day they would surely produce value in various shapes and forms worth anything from five to ten rupees per day. Giving a work period per annum of 300 days and 150 million workers India should produce an annual income of Rs. 22500,000,000/- without going in for expensive machinery and foreign aid. But the foreigners who guided Pandit Nehru and the Indians who pretended to know all, helped the Congress Government of India to push the country into a terrifying morass of indebtedness and general penury. Had we gone in for economic planning only to the extent that we found our own resources enough for the purpose and had we not neglected our man power and other physical resources in the manner that we had been doing for eighteen years; our own foreign exchange earnings would have been sufficient for our industrial development and military purposes. The fact that we have now to spend about half of our foreign exchange earnings in imports of food, payment of interests and capital on borrowings and in paying for things which we might have produced within the country if we tried to do so during the last 18 years, prove the utter lack of a sense of realities that one found among our planners and the top men of the Congress party. It would appear that the profession of politics that has developed in India since the end of the Second World War has attracted many colourful personalities into it, who have not the same genius for material achievements as they

have for weaving unreal patterns of economy, state craft and political philosophy. So the workers of India, who produce the meagre national dividend of this large country and live in poverty, have nothing to hope from the thoughts and actions of India's Right or Left armies of politicians. They are all very willing to let us follow them and be ruled by them without trying to learn anything useful for a nation of undernourished, ill-housed, uneducated and very partially employed people who also lack medical aid, communications, credit facilities and social security. So that the Indian people should look for new leaders if they wished to be led. The best thing for India would be to do without professional politicians; for they could never be trusted to do what is possible and necessary as against achieve various impossibilities. Simple folk as we Indians are we require simple managers of our simple affairs. But how can one get such men and women? Surely by looking among our teachers, businessmen of small calibre, scientists, lawyers, doctors, engineers etc., etc. We have no superior ambitions but only want to live well and enable others to live well too.

Arising out of the discussions at the ECAFE meeting referred to, "Mr. J. Cairncross, representative of the Food and Agriculture Organisation, explained that by intensive use of land it has been possible in Taiwan to have four times as many men per unit of land for agriculture as in India. This has increased production per hectare 'Several times'." Continuing his talk Mr. Cairncross told the members present how "production of food in the underdeveloped countries had declined by 3% during the last five years. Per capita availability in the world had however remained the same, because the production of developing countries had increased." The under developed have, by importing food, wasted their foreign exchange resources which would have been better used for their needs of development.

Mr. Li Kwoh of the Republic of China said that it was a necessary condition of the

proper utilisation of human resources that education and health should be well looked after. If a nation wanted to use its human resources in a proper and full manner, it should devote more attention to the people's health and education, even at the cost of cutting down expenses of industrial development.

All these go to prove the thesis that India's planning has been unrealistic and faulty. Unfortunately nothing is being done about it excepting hand to mouth adjustments for regaining a semblance of normalcy.

### **The Proposed "Bandh"**

The United Left Front, that is a handful of political leaders who do not approve of the Congress governments of India and her States, have declared that they are arranging a general stoppage of work in West Bengal on the 6th of April. In making this declaration they have taken it for granted that their wishes are the same as the wishes of the people of West Bengal. In this assumption they have followed the same illogical process of unreason that the Congressmen follow when they act for the peoples of India and the States; for all leaders in India, of left or right denomination, just thrive by arrogating to themselves all sorts of mandatory powers which nobody really gives them. Admittedly we have our elections and some men and women are returned to the legislatures by a majority of votes; but that does not prove at all that the people are agreed upon doing this or that from time to time. When the various parties put up candidates at election time they do not declare their policy in regard to all existing problems facing the nation. About problems that might arise subsequently, their attitude would naturally be unknown. So, when matters of great importance arise, neither the leaders in power nor the opposition can work on easy assumptions about the will of the people; but **they always do**. The government's food policy and management of the affairs of the nation can always come under criticism and unless they can prove that the nation is behind them (not merely their own political

party) they should prove their point by seeking a re-election. If they do not and mass demonstrations go on and the public suffer, the government would lose prestige. Those who organise these demonstrations should also seek more precise assessment of public opinion by calling to conference the leading **non-political** members of the public in large enough numbers and by discussing with them the points of dispute. The so-called leftists have not done this and are going ahead with their preparations for a "bandh" unilaterally and ignoring public opinion. It is necessary that all political leaders of India should learn to respect public opinion. The creation of "public opinion" of a synthetic type by official propaganda or by uprorious conduct cannot justify any action of government or of the opposition.

### **Foreign Capital**

Foreigners have much wealth. The U.S.A. have an annual national income of more than 600000,000000 dollars that is about 300000 crores of rupees which is roughly 20000 times more than India's national income. The British have a national income of 30000,000000 pounds. Then there are the Germans, the Japanese, the French, the Swedes, the Dutch and the great South American States. These nations have reached their affluence by their own effort and by having their governments intelligently managed by competent persons.

### **Prime Minister's Tour**

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, made her first tour of foreign countries recently. She called on General de Gaulle, President of France, when she broke journey at Paris. M. Pompidou, the French Prime Minister, was also present at the second Conference Mrs. Gandhi had in France. On the whole this short halt created an atmosphere for more intensive collaboration between France and India in the cultural, scientific and economic spheres. Gen. de Gaulle's reactions to the discussions he had with Mrs. Gandhi were friendly and favourable. It is believed that as a result of these

discussions closer relations will develop between the two countries in commerce, industry, exchange of scientific and technical knowledge and in cultural fellowship. France had been showing an aloofness from the accepted trends of international relations and Mrs. Gandhi's visit has helped to break the ice at least in so far as Indo-French relations were concerned.

Mrs. Gandhi, after her talks in France, went on to the U.S.A. to have discussions with President Johnson. She had various matters to settle and clear up and her achievements were considerable when one takes into account the time at her disposal and the attitude of the U.S.A. since the Indo-Pakistan military clashes. President Johnson was much impressed by Mrs. Gandhi's exposition of India's case and agreed to carry out several schemes immediately. The most important and urgent thing was supply of food. President Johnson agreed to get an additional allotment of 3.5 million tons of American foodgrains to India and made an appeal to other countries to help India with foodgrains, fertilizers, shipping or funds. Over and above this bulk aid in foodgrains the U.S.A. agreed to supply to India 200,000 tons of corn, 150 million lbs., of vegetable oils, 125 million lbs. of milk powder, 325,000 to 700,000 bales of cotton and 2 to 4 million lbs. of tobacco. There were also talks about assistance in the field of agriculture and industry and financial assistance through the World Bank or other effective channels. The PL 480 Funds in India in rupees were to be drawn upon for setting up a 300 million dollar Indo-American Foundation for the advancement of learning in India. This was an expression of the interest that the U.S.A. had in the development of India on right lines. Mrs. Gandhi's address to the business men of the U.S.A., of whom 1000 attended the gathering, created sound interest in investments in India among private capitalists of that country. She assured them of equal treatment and security and they responded favourably to her assurances. Mrs. Gandhi met many groups of persons in the U.S.A. who questioned her about Kashmir and Indo-Pak relations. Mrs. Gandhi explained to

them that Pakistan's first invasion of Kashmir was an act of aggression as had been admitted by the U.N. Her failure to vacate that aggression automatically cancelled any ideas of a plebiscite. Her second invasion of Kashmir was an act of war and had no justification whatsoever. India was a secular democratic republic and no power had any right to demand or suggest a partition of India on a religious basis.

On her way back to India Mrs. Gandhi halted for some hours in the London Air Port during which period she had discussions with the British Prime Minister. Mr. Wilson, who had recently won an overwhelming victory in a general election, was much impressed by the talks he had with Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The stiffness that had crept into Indo-British relations since the Pakistani invasion of Indian territory in September 1965, was largely dissipated by these talks. Mrs. Gandhi made India's position clear, removed doubts and proved the merits of the policy she would follow remarkably well. Indo-British relations should now develop freely and without any inhibitions.

Mrs. Gandhi's next stop was at Moscow where she was received by Mr. Kosygin, Prime Minister of the U.S.S.R. The latter was informed about the activities of the Chinese and of Pakistan with particular reference to their hostile attitude towards India. The Pakistani leaders had taken full advantage of the Tashkent agreement, but had not carried out their obligations arising out of it to the fullest. Hostile action against India continued. The Chinese were aiding and abetting anti-Indian acts by Pakistan. Mr. Kosygin's reactions to all this cannot be clearly gauged at this stage. It is hoped that he would be taking up the matter with Pakistan. The relations that exist between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China are largely conjectural. One would be very rash to draw substantive conclusions from what one could verify as true. There is no such thing as sure ground in foreign relations. But what is uncertain and unknown can be avoided in the sphere of live assumptions which guide national policy.



# RASH BEHARI BOSE AS A REVOLUTIONARY

UMA MUKHERJEE

(Contd. from the previous issue)

## *Sachindra Nath Sanyal and Chandernagore Revolutionaries*

In 1913, Sachindra Nath Sanyal, the chief leader of the Benares group of revolutionaries, came from Benares to Calcutta. Although he was already acquainted with Rash Behari Bose during the latter's visits to Benares in 1912, yet he was not closely drawn to the latter until this time. During this period intimacy grew between Sachindra Nath Sanyal, the leader of the Benares Anusilan Samiti, renamed as Young Men's Association, and Rash Behari Bose, Moti Lal Roy and Srish Chandra Ghose of Chandernagore through Pratul Chandra Ganguli and Amrita Lal Hazra.<sup>26</sup> The question of organizing a revolution in India jointly by the Bengal, the Punjab and the U.P. revolutionaries was seriously discussed and assessed by them. Besides, during this period intimate personal contacts were also established between Rash Behari Bose and Jatindra Nath Mukherjee through the instrumentality of Amarendra Nath Chatterjee at the "Sramajivi Samabaya." In 1913 was held a secret meeting of these three revolutionaries under the *Panchabati* trees at Dakhineswar near Calcutta, where they discussed and devised a plan of armed rising, modelled on the Rising of 1857, with the help of the British Indian Army. After this, Rash Behari

had also been to the Fort William to sound the feelings of the local Sepoys and Havildars,<sup>27</sup> but could not make much headway in that direction. The passion for revolution had, however, seized his mind completely by this time. His contact with Jatindra Nath Mukherjee added a new impulse to his revolutionary passion. In him Rash Behari discovered a real leader of men and so he asked him to take charge of the Bengal front should such an eventuality arise in the future. Rash Behari also requested Moti Lal Roy to pay a personal visit to Pondicherry in order to obtain the blessings of Sri Aurobindo for the contemplated armed rising. In pursuance of this request Moti Lal Roy set out for Pondicherry in the guise of an Englishman with Sudarshan Chatterjee as his waiter. After three months' stay with Sri Aurobindo (Sept.-Nov. 1913) Moti Lal returned to Chandernagore with the latter's moral sanction to the cause.

## *Bengal Revolutionaries on Touring Mission*

According to plan, Pratul Chandra Ganguli of the Anusilan Samiti undertook tours in early 1914 to Benares, Ayodhya, Lucknow, Cawnpore and Agra, while Rash Behari himself visited Benares, Delhi and Lahore with the object of mobilising the scattered forces into a revolutionary upsurge. According to Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, Jatindra Nath also accompanied Rash Behari to Benares to forge personal contacts with the Benares group of revolutionaries then led by Sachindra Nath Sanyal. But Rash Behari's work

26. Vide Pratul Chandra Ganguli's *Viplavir Jiban-Darshan (Prabasi, Chaitra, 1368 B.S)*. His claim that he introduced Rash Behari Bose to Sachindra Nath Sanyal in 1913 does not fit in with facts. From the Intelligence Branch Report on Benares as a Centre of Revolutionary Activity, prepared by Denham in June 1915, we come to learn that during his visits to Benares in 1912 Rash Behari had had secret talks with the Benares revolutionaries then led by Sachindra Nath Sanyal. Both Nalini Mohan Mukherjee and Biseswar Goswami have informed the present writer independently that they met Rash Behari for the first time in Benares as early as 1912.

27. Vide the letters of Amarendra Nath Chatterjee dated 4. 8. 54 and 4. 9. 54 incorporated in Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee's Bengali work *Viplavi Jiboner Smriti* as well as the former's unpublished Bengali MSS on "Bharater Swadhinatar Itihas" lying at present in the custody of his family at Uttarpara (p. 34).



in that sector was cut short by the Delhi searches of February 1914, resulting in the arrest of Amir Chand, Abad Behari and a few others as well as in the issue of a warrant for his own arrest (February 20, 1914). Immediately after this Rash Behari fled to Chandernagore a French colony, to escape arrest. During this period a constant companion to Rash Behari was Srish Chandra Ghose who tried his utmost to protect his revolutionary comrade from all possible peril. The room of his house in which Rash Behari put up at this time was constantly kept under lock and key from outside, and Rash Behari had to perform his daily ablutions under cover of darkness. Food was also supplied to him with the utmost secrecy. On March 8, 1914 his house was suddenly searched by the Calcutta police headed by Mr. Denham and Mr. Tegart, but in spite of their best efforts no trace of Rash Behari could be obtained although Rash Behari was not then far away from his dwelling house. About this police raid the Weekly Report of the Bengal Intelligence Branch dated July 29, 1914 states that "he (Rash Behari) was present at home on the night his house was searched at Chandernagore, and actually watched the search from behind a mango tree in his garden close by". This report finds corroboration also in Bejon Behari Bose's articles on "Nirav Viplavi Srish Chandra" as published in monthly *Pravartak* during 1958-1959. There the writer observes that Srish Chandra Ghose who could somehow anticipate the coming danger, managed to keep Rash Behari in hiding in the vicinity of his house at midnight, and as soon as the police had left the premises, the much-wanted man appeared on the scene. The same source also relates that following this police raid Srish Chandra arranged for Rash Behari's stay at Hatkhola for some time under the care of Narendra Nath Banerjee.

#### *Rash Behari's Letter to his Father*

Meanwhile the political situation of the country was rapidly taking a critical turn, and Rash Behari's stay at Chandernagore was also coming to an abrupt end. He preferred the perils of adventure to his safety in hiding for an indefinite length of time. His passion for revolution soon led him to undertake once again organizing work in Northern India. Before he

went underground with the warrant of arrest dogging his footsteps and a Punjab Government announcement of a reward of Rs. 5,000 (later enhanced to Rs. 12,000 or more) for his detection, he posted a touching letter from Calcutta to his father at Simla (early April, 1914) which, in part, reads as follows :

"After crores of salutations, my submission is that you have surely heard by this time that I am now entangled in a net of dangers of the most terrible nature. Though God knows that I am wholly innocent, yet through the influence of my stars, I am today in the eyes of all, an accused in the Delhi case. This is perhaps my last letter. But I trust you will never look upon me as faithless and guilty. I say in the name of God that I am wholly innocent. Be that as it may, everything is happening through the influence of stars and I too am being drifted along in their revolutions. What can I do? Man can never alter fate. Besides, when the most mighty Government is my antagonist, it will be extremely difficult (for me) to obtain justice in the Court. However, whatever is decreed by fate, will come to happen. I had been dreaming of how you might get happiness at the end of your life, when the terrible bolt from heaven fell. Don't waste money for nothing by engaging pleader for me, for it is almost an impossibility to fight against the Government . . . I resign everything into the hands of God; do pray to Him for my welfare."<sup>28</sup>

#### *Rash Behari's New Headquarters at Benares*

Since the issue of a warrant for his arrest in February 1914, Rash Behari Bose began to carry on his revolutionary activities from behind the scenes. After spending a few weeks at Chandernagore in concealment, he finally left Bengal and made his new headquarters at

28. The Intelligence Branch Records of the Government of West Bengal preserve to this day the official English translation of the aforesaid letter of Rash Behari (originally written in Bengali) to his father bearing the Calcutta postmark reaching his father at Simla on April 9, 1914.

Benares. At Benares he worked as an underground revolutionary from April 1914 to January 1915. During this period he put up for a few months in the house of a retired health officer at Missir Pokhra. At day time he did not generally stir out of doors and would come out only after dusk to meet his comrades either at the *ghats* of the Ganges or on the river bed. The skill and ingenuity with which he kept himself concealed at this period from the gaze of the police, surprised even his enemies. The special Commissioners appointed in the Benares Conspiracy Case observed in this connection :

“It is a remarkable fact that Rash Behari, though a reward was offered for his arrest and his photograph had been widely circulated, should have succeeded in living in Benares during nearly the whole of the year 1914 without the police being aware of his presence”<sup>29</sup>

At Benares Rash Behari gave a new momentum to the revolutionary forces and “practically took charge of the movement” with Sachindra Nath Sanyal as his chief lieutenant. The main plank of his operation was to organize an armed rising by the Bengal, the Punjab and the U.P. revolutionaries acting in unison with the British Indian army. Among the persons who used to frequent the Missir Pokhra residence of Rash Behari we come across Sachindra Nath Sanyal, Nalini Mohan Mukherjee, Narendra Nath Banerji, Preo Nath Bhattacharya, Bibhuti Bhusan Halder, Ashutosh Roy, Manmatha Biswas etc. To these persons Rash Behari often explained the mechanism of bombs and revolvers as well as the technique to operate them. The bombs were of the Chandernagore type whose cap remained detached from the main body of the bomb and only at the time of throwing it the cap was attached to cause percussion. On November 18, 1914, while Rash Behari was examining some bombs recently brought from Calcutta, two bomb caps suddenly exploded producing an alarming sound and causing

severe injuries to Rash Behari's person. Sachindra Nath Sanyal also was slightly injured.

#### *Pingley's Contact with Rash Behari*

Immediately after this accident Rash Behari changed his residence from Missir Pokhra to Bangalitolā in Benares and thence to a house on the Harish Chandra Ghat Road<sup>30</sup>. While living at Bangalitolā, he was visited by V.G. Pingley, a Marathi youngman of Telegaon of the Poona district. After the break-up of the Samarthā Vidyalaya of which he was a student<sup>31</sup>, Pingley had been to America in 1911 to join the University at Seattle ; but, within a short time he was caught in the whirlwind of *Ghadar* politics in America, and returned home as a confirmed Ghadarite on November 20, 1914. Through the instrumentality of Satyen Sen, his companion, a nephew of Bejoy Krishna Roy of Jatindra Nath Mukherjee's party, Pingley soon came into touch with Jatin Mukherjee and with a letter of introduction from the latter met Rash Behari at Benares. Pingley informed Rash Behari of the arrival of thousands of *Ghadar* men in the Punjab with the avowed object of consummating a revolution in India and of the prospective arrival of a few more thousands after the movement was set on foot.

A veteran organizer of conspiracy, Rash Behari sent Pingley accompanied by Sachindra

30 In Bengalitolā Rash Behari had frequently to change his residence, from Madanpura to Debnathpura, from Debnathpura to Khalispura etc. just to escape the notice of the police. It is also to be noted that during his periodic change of residence he used to put on masked attire, Rash Behari in the dress of a Punjabi or a Pathan was a very common feature.

29. Vide the Judgment in the Benares Conspiracy Case, dated 14.2.1916; as reported in the *Statesman* on the following date.

31. For a brief idea of the Samarthā Vidyalaya and its connection with the National Council of Education, Bengal; see the book entitled *The Origins of the National Education Movement* (Calcutta, 1957; p. 130) written by the present writer jointly with H. Mukherjee.

Nath Sanyal to the Punjab to gather first-hand information of the Punjab situation. It is to be observed in this connection that in October, 1914 several thousands of Sikhs of the *Ghadar* party had actually arrived in the Punjab with the mission of organizing a revolution in India. These men included Nawab Khan, Mula Singh, Nidhon Singh, Udham Singh and many others. In course of November-December, 1914 a few "actions" were planned and even attempted by these men, but all proved abortive. The two major limitations from which the exclusive *Ghadar* conspiracy in India suffered were that it lacked in leadership capable of unifying the small bands of conspirators acting under minor leaders (such as Nidhon Singh or Mula Singh or Nawab Khan) into an organised revolutionary party, and, secondly, it lacked arms and ammunition. These *Ghadar* men hardly knew the technique of bomb manufacture and the revolvers in their possession were also too inadequate for the purpose.

### *Pingley in Punjab*

A natural result of these abortive attempts was a temporary lull in the *Ghadar* activities. For a time they seemed to be groping in the dark, knowing not which way to move. At this psychological moment the despatch of Pingley by Rash Behari to the Punjab appeared as a veritable god-send. Pingley met Amar Singh, Nidhon Singh, Kartar Singh, Parmanand and Ram Saran Das in Kapurthala and held out to them the possibility of co-operation of the Bengal revolutionaries with their cause. Shortly after this an important meeting was held at the Virpali Dharmasala, Amritsar (December 31, 1914) and attended by Kartar Singh, Parmanand, Harnam Singh, I. Pingley; Nidhon Singh; Balwant Singh, Mula Singh and others. From judicial records we learn that at this meeting "the revolution was discussed, the looting of treasuries again mooted, the contribution of money considered, the seduction of troops, the collection of arms, the preparation of bombs, and the commission of dacoities brought into prominence." "Part of the gathering," the judicial records state further, "adjourned to Sant Gulab Singh's Dharmasala, where an experimental bomb was made and tried with success, and the

proposal originally made by Pingley to bring up a Bengali expert adopted"<sup>32</sup>.

Sachindra Nath Sanyal also met a number of *Ghadar* revolutionists in the Punjab and discussed with them the prospects of bomb-making under the direction of a Bengali leader, viz., Rash Behari Bose. Not merely a resolution to the effect was adopted at the Amritsar meeting, but some positive steps in that direction were also taken. Mula Singh, the local leader of Amritsar, offered to Sachindra Nath Rupees Five Hundred (January 12, 1915) as travel expenses of Rash Behari and his party from Benares, and a house was also secured from Mussamat Atri in Amritsar for the purpose. Emissaries were also sent to Lahore and Jhabawal for the collection of materials for bomb manufacture<sup>33</sup>.

On the return of Pingley and Sachindra Nath Sanyal to Benares a fruitful meeting was held in Rash Behari's house on the Harish Chandra Ghat Road about the middle of January, 1915. At this meeting Rash Behari exhorted his followers to get ready for the February rising and declared before them that "a rebellion was to take place all over the country and that the time had come when they must prepare to die for their country"<sup>34</sup>. Rash Behari chalked out a plan of work at that meeting and announced that Damodar Swarup would be the leader at Allahabad. Bibhuti and Preo Nath would go to the Benares lines to seduce the troops, and Nalini Mukherji would go to Jabbalpore for the same purpose. Narendra Nath Banerjee and Preo Nath Bhattacharya were to bring arms from Bengal while Vinayak Rao Kaple and Hem Chandra Datta would convey them to the Punjab. From the Punjab, it was also arranged, Vinayak would come to Cawnpore to assume the local

32. Vide the Judgment in the Lahore Conspiracy Case as delivered by A. A. Irvine, President, and T. P. Ellis and Sheo Narain, Special Commissioners, on September 13; 1915.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Vide the Judgment in the Benares Conspiracy Case as reported in the *Statesman* on February 15, 1916.

charge of the affair, Pingley would see the Indian troops everywhere, and the Punjabi revolutionists would be working at Ferozapore. Kalipada Mukherjee and Ananda Charan Bhattacharya were to be kept as reserves in Benares. Rash Behari explained further at the meeting "how to blow up bridges, how to cut telegraph wires, how to destroy railway lines, and how to loot treasuries and banks". Besides Rash Behari informed his comrades that he himself was going to the Punjab with Sachindra Nath Sanyal and Pingley to organize the revolution, of which the exact date would be later announced after his consultation with the *Chadar* men.

The aforesaid meeting at Rash Behari's house was attended by Sachindra Nath Sanyal, Damodar Swarup Seth, V. G. Pingley, Narendra Nath Banerjee, Vinayak Rao Kaple, Jamna Das and Bibhuti Bhusan Haldar. It is also to be noted that in response to Rash Behari's invitation Jatindra Nath Mukherji in company of Narendra Nath Bhattacharya (alias M. N. Roy) also came to Benares to meet him. Rash Behari left instruction to Jatindra Nath to take the command of the Bengal affairs<sup>35</sup> and went to Amritsar to assume the direction of affairs with Mula Singh as his right hand man<sup>36</sup>.

#### *Attempted Revolution by Rash Behari*

By the middle of January, 1915 Rash Behari arrived in Amritsar and put up at Mussamat Atri's house in Chauk Baba Atal, maintaining strict secrecy and receiving revolutionary workers

35. Vide the writer's interview with Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee at Ranchi in September, 1965. Dr. Mukherjee reports that he got this piece of information directly from Narendra Nath Bhattacharya. Incidentally it may be observed that Jatindra Nath Mukherjee's bid for raising "Rupees one lakh in a week" in February, 1915 had significant connection with the expected armed rising of February 1915, and with the Garden Reach and the Beliaghata dacoities committed on February 12 and 22, 1915 respectively.

36. Vide the Judgment in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, dated 13.9.1915.

at the Sant Gulab Singh's Dharmasala. No sooner had he come to Amritsar than he plunged himself into the preparatory work including bomb manufacture and employed Amar Singh and Ram Saran Das as his assistants. He also sent emissaries to Benares who "returned bringing a biscuit tin with bombs in it." Besides, a bomb factory was set up at Jhabewal, which was afterwards transferred to Lohatbadi. At this stage several political dacoities were committed at Jhanir, Rabhon, Sahnewal and Mansuran, and as a sequel of the Chabba dacoity (February 2-3, 1915) in which the dacoits had to encounter police resistance Rash Behari at once shifted his headquarters from Amritsar to Lahore on February 2, 1915. At Lahore Rash Behari's major pre-occupation was to devise ways and means for the seduction of troops, and to send emissaries to Jullundhar, Bannu, Kohat, Rawalpindi, Peshwar, Jhelum, Kapurthala, Ferozepore, Meerut, Ambala; etc.; in order to influence both the infantry and the cavalry men. After having obtained the information of their ready response Rash Behari announced on February 12 that the general rising from Peshwar to Bengal would take place on February 21 and a tri-coloured flag—yellow (Sikh), red (Hindu) and blue (Muslim)—would be hoisted on that date. Intimation was sent to different cantonments and every possible arrangement was perfected for the armed rising. As the *Sedition Committee Report* of 1918 puts it: Rash Behari went to Lahore and "sent out emissaries to various cantonments in Upper India to procure military aid for the appointed day. He also tried to organize the villagers to take part in the rebellion. Bombs were prepared; arms were got together; flags were made

37. It is to be noted that the said declaration of war was entitled 'Yuddha Ghosana' written in Hindi. It was drafted under Rash Behari's instructions by one of his followers, and after its correction by Rash Behari, hundreds of copies of the same were made on the duplicator. As to the flags referred to above, Sir Michael O' Dwyer writes in his *India As I knew It* that four rebel flags were captured by the police raid on Lahore on February 19, 1915, one of which Sir Michael claimed and held as a souvenir (p. 202).

ready ; a declaration of war was drawn up ; instruments were collected for destroying railways and telegraphs wires. In the meantime, however, in order to raise funds for the financing of the enterprise, some Punjab revolutionaries had committed various dacoities."<sup>37</sup> It was also arranged that an outbreak in Mian Mir would serve as the signal, and it appears that simultaneous risings were designed at Lahore, Ferozepore and Rawalpindi, spreading to Jabbalpur, Benares and other places in quick succession. The *Sedition Committee Report* further states that "at least two or three revolutionaries in Eastern Bengal were on the 8th of February aware of what was in contemplation, and were arranging for a rising at Dacca if the Sikh revolt materialised." But unfortunately, the rising did not take place, as the signal for the outbreak was never struck due to the treachery of a man, Kirpal Singh, who allowed himself to be used as a spy by the police. His suspicious movements near the Lahore station on February 15 at a time when he was expected to be in Mian Mir to convey Rash Behari's message to the troops, caused serious misgivings in the mind of some revolutionaries who happened to see him. Gifted with a rare sense of realism and insight, Rash Behari at once changed the date for the contemplated rising from February 21 to February 19, and hurriedly took all necessary steps in that direction. But, again, the whole programme fell through as the police in liaison with Kirpal Singh succeeded in raiding the Mochi Gate House of Rash Behari at Lahore on the 19th and putting several persons under arrest. Thus the whole conspiracy collapsed, but Rash Behari and Pingley managed to escape to Benares.<sup>38</sup>

38. It is interesting to read what the Judgment in the Lahore Conspiracy Case said about the collapse of the movement : "On the 15th February, when there was a large meeting in Lahore he (Kirpal Singh) had wired to Liaquat Hyat Khan to come up from Amritsar to arrest the gathering. The wire was delayed and the police arriving late at Lahore were met by Kirpal Singh at the station, and he told them it was too late." Meanwhile his secret manipulation was seen through and the contemplated rising was ante-dated the 19th. Then the judgment continued :

*The Sedition Committee Report* evaluates the whole thing in the following words :

"The success attained was extremely small, but the seed sown must have caused some tragedies had not the plan for a concerted rising on the 21st of February been nipped in the bud" (p. 110).

#### *Failure of the Pingley Mission at Meerut*

Undaunted by reverses, Rash Behari on his return to Benares began to work feverishly for an armed rising in India in the near future. He began to mix with the Sepoys of the 7th Rajputs and sent Pingley to Meerut to feel the pulse of the troops there. Meerut was a familiar place for Pingley where he had worked in the early part of February among the 128th Pioneers and the 12th Cavalry, in company with Kartar Singh and Sucha Singh. About March 20, 1915 Pingley returned to Benares with Nadir Khan, an Afghan Jamadar of the 12th Cavalry, and brought to Meerut ten live bombs concealed in a steel trunk. Mr. Cleveland, the Director of the Criminal Intelligence of the Government of India, writes in his *Note* on Meerut Bomb Affair that the Afghan who accompanied Pingley to Benares was taken to a house blindfolded in the dark and was introduced to a Bengali leader who, on cross-examining him and on being satisfied that he was a genuine mutineer with large following behind, "ordered that the bombs should be given and also told him various things about the plans of

"Kirpal Singh found this out on his return from Dadhir and told the Amritsar police who were in Lahore waiting for a raid on the morning of the 19th.

"He remained in the Mochi Gate house throughout the 19th waiting for the leaders to assemble before giving a signal to the Police, but by the afternoon, though the principal leaders had not collected, having reason to believe those present intended to murder him he gave a pre-arranged signal to the police. The house was raided, some of the revolutionists captured, and the centre of organization was broken. Rash Behari Bose appears to have fled, others of the revolutionists disappeared, others from time to time have been arrested."

the revolutionaries. Among other things he said that he had made 300 bombs for the 12th Cavalry .... He also explained to the sower the method of using the phosphorus solution to make slow fuses for the bombs."<sup>39</sup>

According to Mr. Cleveland this Bengali leader was no other than Rash Behari Bose himself. But as ill luck would have it, Rash Behari's scheme again fell through due to the treachery of the Afghan Jamadar who had met him at Benares. On the night of March 23 the Officer commanding the 12th Cavalry on being previously informed, suddenly raided one of the sower's quarters in his lines where he found Pingley displaying 10 picric acid bombs, 10 glass phials and a written formula for bomb making. Pingley was at once put under arrest and subsequently hanged on a charge of treason. Colonel Muspratt Williams, the Chief Inspector of Explosives to the Government of India, described these bombs as of the Delhi pattern and "of a highly dangerous character."<sup>40</sup> In Mr. Cleveland's view the "Meerut programme was a mere item in the big scheme of the combined Ghadar and Bengali party." He further states: "I believe that at the present moment the Ghadar party in the Punjab is disorganised and beaten. The revolutionary party in Bengal is on the other hand well-organised and flushed by success. Rash Behari who has been so active in behaving towards the Punjabis as the Germans have done towards the Turks has hitherto brought upon his dupes far more trouble than success and has also risked a disclosure of a part of the Bengali organisation in his efforts to amalgamate it with the Punjab schemes. Judging however from our experience of Rash Behari in the past it is probable that he may be quite undiscourag-

ed by the failures and risks incurred and will forthwith seek out new centres and fresh and fresh partisans." Mr. Cleveland whose animosity to the revolutionaries was so pronounced, was, however; shrewd enough to observe the distinction that was noticeable at that time between the Punjabi and the Bengali revolutionaries. According to him, the Bengali revolutionaries were made up of sterner stuff. "The Sikhs and Mahomedans of the *Ghadar* party", he observed; "are so prone to be ostentatious and to make statements when arrested that their Bengali allies will possibly feel nervous before long of trusting them very far. A most urgent requirement is the discovery and destruction of the nest at Benares".<sup>41</sup>

#### *Rash Behari's Rethinking on Indian Revolution*

The tragic end the attempted risings met with successively at Lahore and Meerut carried important lessons for Rash Behari who now became convinced of the futility of the method he had hitherto pursued for an armed Indian rising with the help of the Indian army serving under the British. The supreme importance of foreign assistance, both military and financial, forced itself upon his mind at this stage. He began to think of undertaking a tour abroad for his mission. Once, in the year 1914, after the warrant for his arrest had been issued, Srish Chandra Ghose and other Chandernagore friends of Rash Behari urged him to flee from India to escape arrest, and even a ticket for that purpose was purchased. But as Rash Behari felt that his work in India had not yet been done, he tore the ticket into pieces. This time, however, graver circumstances counselled him to flee from the country. Rash Behari himself has narrated in his *Atmakatha* (Autobiographical Study) the great truth that the revolutionary parties in India were not lacking either in man-power or in "disciplined organization," but sadly lacking in arms and ammunitions on account of which they had to tread the dangerous path of contact-

39. Vide the *Note* of Mr. Cleveland, the Director of Criminal Intelligence, Delhi, dated 25.3.1915, as found in the I. B. Records of the Government of West Bengal. Also see the Judgment in the Lahore Conspiracy Case.

40. It has been learnt by the present writer from Sri Manindra Nath Naik of Chandernagore that the ten Meerut bombs were manufactured at Chandernagore and thence brought to Benares by Manmatha Nath Biswas.

41. Vide Mr. Cleveland's second and third *Notes* on Meerut Bomb Affair, dated 31.2.1915 and 14.4.1915.

ing the British Indian army. Had there been sufficient arms in the hands of the revolutionaries, so argued Rash Behari, a revolution could have been effected in India by the civilians alone, notwithstanding the arrest of a few persons here and there. Hence he decided that the country should first be honey-combed with "small arms" before a second attempt could be successfully undertaken. Another factor that handicapped the revolutionaries was, in Rash Behari's view, the lack of funds. Money secured by means of political dacoities or received as gifts from a few monied men was found to be too inadequate for big work. He now clearly perceived, as Cavour did a century ago in Italy, that a subject people could not secure their independence without international assistance.<sup>42</sup>

#### *Rash Behari's Flight from India*

The news of the arrest of Pingley at Meerut (March 23, 1915) and of Srish Chandra Ghose at Howrah, (about this time) dealt a severe blow to Rash Behari's mind. The shock seemed unbearable for a time, and profoundly disturbed in mind, he left for Chandernagore along with Nalini Mohan Mukherji. From his house at Tripurabhairavi Brahmapuri in Benares Rash Behari and Nalini Mohan started for Bengal. They were received by Pasupati (*alias* Jyotish Sinha) at the Mogra station; who escorted them to Chandernagore. Rash Behari passed a few days in that French colony in absolute secrecy and firmly decided in consultation with Moti Lal Roy to leave for Japan. It was further decided that he would travel in the name of P. N. Tagore, posing as a relative of Rabindra Nath Tagore whose journey to Japan was scheduled for the near future, in order to create a general impression in interested circles that P. N. Tagore was preceding Rabindra Nath only to make necessary arrangements for the poet's reception in that foreign land. During this period of his Chandernagore

stay, Rash Behari lived like a "Bhattachaj Brahmin" with a big sacred thread on and a long *tikki*. Meanwhile, while his preparations for Japan tour were under progress, he spent the interim period of over a month at Nabadwip along with a Marathi young man. Through Sri Trailokya Nath Chakravarty (Maharaj), then an absconder of the Barisal Conspiracy Case and living at Nabadwip, Rash Behari got into close touch with Girija Babu (alias Nagendra Nath Dutta), a veteran leader of the Anusilan Samiti. It is Girija Babu who secured money for Rash Behari's travel, and a ticket was purchased. A few days before his steamship *Sonuki Maru* would leave the Calcutta port, Rash Behari came to Calcutta *via* Chandernagore. He met some of his associates, viz., Sachindra, Damodar, Bibhuti, Pasupati etc. in a house on the Dharamtalla Street, exhorting them to vigorously continue the organizational work under the guidance of Sachindra Nath Sanyal and Girija Babu during his absence.<sup>43</sup> On May 12, 1915 Rash Behari departed from India. He reached Japan on June 5 and after some initial difficulties settled down to work for the supreme cause of India's liberation.

#### *The Early Years of Rash Behari in Japan*

The failure of the *Maverick* and Henry S plot (March-July, 1915) to smuggle big cargo of arms into India to help the Indian revolutionaries had in the meantime convinced the German Consulates in the Far East of the enormous risks involved in the large shipment of arms to India. But the idea of smuggling small stocks of arms through overland routes—through Siam and Burma,—was not ruled out altogether. A major pre-occupation of Rash Behari in Japan was to keep constant contact with the German Consulate at Shanghai which favoured the smuggling of small stocks of arms to India with the help of some German agents. One A. Neilson was very active in this matter. He used to collect arms

42. Vide *Rash Beharir Atmakatha* as published in the *Pravartak* monthly for Jaistha, 1331 B.S.

43. Vide the Judgment in the Benares Conspiracy Case reported in the *Statesman* dated 15.2.1916. Also see *Rash Beharir Atmakatha* in the *Asar*, 1331 B.S. issue of the monthly *Pravartak*.

and purchase chemicals for making explosives, and four houses occupied by Neilson in Shanghai were traced by the Municipal Police, Shanghai, at 108 Chaotung Road in the International Settlement, 32 Yangtsepoo Road, another in Siccawei Road and a fourth one in Antung Road, Chapei District, and were found to have contained arms and explosives.<sup>44</sup>

In Japan Rash Behari came into contact with Bhagwan Singh, a seasoned revolutionary, and went to Shanghai to devise ways and means to smuggle arms to India. In Shanghai he put up at Neilson's Yangtsepoo Road house and in liaison with Neilson engaged two Chinese to carry arms to Bengal and hand them over to Amarendra Nath Chatterji<sup>45</sup>. The Intelligence Branch Records of the Government of West Bengal show that on October 16, 1915 the Shanghai Municipal Police happened to arrest two Chinese suspects and "found in their possession 129 pistols and 12,000 rounds of ammunition, which the suspects declared had been made over to them by a local German firm to be packed and sent to Calcutta". It is further revealed by the Intelligence Branch Records that the said persons were to deliver the smuggled good to two persons in Calcutta viz., Amarendra Nath Chatterji of the "Sramajibi Samabaya" and Manmohon Bhattacharya of the Hindusthan Co-operative Bank<sup>46</sup>. This fact is also referred to by the *Sedition Committee Report* (p. 85) which mentions that the two Chinese in possession of 129 automatic pistols and 20,830 rounds of ammunition "concealed in the centre of bundles of planks" were arrested at Shanghai in

October, 1915. Besides, Rash Behari arranged for the despatch of a messenger to India to communicate that closely guarded secret to his friends and colleagues. Abani Nath Mukherjee who had then been living in Japan was selected by Bhagwan Singh for the mission and was sent to Rash Behari at Shanghai. Abani Nath was fully instructed by Rash Behari as to his assigned role in India, and was also supplied with a list of names which were noted down in his diary, but, unfortunately, in course of his Indiaward journey he was arrested at Singapore in September, 1915<sup>47</sup>.

On his return from Shanghai an important work of Rash Behari was the organization of a meeting in a Tokyo hotel at Ueno Park (November 27, 1915) in collaboration with Heramba Lal Gupta, Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Syumei Ohkawa and attended by many Japanese gentlemen. On that occasion the Japanese national flag was unfurled and their national anthem sung. The fiery speeches delivered at the meeting, particularly by Lajpat Rai condemning the British policy in India, enraged the British ambassador in Japan so much as to bring British pressure on the Japanese Government then bound as allies by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902-21). Under pressure from Britain, an Extradition Warrant against Rash Behari Bose was soon issued by the Government of Japan. As soon as the news reached his ears, he went into concealment in a baker's workshop in Tokyo with the help of the old Samurai leader Mr. M. Toyama. The baker referred to was no other than Mr. Aizo Soma who later gave his daughter in marriage to Rash Behari mainly for political reasons. Although the Extradition Warrant was withdrawn after about four months (April, 1916), yet Rash Behari remained hemmed in with dangers from the British Embassy in Japan, necessitating his change of residence as many as seventeen times during the eight years following (1916-23). At every turn he stood in danger of either being kidnapped or

44. Vide letters by J. W. Seigne, Captain, R.M.L.I. to the Commander-in-Chief, H. M. Ships and Vessels, China, dated Shanghai, March 6 and March 16, 1916.

45. Vide Home Political Proceedings of the Government of India, Nov. 1916; No. 44—Deposit, for the statement of Abani Nath Mukherjee.

46. Vide the letter of Mr. Cleveland, the Director of Criminal Intelligence, Delhi; to the Police Commissioner, Bengal; dated Simla; the 21st October; 1915.

47. Vide the Statement of Abani Nath Mukherjee already referred to.



killed by the British agency<sup>48</sup>. So, he had to maintain strictest secrecy about his whereabouts during this period. But then it was not a period of his complete isolation from the currents in world politics. Even during this period of concealment his plotting activities continued. Mr. D. Petrie who was deputed in 1916 as Intelligence Officer of the Government of India in the Far East, wrote a very interesting and important report on the Indian revolutionary activities in the Far East in 1917. Regarding Rash Behari Bose, the Petrie Report says :

"Indeed, the only person of real importance who appears to be left is Rash Behari Bose *alias* P. N. Thakur, who, however, is living under aegis of the Japanese Government, and who, by reason of the secrecy maintained as to his existence and the restrictions imposed upon his freedom of movement, may be almost regarded as no longer borne on the 'active list'. It is not, of course, implied that Bose is inactive, but the conditions imposed by his very method of existence are bound to detract greatly from his usefulness to the party". The Report then continues : "Towards the latter part of July Bose disappeared completely from Tokyo, where his place of refuge had become known to the British authorities. Almost at the close of December 1917 Mr. Davidson, His Majesty's Vice-Consul at Yokohama was able, after an exhaustive and most skilfully conducted inquiry, to rediscover him at Okitsu, a village in the vicinity of Katsura, a town on the East coast. Bose, after his discovery, almost immediately left for Tokyo, where he is believed to be concealed in the compound of the house of the Lord High Chamberlain to the Emperor, although it is possible that it is merely some retainer of this high official who is harbouring Bose without his master's knowledge".

About Rash Behari Bose's underground activities in Japan the Petrie Report goes on to state further :

"Intercepted letters to Bose show conclusively that he is still in close touch with the

heads of the conspiracy in America such as Narendra Bhattacharji and Ram Chand and that he is still devoting himself to revolutionary work, so far as the disabilities imposed by his position will permit". It is further revealed that Rash Behari was also in touch with Mr. Tarak Nath Das while the latter was in Japan for four months in 1917. Tarak Nath Das looked up to Rash Behari, in the words of Mr. Petrie, "as some one greater than himself". Both are said "to have evolved a scheme for the sinking of ships by means of explosives to be placed on board". But the scheme did not proceed far beyond the discussion stage<sup>49</sup>. The seizure by the police of a holograph writing from Rash Behari Bose in course of the searches of Tarak Nath Das's room at 44, Portola Street in connection with the famous San Francisco trial of 1917-18 offers another proof of the closeness of intimacy between these two Indian revolutionaries.

It is worthwhile to notice that Rash Behari in close collaboration with Lala Lajpat Rai, Shiba Prasad Gupta and Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar was also responsible during this period for the publication of *Asian Review* from Tokyo calculated to promote a new Asian consciousness among the Indian patriots and publicists. Prof. Benoy Sarkar has informed me that the word 'Asian' in stead of 'Asiatic' was deliberately chosen in the naming of the journal with a view to enhancing the dignity and equality of Indians with the other races of Europe and America.

Finally, it needs be noted that the period of factual concealment for Rash Behari did not terminate until the year 1923 when he came to acquire Japanese citizenship. Being happy over this priceless acquisition, Rash Behari wrote from Japan to Srish Chandra Chose : "You will perhaps be glad to know that I have got myself naturalised here. This will enable me to travel in any part of the world except the British possessions." From that time he appeared on the public scene in the politics of Japan and began to work and organize with his new base at Tokyo

48. Vide J. G. Ohsawa's *The Two Great Indians in Japan* (Calcutta, 1954; pp. 10-18).

49. Vide the Report of Mr. D. Petrie; dated Shanghai; January 10; 1918 in the I. B. Records, Government of West Bengal.

the forces for his mother country's liberation from thralldom. In 1924, he organized the Indian Independence League, and, in 1942, the Indian National Army or the historic I.N.A. in the midst of the convulsion produced by the World War II. He found in Subhas Chandra Bose, then a political exile in Japan, his worthy comrade-in-arms, and joyfully made over to him the supreme honour of the Presidentship of the Indian Independence League with these memorable words :

"Friends and Comrades in Arms ! In your

presence today I resign my office and appoint Deshsevak Subhas Chandra Bose, as President of the Indian Independence League . . . India's best is represented in him" (July 4, 1943).<sup>50</sup>

50. Many important documents relating to Rash Behari Bose's revolutionary activities outside India have been collected in a recent publication entitled "Rash Behari Basu : His struggle for India's Independence" (Calcutta, 1963).

### Moslem Ladies Against Polygamy

"The last session of the Moslem Ladies' Conference held at Aligarh, declared itself against polygamy. This was only to be expected. By whatsoever arguments the male sex and some scriptures composed by or revealed to the male sex may support or extenuate polygamy, it is against human nature for any woman to agree to share her husband's love and company with a co-wife or co-wives. The evils of polygamy are well known. It may have been in some cases the old world method of protecting and providing for the surplus female population. But humanity is sufficiently advanced now-a-days to be able to devise other methods, where necessary, which would not degrade womanhood and further sensualise the male sex."

—Ramananda Chatterjee

The Modern Review for February, 1924

## VAISHNAVISM IN CHOTA NAGPUR

P. C. ROY CHOWDHURY

THE Mundas of Chotanagpur and particularly those in the areas of Bundu and Tamar thanas of the district of Ranchi had been imbued with Aryan culture since a very long past. This area is a part of *Panch Pargana* and adjoins the district of Purulia in Bengal. The language, customs and manners of the Mundas in this area definitely show the influence of Hinduism although the Mundas have continued in their indigenous beliefs and customs. It has to be remembered that in this area Jainism had once flourished. The adjoining district of Purulia is still full of Jain relics and there is a series of Jain temples and idols practically throughout the districts of Purulia. At Tarai village in Tamar thana in Ranchi district there is a very old temple of Jains recently reconstructed. It is commonly believed that this temple is about two thousand years old. There is a class of people in this area who call themselves Saraks and follow strict principles of vegetarianism. The Saraks are said to be the remnants of the Jain Sravaka community. In the 16th century A.D. Shri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu had passed through this area spreading the cult of Vaishnavism. *Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita* an authoritative book describes Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu's journey through 'Jharkhand' or '*Rarh Desh*' and this part of Bundu and Tamar is a portion of this Jharkhand of *Rarh Desh*. It is said that Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu received a very rough handling in the hands of the indigenous population who even belaboured him but he stuck to the area for a considerable time preaching and singing *kirtans* or devotional songs. He passed this area and went to Jagannath or Puri.

*Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita* also mentions that through Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu's efforts the people of Jharkhand were converted to the cult of *Bhakti* and *Prém*. It could be presumed that Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu had passed through Chotanagpur in 1516 A.D. The route appears to be from Puri to Angul, Sambalpur, Jharsuguda and then through Singhbhum, Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Sasaram, Varanasi and then to Brindaban. There is also a reference that Sri Chaitanya avoided the

highway and preferred '*Upa-path*' meaning untrodden jungle way. The idea appears to be deliberate and was to convert the inhabitants of the jungle areas.

There is a spring at village Rani Chua, about a mile from Bundu, 27 miles south-east of Ranchi, where Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu was supposed to have halted for a bath. The village has a very old temple dedicated to Lord Krishna and Radha. There are hundreds of *Kanthidhari* families in Bundu and Tamar area. There is a strong *Bhagat* community who are *Vaishnavites*. The temple of Jagannath at Jagannathpur near Ranchi, the Jagannath temple at Seraikella in Singhbhum district and a large number of other Radha-Krishna temples scattered throughout Ranchi district show the strong impact of Vaishnavism. *Kirtans* are popular not only in Bundu and Tamar area but almost throughout Ranchi district. It may be mentioned that *Khol*, a musical instrument commonly used in *kirtans* or devotional songs or Vaishnava devotional songs is reverentially called *Srikhol* in Bundu and Tamar area.

The cult of Vaishnavism which was preached by Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu has still lingered in Bundu, Tamar and other parts of Ranchi district. Orissa and this part of Chotanagpur were closely connected through the pilgrims passing to and fro Jagannath or Puri. Later the ruling chiefs of Tamar had become feudatories to the kings of Orissa. In consequence there was a close intermingling of the Vaishnavite Oriyas and the Mundas.

Judged from this background it is not surprising that there should be Mundari songs current in Tamar and Bundu area which breathe of Vaishnava influence. Most of these songs depict the divine love between Radha and Krishna. These purely Mundari songs of the love of Radha and Krishna are sung by the Mundas all over the Ranchi district—even by the Mundas of the western part far remote from Bundu and Tamar area and who know nothing about Radha and Krishna. Some of the songs have had apparently a changed set up with pure Mundari imageries,

metaphors and similies. They have their own local touches for pangs of separation, keen love of nature and their indigenous ideas of love. As a matter of fact, they are Munda love-lyrics to all intents and purposes with the names of Krishna and Radha.

In this connection observations of Father Hoffman, S. J. in the *Encyclopaedia Mundarica*\* could be quoted to show that Father Hoffman was probably not very correct. He mentions "It is true that one of the vaishnava missionaries Binand Das who tried without any real and permanent success to convert the Mundas to their own religion and philosophic views, composed some songs in Mundari. These so-called *Karam* songs do, at the first glance, appear something alien, and as has already been stated, are so uncongenial to the Mundas, that they call them heavy songs (*humbal durang*). It would seem that these aliens, despairing of the success of their oral teachings tried to conform to the national taste and clothed their ideas in popular songs as the only chance of getting a hearing at all." Again . . . . "These songs belong to a religious innovation taken from the Hinduised aborigines, namely, the so-called *Karam* cult which has not found the approbation of all Mundas, but only such as live in the midst of Oraons and Sadans. Hence these songs are not sung in purely Mundari parts or very little sung by them. Even when they are sung by the Mundas, they are so uncongenial to them that they call them *Hambal Durang*, heavy or difficult songs."

The observations of Father Hoffman unfortunately do not appear to be quite pertinent. In this area the Christian Missionaries could make very little headway in their mission. The cults of Jainism and Vaishnavism had entered into the eastern part of Ranchi centuries before the Christian Missionaries came and their impact on the Mundas was so deep that practically most of the Mundas are still non-Christians. The origin of *Karam* cult as given by Father Hoffman is not Hinduistic as thought by him. Moreover the songs ascribed to Binand Das were not at all composed by him. Most of the love-lyrics including the song quoted by Father Hoffman "*Nokore*

*ga chaila maila, okore gam dubakana etc.*" were composed by a purely Munda poet Budu Babu who died only about seven or eight decades back. Budu Babu was an illiterate pott of village Babaikundi in Tamar thana. Babu is a title that was used by the Munda family and there are other Mundas as well using this title. It is commonly ascribed that Budu Babu was illiterate but his poetical compositions were handed from mouth to mouth and became extremely popular. They were reduced to writing by two school teachers, Hari Ghasi and Kali Charan Das. His songs are reverentially sung on ceremonial occasions in the tribal areas just as Vidyapati's songs are recited in parts of Bihar and Bengal. This illiterate Munda bard in his *Pritipala*, a Mundari composition depicts the divine love-lore of Radha and Krishna.

The following song is one of the compositions in Budu Babu's *Pritipala* :

#### Rag Karam

1. Okoe rutue sadi tana Radha Radha  
Radha Radha rutu sadi ayum mente  
Berel berel hapanum ko aragun tana.
  2. Dadi hora kodam daru henko kotore duba  
kana  
Radha nutum tiya Radha Radha rutue  
saditana.
  3. Dub dub go rutue sadiya Radha Radha  
Gada gital kodom daru suba re  
Baa nakii uyuu yan.
  4. Banoo hiyating ena mente  
Berel berel hapanum ko aragun tana.
- 
1. O' who is blowing the flute Radha Radha  
Young girls (untouched) are rushing to  
hear the flute.
  2. He is sitting on a bent branch of kadam tree  
Sitting on the way of a well where damsels  
go for water  
He blows the flute Radha Radha.
  3. O' he blows the flute sitting  
His comb has fallen near the trunk of  
kadamba tree.
  4. He does not care for that (falling of comb)  
Young girls are rushing to him.

\**Encyclopaedia Mundarica* by Father Hoffman and others, p. 1115.

Vaishnavism teaches the gospel of love and peace. The following song in Rag *Khemta* is clearly *Vaishnavic* :

1. Ocho ocho he manoa hon  
Ada kete hore sabeman he.
  2. Ada gada daa sonka jangi  
Solka sur sokoe mere ocho.
  3. Ili arkhi buloo tuiloo  
Ili meae garoa re . . . . ocho.
  4. Ota opota dhaka ipling  
Suku hora tesa tepsea tana ocho.
- 
1. Beware and get off O' human beings  
Follow the path after judging.
  2. See the deep and dangerous stream  
it will wash you away.
  3. Rice beer. *arkhi* and intoxication  
Will take you down to unfathomable depth.
  4. In the path of peace there is fighting  
Hustle and bustle pulling and pushing.

This song reminds one of the *Ram Prasadi* or the *Baul* songs of Bengal.

Budu babu not only composed a number of Vaishnava love-lyrics but he also composed a chapter of the great Aryan book Ramayana as the theme of his song.

Much of the portion of Ramayana composed by Budu Babu has been lost but a few stanzas have been salvaged.

Budu Babu commences with the bridging of the portion by the array of monkeys under the great Hanuman and ends with the discomfiture of the king Ravana at the hands of Angad, nephew of Hanuman. It was extremely ingenious on the part of the illiterate bard to have chosen this particular chapter of Ramayana for his poetical compositions. The Mundas and the hill men of Chotanagpur are excellent cultivators. The Mundas had made big embankments by joint labour. They lose themselves while at work in a sporting spirit and hilarity. Budu Babu has painted the story with local touches. As a matter of fact except for the Aryan names there is nothing in this song to show that they are not purely of Mundari origin. He starts with Jambubana—the chief advisor of Rama, giving an order to the army of monkeys to make a bridge across the ocean by heaping bolders and mud and the whole army takes up the work. Three stanzas are presented from the Ramayana of Budu Babu.

Jambubane Kajitana  
Jato gari Senepe  
Hasa-diri-buru au-te  
Samundar tole-abu enate-ho  
Ram Lakhan prabhu hukum-te

Soben birko khus-jana  
Ne-a Kaji aium-te  
Seno-abu soben Lankate  
Jal-e-abu Lankapuri med-te ho  
Ram-Lakhan prabhu hukum-te.

Jeta bir Kuril-tanta  
Do - Do - mente  
Seno-abu utar disumte  
Aui-abu buru diri do-te ho  
Ram- Lakhan prabhu hukum-te

Hanu bir-e birid jana  
Ram-Ram-mente ho  
Utar disum buru au-te  
Budu babu durang baitan enate  
ho  
Ram Lakhan Prabhu hukum-te

Jambuban said  
Let all the monkeys go—  
To bring mud, stones & hillocks.  
Ocean shall we bind (bridge)  
By order of the Lords Ram-Lakhan.

All the braves were mightly glad  
to hear this order-(and said)  
We shall all go to Lanka  
We shall all see the city of  
Lanka with own very eyes.  
By order of the Lords Ram-Lakhan.

All the braves jumped up (saying)  
Let us go, Let us go—  
We shall all go to the faraway  
country and carry on our heads,  
hillocks & stones.  
By order of the Lords Ram-Lakhan.

The brave Hanuman stood up  
Saying Ram, Ram—  
To the northern country, to bring  
hillocks  
For this Budu Babu is composing  
this song  
By order of the Lords Ram-Lakhan.

*Vaishnavism* teaches one tolerance and a vision in religious matters. At village Deorih near Tamar, an area imbued with *Vaishnavism* there is a rare *Shola-bhuja* (sixteen handed) *Devi* in an ancient temple. For six days of the week a Munda *Pahan* worships the deity according to tribal customs. On tuesdays only a Brahmin priest offers *Vaidic Pujah*. This strange combination is based on a broad-based tolerance and eclectism that *Vaishnavism* in that area has produced. A temple of this type which has combined two different creeds is an example of the highest eclecticism and is possible only where there is a broad base of religious toleration.

## LENIN

"Most of the information regarding Lenin which has reached India is from hostile sources. These have left the public in no doubt that Lenin was ruthless. It is not possible for us to be apologists for anybody's ruthlessness. But fairness compels us to say that some other political epoch-makers, too have been ruthless. The difference between them and Lenin goes in favour of the latter. For he did not seek to aggrandize himself by founding a dynasty or to live in imperial splendour and luxury. He lived like any other citizen of Soviet Russia."

—Ramananda Chatterjee

The Modern Review, March, 1924

## C. F. ANDREWS—A TRIBUTE

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

C. F. Andrews was known as Dinabandhu Andrews. And he was really and truly a friend of the poor. Like St. Francis of Assisi he embraced poverty out of a profound emotion that came straight from his heart and he felt for the poor so deeply and intensely that his entire life and all his actions were interwoven with SEVA to suffering humanity. My first acquaintance with Dinabandhu Andrews was towards the end of the first World War when my father, the late Ramananda Chatterjee, lived in Santiniketan for a few years and my younger brother Prasad studied in the school there. Mr. Andrews always dressed in a dhoti and panjabi kurta and was very greatly interested in a school for the Santhals that my brother Prasad and his friends had been running in Bhubandanga. At that time his knowledge of Bengali or Hindi was very rudimentary and he found great difficulty in adapting himself to the ways of the poorer classes of India. But he was a great sportsman and stuck to his ideals staunchly and in an unwavering manner. In his youth he had played Cricket at Cambridge and he was a scholar of Pembroke College. Before coming to India and taking up the service of universal humanity with Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, Dinabandhu Andrews had served the cause of the indentured labourers from India who were shipped to Africa and the West Indies to work like bond slaves for the benefit of the British capitalists. He was the leader of that small body of men who tried to get justice done to the poor ignorant coolies and was therefore totally disliked by the men in power. I came to know him more intimately during the years that my father lived in Santiniketan and he gave me some introduction letters to some of his friends in Cambridge when I went there for my studies. Dinabandhu Andrews had become more Indian than Indians by the time I returned and thereafter I met him quite often in connection with my work for my father's journals. Whatsoever served the cause of the poor and the suffering found an able helper in C. F. Andrews. Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and other humanitarians considered him very near and dear indeed. In 1930 I met him in London and he was then introducing some Negro spiritual singers to the Indian community in London. He used to ask us to sing Bengali songs from Tagore's compositions in order to enable the Negro spiritual singers to understand Indian music and religious ideals. Dinabandhu Andrews made India his home and he is remembered by all of us as one remembers one's relations and dearest friends. His life was mingled with the lives of a large number of great Indians of those days, who are no longer with us, but who were the real builders of modern India. He was simple, gentle and full of a rare and intelligent sympathy for all who came in contact with him. A true Christian in the fullest sense of the term.

# Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

## THE UNION BUDGET FOR 1966-67

WHILE presenting his first budget to the Lok Sabha last month, Union Finance Minister, Shri Sachin Chaudhuri, averred that the "Budget of the Government of India is a *major* (emphasis ours) instrument for implementing (our) plans and policies. It has to be framed, therefore", he continued, "in response to current economic trends as well as the long-term requirements of the economy." "These trends" he had earlier endeavoured to outline while presenting his customary annual survey of the "state of the economy" to the Lok Sabha last month and which is generally regarded to be an important indicator of the lines that the actual framing of the Budget would be likely to follow. One of the assurances held out by the Finance minister while presenting this Survey was that a greater reliance in Budget making will have to be placed primarily upon "increasing the yield of taxes *at current rates* (emphasis, again, ours) and of the surpluses of public undertakings through greater and more efficient production." While actually presenting the Budget, however, the Finance Minister would appear to have ignored if not wholly repudiated this earlier assurance.

In a sense, it would hardly be fair to hold the present Finance Minister responsible for the actual trends which his first Budget had to, willy nilly, conform to. These were trends which he had inherited from his predecessors in office, especially from the immediately preceding Union Finance Minister and, in the

current state of the multi-faceted pressures that have been devolving upon his Ministry from various directions - from the Planning Commission, for instance, from the Ministry of Defence, from the States and from other quarters - it would call for an extraordinary measure of courage and boldness and, what is even more important, unqualified and whole-hearted support from his colleagues in the Union Government, to be able to break away from the established traditions in fiscal and taxation policies and strike out a new and fresh approach in policy making and techniques of implementation in these fields.

And, yet, the evils of current policies of the Union Finance Ministry, in the fiscal, monetary, and in taxation fields, would appear to be obvious enough and could hardly be ignored. The policies of the Union Finance Ministry of the Government of India, during past many years - in fact since as far back as at the end of the First Five Year Plan period, by which time we had practically run through our accumulated foreign exchange resources, substantial as they were at the eve of launching the First Plan - could only be described to have been mainly based on a policy of "hand-to-mouth" expediency rather than on any long-term and far-sighted programme. With the result that while, on the one hand, the trends of additional taxation have been following lines of indirect imposts, with their inevitable impact on continually accelerating inflation—there has been a continually increasing proportion of indirect to direct taxation. The following analysis of



taxation imposts would present an alarming picture:

Additional Taxation in the 1966-67 Budget	
Customs Revenue	Estimated additional revenue .....00.52. Rs. crores
Excise Revenues	" " " ... 42.27 "
Corporation Tax	" " " ... 36.07 "
Individual Income Tax	" " " ... 24.45 "
Wealth Tax	" " " ... 00.70 "
Others	" " " ... 00.50 "
Tax Reduction under various heads in the Budget	... 03.00 "
Estimated additional tax revenue during the Budget year	... 101.51 "

As a result of the current Budget proposals, the total Central tax structure would assume the following form :

Customs Revenue... Estimated receipts	...Rs. 566 crores
Customs revenue on consumables	Rs. 85 "
Percentage of customs revenue on consumables to total customs revenue	...16 % approximately
Excise revenue...Estimated total receipts	... Rs. 970 crores
Excise revenue on essential consumables	Rs. 544 "
Percentage of Excise revenues derived from essential consumables to total Excise receipts	60.60 %
Estimated Total Tax Revenue receipts	... Rs.2,719 crores
Estimated Total receipts from Excise, Customs and other indirect taxes	... Rs.1,536 "
Percentage of Indirect tax receipts to Total taxes	... 60.00 %
Percentage of tax revenues derived from Excise and other indirect imposts on consumables to total tax revenue	... 45.00 % approximately

The Finance Minister has, in his Budget speech, deplored the destructive impact of inflationary pressures on the price structure upon the growth rate in the economy. According to his statement, during the 12 months preceding January 1966, the general wholesale price index has moved upwards by a further 7.6 per cent compared to what it was twelve months ago: and the pressure in this direction remains unrelieved as of date. Various factors, no doubt, contribute to this pressure, such as the measure of increasing money supply with the public, inadequate supply of consumables, especially of food grains, and various other factors. So far as the fact of increasing money supply is concerned, the Finance Minister has held out the assurance that in conformity with the genuine demand for credit for achieving higher levels of production, the Reserve Bank would deploy the instruments of monetary policy to ensure that expansion of credit "for legitimate purposes takes place increasingly on the basis of *growth of deposits* (emphasis ours)....." As a matter of fact, the policies of the Reserve Bank of India during the recent past have followed a rather confused trend. In the name of "selective control over credit", it has often been complained by legitimate producers, money rates have been so artificially mounting inflationary pressures on the price structure, that the bona fide requirements of credit for essential productive purposes have been unduly restricted and have often been obtained only at a very high price which, in turn, has inevitably contributed to an increasing cost factor in production.

But apart from the visible effects increasing money supply with the public the inflationary situation, one of the

principal factors which could be demonstrated to have substantially contributed to this undesirable situation, has been the inflationary potentials inherent in the total tax structure of the country. It should be mentioned in this connection that, apart from Central taxes, additional loads on indirect tax revenues—and here it has been mostly on direct consumables—have been imposed in the States' taxation Budgets. The total effect of the situation has been to inevitably generate continually increasing inflationary impacts on the price structure, especially on the essential and semi-essential consumables sectors. Any kind of enduring and substantial relief from the present inflationary situation can, therefore, emanate only from a total revision of the over-all taxation structure of the Government set to the tune of an increasing balance between direct and indirect taxation. One concedes that it may not be possible in the present circumstances of the finances of the Government to effect any immediate and substantial reductions in the field of indirect taxation where they affect essential consumables, but a fresh trend in this direction would appear to be one of the primary and essential conditions of economic growth in conformity with the need to prevent perpetuation of the present trends of increasing and undue concentration of wealth, income and economic power. The Budget under discussion does not demonstrate any awareness of this immediate and essential need.

On another very crucial matter also the Finance Minister has remained significantly silent. It is the question of the impact of what has been euphemistically described by his predecessor as 'unaccounted' money upon general monetary and price trends in the country. It appears that the Revenue Department of the Ministry of Finance of the Union

Government has been putting itself on its own back on the successful disclosure of what has been described as large chunks of unaccounted money as a result of the inducements held out by Shri Chaudhuri's predecessor in office and the tenure of which inducements expired a few days ago. In a recent news report it has been announced that in the Bombay Income Tax Circle some Rs. 30 crores of such UNACCOUNTED MONEY has been voluntarily disclosed by more than a hundred assesseees. The total amount of such money voluntarily disclosed all over the country, so far as statements in this behalf appearing in news reports, indicate would not aggregate beyond about Rs. 100 crores in all. Although it is quite impossible to arrive at any precise estimate of the total of UNACCOUNTED MONEY in the country, its magnitude has been variously guessed at anywhere between Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 10,000 crores. Assuming that the lowest of these estimated figures is nearer the actual amount of such money, the gross disclosures upto date would hardly cover more than 3 per cent of the balance that still remains undisclosed. There is reason to suspect that most of this money finds employment in speculative hoarding of essential consumables, - the chances are that the largest bulk of this money is employed to finance speculative hoarding of food grains in the country, - and the inflationary impact of this kind of operation should be obvious to even the least sophisticated. Shri Chaudhuri's predecessor had tried various expedients on different occasions to force this money out in the open obviously with the objective of correspondingly augmenting the revenues of the Government. That all these various experiments have substantially failed to achieve any result is also without question. More effective and vigorous measures

therefore, need to be devised immediately to at least immobilize this very large source of credit which is beyond the usual controls and restrictions to which the organized money market is subject. One easily concedes that that it is extremely difficult to match the ingenuity of the operators of UNACCOUNTED MONEY with ordinary restrictive measures. Desperate needs call for desperate remedies, and the need in this particular behalf would be admitted to be desperate indeed. Shri Chaudhuri's predecessor had atleast toyed with some devices, from time to time, however ineffective they may have proved in their ultimate results ; is there any significance in the fact that the new Union Finance Minister has altogether by-passed the question in his first Budget ?

Another very significant deficiency in the Finance Minister's Budget speech that would seem to be obvious is that there has been no attempt at any point in his rather longish Budget speech, to analyse the causes of the increasing inflationary trends on a factual background. If such an analysis were to be attempted, it would be found that by far the largest proportion of price increases that have been occurring from time to time, has been generating in the primary consumables sectors and which has, inevitably been affecting the general price index. If adequate data were available to further analyse the breakdowns of such increases, there seems to be hardly any doubt that it would be found that pressures have been mostly generating at such points of the primary sector where the content of effective demand would be bound to be comparatively inelastic. One might easily cite the conditions obtaining in the food grains sector which, with reason, could be said to have been more or less dictating over-all price trends

over the last several years. It is extraordinary that at both official and academic levels it has often been held that the increasing money supply with the public, together with the marginal supply of consumables in general, has been leading to a continual explosion in the demand for food grains, especially in the urban and industrial sectors of the economy. It is an elementary truism of economic laws that above a certain income level the demand for food grains is wholly inelastic ; the elasticity of demand for food grains is confined to such income levels which are on the bare subsistence levels. According to an official publication of the Planning Commission some years ago, of the total consumption expenditure of 78 per cent of the national population (at 1960-61 prices) food grains alone were estimated to absorb more than 75 per cent of their gross disposable income. The demand for food grains at these levels of income might ordinarily have proved elastic enough to cause a certain measure of inflationary pressure on prices to generate at these points. Unfortunately, while income levels, according to official claims, may have increased only by about 15 per cent since then, prices of food grains during the corresponding period and, especially at the retail levels, have moved up by more than a 100 per cent. It is clear, therefore, that price pressures on food grains could not have been generated by increasing consumption demand and, could, therefore, only be generated and sustained by speculative pressures on their supply. It is callously escapist to ignore these very obvious but extremely menacing factors in the present state of the economy. The Finance Minister should have taken note of this very important fact and should have underlined the equally obvious fact that unless the operations of under-cover speculators could be effectively eliminated the national

food crisis will never be amenable to any kind of a wholesome and enduring solution. In fact, whatever the Government's statisticians may say, there is enough ground to controvert the official contention that there is any kind of an acute shortage of food grains in the country. Even according to official statistics, which can only be expected to err on the wrong side, the gross production of food cereals in the country has increased from some 50 million tons in 1951-52 to an average 80 million tons now. By any jugglery of figures it could not be proved that the gross consumption demand of the country in spite of the so called "population explosion" could have materially outpaced this very substantial increase in production. There should have been some awareness of this obvious fact in the Finance Minister's speech if not actually in his Budget proposals.

Shri Chaudhuri is generally regarded to be an approved nominee of big business and his appointment to the Union Finance Ministry was regarded as a hopeful augury for fresh trends in Budget making at least so far as increasing stimuli to big business was concerned. He appears to have wholly disappointed his sponsors. He has equally failed to satisfy any other section of the people. His concessions to the lowest income-bracket income-tax payers, welcome as they are, provides very little real relief at these levels in the present atmosphere of all-round increasing price pressures on every conceivable consumer goods and services. We have already observed that much of the obvious malaise from which Shri Chaudhuri's first Budget suffers are inherited evils which he could not be expected to just conjure away. Nevertheless one looked for a little fresh thinking and at least some rudimentary effort at certain

selected points to infuse new life into budget making and national economic trends. Unfortunately, the picture, in spite of these justifications, remains one of unrelieved gloom and hopelessness.

#### HOW MUCH FOOD ?

In a recent press announcement by the West Bengal Government it has ostensibly been sought to clear the confusion that seems to obtain in the public mind as regards the food situation in the State. Under the legend "Rationing in west Bengal", the advertisement lists the following information :

1. Statutory rationing covers 86,00,000 persons in west Bengal who are allotted rations of food grains at the rate of 1,000 grammes each of wheat and rice per adult ( that is, persons aged 8 years and more ) per week ;

2. Modified rationing covers 1, 13,00, 000 persons in the State who are now allowed 500 grammes of rice and 1, 300 grammes of wheat per adult per week ;

3. The total weekly offtake of food grains in the State to cover current rationing obligations is 32,000 tonnes, comprising 14, 300 tonnes of rice and 17,700 tonnes of wheat.

According to the above estimate, to feed 1,99,00,000 persons out of West Bengal's total population at the above level of food grains allocation at State responsibility, a gross quantum of 7,43,000 tonnes of rice and 9, 20,400 tonnes of wheat would be required. Allowing for a margin of a further 500 grammes of rice per week per adult in the areas covered by modified rationing which the consumers would have to procure at their own initiative, a further supply of rice of the order of 2, 93,

800 tonnes would be required over a twelve month period. The gross rice requirement of this section of the State's population covered by statutory rationing and modified rationing, including the extra ration of rice that those covered by modified rationing would have to procure at their own initiative, would be of the order of 10,37,400 tonnes, say 11,00,000 tonnes.

Assuming a 2.4 per cent annual rise in the population since the 1961 census enumeration, the gross population of West Bengal comprising all ages and sex groups should be well within 3,90,00,000 persons. Of these 1,99,000 persons in all are claimed to have been covered by statutory rationing (86,00,000 persons) and modified rationing, leaving a balance of 1,91,00,000 persons to be fed by their own respective resources and effort.

The attenuated rice harvest of the current season (Aman) has been officially stated to have been of the order of 44,00,000 tonnes. Last year it was said to have been of the order of 48,00,000 tonnes (final estimates; earlier estimates had put the figure down, first, at 54,00,000 tonnes and then at 52,00,000 tonnes). To this was added a further 400,000 tonnes said to have been derived from the year's Aus harvest. No figure for the current Aus harvest appears to have been officially announced. Assuming that the current year's shortfall in the Aus harvest would be approximately of the same proportion as that of the Aman, that is, by just about 9 per cent the yield of the current Aus harvest should be somewhere around 3,60,000 tonnes; say 3,50,000 tonnes. Gross availability of rice from the State's own resources during the current season should, therefore, be of the order of some 47,50,000 tonnes. Out of this, the requirement of rationing would, as we have

seen, absorb 7,43,600 tonnes, say 7,50,000 tonnes. A further 2,93,800 tonnes; say, 3,00,000 tonnes would be absorbed by the requirements of those covered by modified rationing in order to enable them to make up the deficiency in their allocation of rice. After all these needs have been covered, a quantum of 37,00,000 tonnes of rice should still be available for consumption by the balance of the State's population numbering 1,91,00,000 persons. Assuming, further, that all these 1,91,00,000 persons would have to make up their cereal diet only with rice and no other grain and that their uninhibited weekly consumption offtake would be of the order of some 2,500 grammes per adult per week, that is 25 per cent more than those of the total cereal allocations (made up of equal quantities of rice and wheat) of the persons covered by statutory rationing, the total annual requirement for this purpose should be of the order of 24,33,000 tonnes, say 25,00,000 tonnes.

But this is not really a very realistic picture of the position. For, according to the analysis of the population by age structures during the 1961 census enumerations, it appears that those in the age group from 0 years to 4 years comprise 15.1 per cent of the total population and those in the age group 5 years to 14 years 26 per cent (no separate breakdown of the percentage in the age group 5 years to 8 years is available). Assuming that the proportion of those in the age group 5 years to 8 years should be about half of this, that is 13 per cent of the total, those who are entitled to half rations both under modified and statutory rationing should comprise some 28 per cent of the total in these categories; this would reduce the load on rice allocations under rationing by very nearly 2,00,000 tonnes. Ignoring this, however, we still find that the State's consumption allocation of

rice at the levels fixed by Government under their systems of rationing and an additional 25 per cent for those who are not so covered, the gross rice requirements of the State should be somewhere around 35,50,000 tonnes. Gross availability of rice during the season, even according to authorized Government statistics, should not be less than 47,50,000 tonnes this year from the State's own production resources and quite apart from what imports may arrive from the Centre. If that is a realistic picture of the situation, there should be a not uncomfortable surplus of some 12,00,000 tonnes which is well over 26 per cent of the current year's production within the State.

The question, therefore, naturally arises as to why this crisis? The point of view of the Government seems to be that the extraordinarily high demand for food grains in the urban and industrial areas, where there is much denser concentration of purchasing power compared to the backward rural areas, has been mainly responsible for this crisis. Such a point of view would also appear to be supported by that large band of official and quasi-official 'yes-men-economists' of the Government. It is significant that they have never yet committed themselves as to how much of this demand is represented by the genuine consumption-demand of the more affluent and how much of it has been arising out of obvious speculative pressures. Clearly this influx in demand cannot, surely, be a reflection of bona fide consumption demand of the more affluent, for the simple reason that the demand for food grains, beyond a certain income level, is and necessarily wholly inelastic. Its elasticity is necessarily confined only to those income levels in the community where minimum bona fide consumption needs cannot always be fully satisfied on account of lack of purchasing power and at which levels, therefore, normally demand for

food grains becomes elastic within certain severely defined limits.

Another very significant fact in this connection would seem to be that although 1964-65 yielded the highest rice and other cereals harvest in the country in recorded history, that has also, coincidentally, been the very year when the beginning of an endemic shortage in market supplies of food grains began to make its appearance. Initially the Government at the highest political levels, and presumably before they were able to strike out an appropriate policy line for propaganda in this behalf - frankly admitted that this crisis, like that in Bengal in 1943, was wholly man-made and speculative hoarders and traders were mainly responsible for the situation. Measures were devised to deal with such anti-social speculators although they have never been used to any effective purpose. Currently all talk of speculative hoarding as being one of the principal causes of the continuing food crisis and of the need for dealing effectively with the speculators appears to have wholly ceased.

So far as west Bengal is concerned, the Government is being subjected to heavy pressures, by what has been described as the United Left Front. Funnily enough, so far as the Government's Food policy, is concerned, or what really passes under that nomenclature, the difference between the ULF and the Government does not appear to be at all fundamental, it is clearly one of emphasis only. The Government have committed themselves to cover certain specified areas by statutory rationing and some others by modified rationing. The ULF insists that the area of the former be extended and that the whole of the rest of the State be brought under the purview of modified rationing. The ULF demands that rice allocations under both kinds of rationing be increased; the Govern-

ment have insisted that the stock position prevents them from doing so and they have increased wheat allocations in the modified rationing areas. There are some minor objections of the ULF to the manner and methods of procurement by the Government, these the Government have agreed to review and examine. But since both the ULF and the Government want rationing; their differences on this score could only be one of degree of emphasis and not in respect of basic policy structure. The politics of the ULF opposition so far as the Government's food measures are concerned, would appear to be hedged in by a lot of confusion.

The only and obvious remedy - one that we have already advised more than once in these columns - is to wholly decontrol food at all levels. That will leave the speculative hoarders in a most uncomfortable position; they have, so far, been the only beneficiaries of the Government's food policy and decontrol and

derationing at all levels would deprive them of the present protection for their under-cover and wholly anti-social activities. For imaginary reasons never yet supported by any kind of demonstrable facts, the Government have been stubbornly holding on to their mad, ineffective and chaotic food policy or what passes under this name and against all mature counsels of wisdom and expediency. There are demonstrable reasons to believe that decontrol will not merely relieve the crisis, but will also make it unnecessary for the country to continue to indulge in ruinous imports of food grains (even if they need not be paid for in precious foreign exchange). But Government do not seem disposed to listen to reason and would still continue to hold on to their 'cordons', controls and what not. Is it, therefore, unreasonable to suspect that the present ruling coterie which comprises the Government of the country have a vested interest in a continuing food crisis?

### Turkish Women and Polygamy

"A meeting of Turkish women, held in Constantinople on March 11, 1924, decided to appeal to the National Assembly to abolish polygamy."

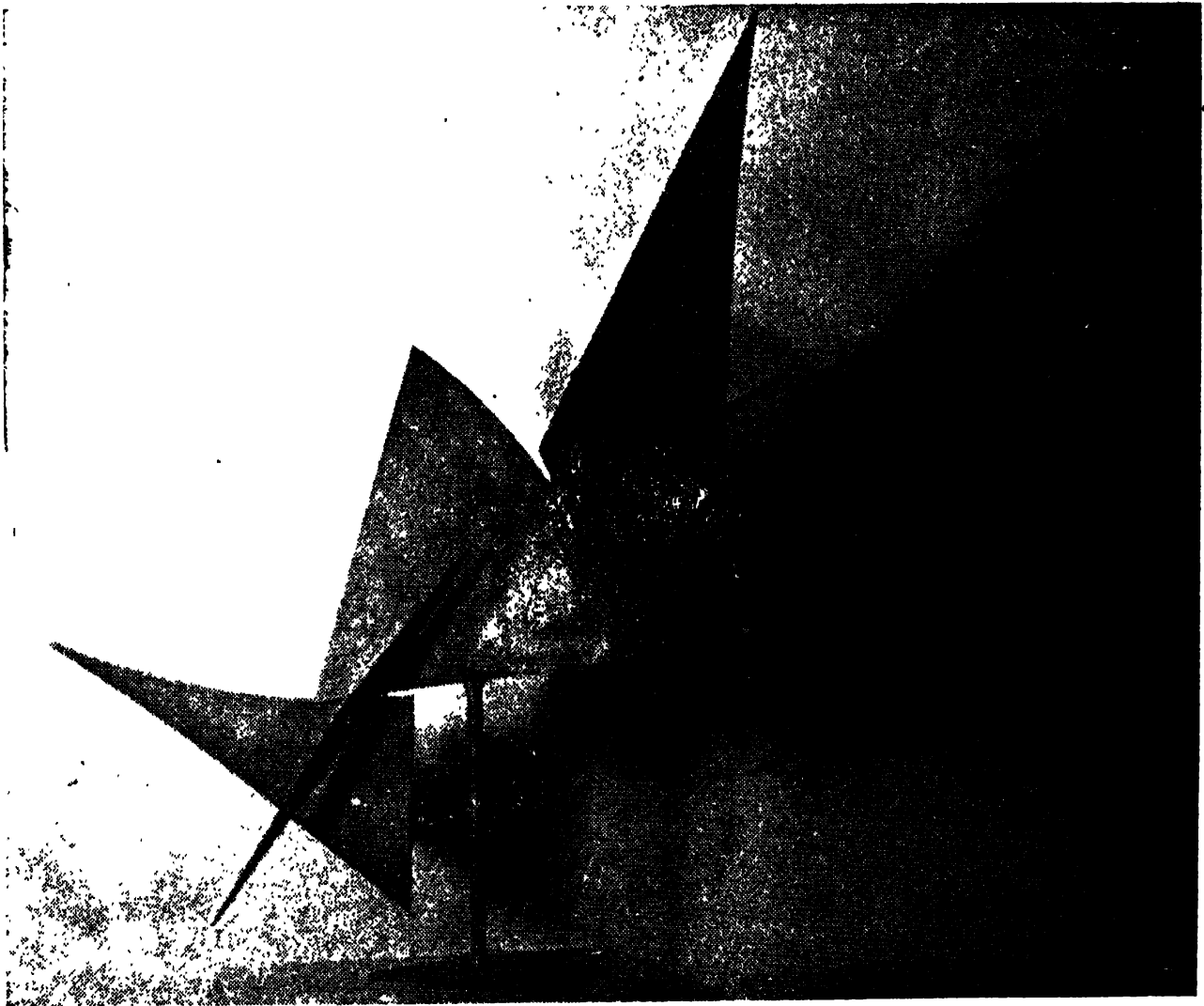
Ramananda Chatterjee

The Modern Review for April, 1924

## BRITISH SCULPTURES

### USAB

If Britain is not much ahead in painting and graphics, we find in sculptural art, particularly in the modern styles, the British sculptors have struck an exhilarating note of ascendancy. Really it was a big job to bring more than fifty weighty sculptured pieces from Great Britain to India. The British Council deserve our thanks for having the exhibition



Triangular Forms in Bronzed Steel—Artist : Robert Adams

Courtesy : British Council

organised by the Lalit Kala Akademi in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

This exhibition was inaugurated by Shri

M. C. Chagla, Education Minister, in Delhi. He said that the modern media of expression were unlike the objective sense of perfect

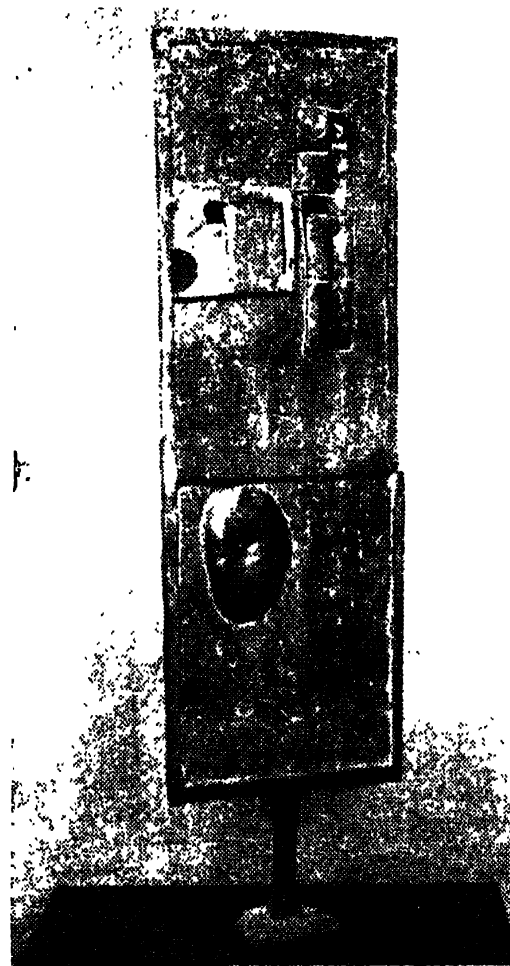


beauty of the Greeks. It is, in fact, subjective to portray mental tension or friction as is apparent to the artist. The nine British artists reveal in their works the impact of technological civilization and a period of strain and conflict of a world that has less peace of mind, soul and heart. The works are therefore universal in approach.

By and large so far as the styles are concerned, the works of these sculptors do not belong to one school. Yet it is evident that a strain of Henry Moore's round shapes, hollows and a bit of surrealism is visible in quite a few works. Chronologically the sculptors mainly belong to the post-Victorian and Georgian periods. The collection, however, shows a representative cross-section of the sculptural art of the top-ranking British artists of the last decade or so. Hence we see the matured attempts of some artists at least. Here we see stylized organic or geometrical shapes, surrealistic forms and abstract designs.

Round shapes displayed in terms of mass and space interlaced with hollow opening are observed in Henry Moore's (b.1898) works. Henry Moore was impressed by round objects whether they were pebbles or anatomical features of many living beings. To him a hole in a solid mass had a deep interpretation. He mixes it with the rhythmic elongated or wavy features of human beings. This result is borne out of long experience for, he himself had said, that at first the holes in his sculptures were made for their own sake. He was then trying to find out the effect of space in his sculptures. At a later date, commingling of mass with space had become the inseparable part of his way of expression. His WOMAN (1957) is a huge deep green primitive sitting figure of

about 5 foot, that shows its static vitality in round suggestive protuberances, a small head supported on a column like neck but without holes. We see an awe-inspiring neolithic shape with a powerful and heavy head, ancient motifs in the 7 feet bronze UPRIGHT MOTIVE No. 8 (1956). The THREE PART OBJECT (1960) in bronze



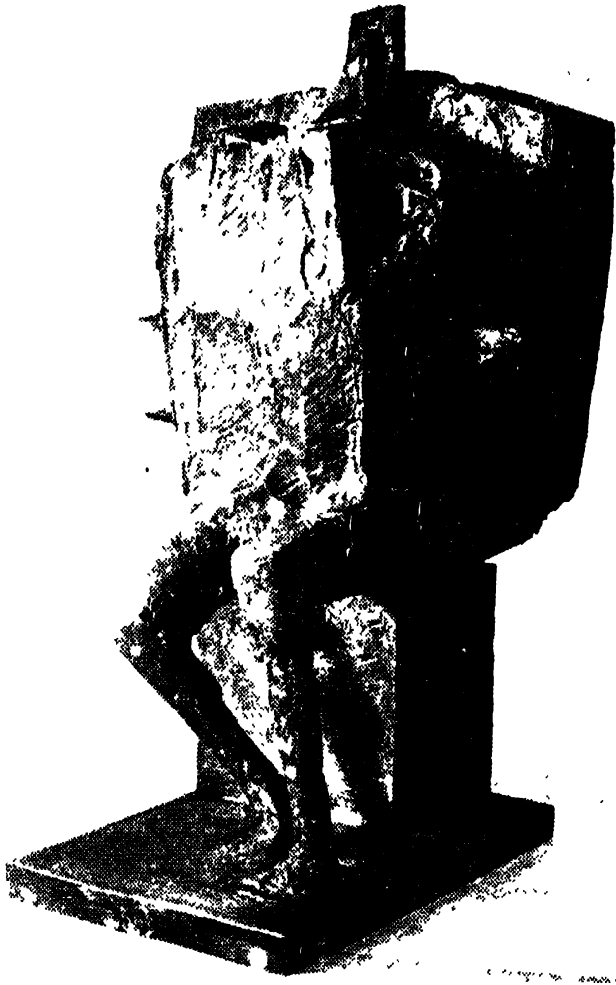
A vertical Screen in Bronze

Artist : Hubert Dalwood

Courtesy : British Council

is an amalgam of massive non-objective round shape arranged over the other. The upper two parts have projections like knots of a trunk of a tree. It generally resembles a replica of a neolithic stone on the sea shore and the excellent texture matches with the deep brown hue. In all the three works we

see mass woven to exhibit tension in the dramatised version of prehistoric objects in terms of unrealistic round shapes. His usual ridges and dents or concave or convex assembly of rounded man and woman seated against a wall with parallel brown ribs is



Personage Tres Important in Bronze  
Artist : Bernard Meadows  
Courtesy : British Council

seen in the small bronze statuette **TWO SEATED FIGURES AGAINST A WALL.**

Henry Moore experimented with holes and space for a long time to come to his epoch-making forms which are simultaneously awesome and rhythmic. He has himself stated that at one time he made holes for their own sakes to have an eroded solid body. At a later period he made forms and shapes

(not holes) inseparable. At this stage neither factor was subordinate to the other. Here we see that in creating massive wavy shapes he brings inside outwards to demonstrate tension and vitality. Jean Arp and Constantine Brancusi had shown the effect of round forms, mass and space. Moore had developed it after creating much less elegant forms in his **SQUARE FORM** (1937) or **DOUBLE STANDING FIGURE** (1950).

To the generation of Henry Moore belongs Barbara Hepworth (b. 1903). After finishing her art course she held her first one-man show in London in 1937. She met Henry Moore in Italy in 1924 and evidently bears the stamp of his influence. Yet unlike Moore she is sensitive in displaying either flowing rhythm or depressions here and there on semi-abstract figures. In her earlier works the influence of Arp, Brancusi and Moore was visible as they were after geometric poise. Female decorative sense which naturally comes to her is obvious in her work.

Later on, having lived by the sea coast and observed the eroding effect of lapping waves, rolling stones, wind swept over hanging rocks and the shaving cavity in smooth stones, she worked out new forms. She herself says "From the sculptor's point of view, one must either be the spectator of the object or the object itself".

Of her four works **CORE** (1956), a timber colour bronze mass of about 30 inches has different planes with heavier bottom. It resembles the magnified form of a stone of a fruit having the minimum details such as a circular depression, scratches here and there and polished body. It brings before our vision the total shape of a stone shaped by sea waves too. **SEA FORM** (Porthmeor) 1958, is a large irregular semi-circular hooded

bronze creation with cavity here and there. This four-feet long sculpture has three perforations, two large at the bottom in keeping with the shape and a third on the top which is almost round. This again shows nature's design due to the action of sea waves and velocity of wind on a piece of soft stone. As it has been done after observing the eroded stones on the sea shore, it proves to be a substantive attempt. In **CURVED FORM** (Trevalgan) 1956, we see a sector of an elegant hollow bowl as though the remains of a disemboweled piece of a decaying log. This 3 ft. high flowing greenish bronze work has concave twisting and soaring arms on a matching base with a hole to add both balance and the effect of the mass. Unquestionably, it is a noble creation full of rhythmic poise.

Lynn Chadwick, Bernard Meadows, Kenneth Armitage and Robert Adams were all born when the first world war had its impact on civilization. They belong to the generation after Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore. Out of these four artists, Bernard Meadows and Kenneth Armitage have to a degree shown the influence of Henry Moore in so far as in some of the bloated human forms they have used mass, may be round or slender.

Poise in geometrical shapes and structural sense are the themes of Robert Adam's sculptures. His **CLIMBING FORMS** No. 2 (1961) of bronzed steel of about 6 ft., is an example of a noble conception describing the semi-circular half moon shapes and balanced one over the other in aerial space. It is lovely, rhythmic and even though simple in design, is powerful in arrangement. In **TRIANGULAR FORMS** (1960), we see bronzed metal sheets (26 inches long) cut

into equilateral or other shapes of triangles fitted in to show the effect of a plane surface. The triangles are slightly rounded on one side to make the entire composition graceful. Compositely it gives the hint of the sails of a cutter. **RECTANGULAR BRONZE FORM** No. 4 (1955) is purely architectonic to show a few rectangular bricks or trapeziums or similar shapes of a masonry. The total effect is that it gives a powerful structural design of planes and space.

Kenneth Armitage is represented by a few sculptures and a few drawings. He himself once wrote that he wanted the pleasure from wondering what was on the other side and also be pleased from the division. His idea was to produce big volumes with the minimum material. If his works on show do not reveal the magic of plane surface and divisions, they do show large volumes. And these works are quite close to the derivatives of Henry Moore. His **FIGURE LYING ON ITS SIDE** made of bronze and a yard long, is indeed a massive figure. The trunk, shoulder to hip, is round and huge having breasts. The head with suggestions of eyes and nose is small, while tucked up legs and folded hands are disproportionately thin. Another bronze statue two-yard high — **GIRL WITHOUT A FACE** is powerful in shape to show the girl is standing on two legs with a cylindrical body having two small hands jutting out. Few openings on the skirt and on the navel or the suggestion of the breasts are there. Then there is a large cavity with a cap on the top. In this we see as if a street letter box has been personified. All told it is a common creation of the expressionist school.

Lynn Chadwick (b. 1914) studied

architecture and was a designer during the Second World War. In his works we see vitalized lines verging on Structural designs and enough of texture. He portrays death with a fearsome poignant design. He does not prefer human forms but finds birds, insects structures and the like objects in grotesque shapes as media of expression. TOKYO made of steel ( 18 inches high ) is completely architectural where we see thin rods soldered to make out a rectangular pattern fitted with a heavy old rectangular machine to represent as if it is a motel. BIRD—III ( bronze 3 ft. long ) is the portraiture of a bird dying with the vividity of destruction. Here we have large and small cubes arranged as wings and features behind a straight elongated beak. In its death has been described with archaic savagery indeed. Two large triangles joined at the base have the tips of masts and smaller triangles to bring before our mind the presence of two battling cutters at close quarters in ENCOUNTER - IV ( bronze 5 ft. high ).

Hubert Dalwood ( b. 1924 ) is either symbolic or abstract in approach. Evidently he is the product of ultra-modern ideas. Some of his sculptures have little or no three-dimensional quality. Thus his VERTICAL SCREEN ( 1959 4 ft. high by a foot wide of aluminium ) has smaller rectangle below surrounded by broad ridges and inset with a raised oval yellow patch on the left top corner. Above in the upper rectangle which has a square dent and several smaller rectangles or squares in various shades of colour gives the view of an abstract design. All told it is just an example of painting through sculptural media or after dadaism. SIGNS ( 1959—3 ft. high Aluminium )

is an ornamental stand, the stem of which is much after the design of an Indian temple lamp stand. Across the stem on the top is a horizontal wavy plate, on the left side of which are fixed two designed hoops with handles to fit in. The designs are ritual and symbolic and show no dynamic quality.

Bernard Meadows ( b. 1915 ) is distinct from other sculptors in idea and style in that he evolves his own feeling of hard looking figures. His sculpture pieces are at times dreary looking and may have an uneven textural feature. The FALLEN-BIRD (bronze—40 inches long) is ghastly, unfinished with projecting neck and legs. This black bird with outstretched features and round trunk, shows the end of a mutilated force and energy. The large rectangular base on one side is disturbing, for a third of it is unnecessary. THE BLACK CRAB (bronze—17 inches high) is a complicated weaving but simplified by enclosed masses. The sharp, pointed feet of the crab are supple and mobile, then there is a small space with two sharp triangular limb of shell, over which is a semi-oval space enclosed by a wide shell-like ebony colour rim. All in all, the sense of space, dimensions and speed make it a polished sculpture piece.

Personification of a tree is seen in a heavily built square shape with two human legs touching the ground. This sculpture ( bronze 2 ft. high )—PERSONAGE TRES IMPORTANT-1962 looks like a bloated torso seated on a rectangular slab and has several spiky stubs jutting out side-ways. In all the three works we feel Meadows has concentrated on the limbs and hard poses of common objects around us. And his imagina-

tion and execution are dynamic yet fabulous in form.

John Hoskin (b. 1921) was trained as an architectural draftsman. His sculptures are abstract in approach in that they are rectangular polished mild steel sheets with somewhat convex or concave curvatures and a slight dressing on one side to decorate. These are done by soldering sheets from the sides.

Apparently though Hoskin's sculptures look abstract, COLUMN NOVEMBER 1960 (4½ ft. high and 8 inches wide) mild steel polished plate of rectangular figure, has in the middle left a black fossilised shape of a twig. The back side too is similarly highly polished. It reminds us of a chunk of metal or coal with fossilised remains sticking to it. Indeed it has a new errand to speak out. FLAT SIDE - 1961, is of the same type, made of a polished mild steel (5 ft. high). The third dimension varies in thickness and has concavo-convex wavy faces. On the left of it are a few perforations and joined to another rough plate having 'V' shaped opening with holes. The total impression we get is as though a block of coal has been brought out with signs of drilling. Both the work show the vividness of geological approach, and though novel, are not high creations.

In this exhibition we see Reg. Butler's (b. 1913) SEATED FIGURES (bronze) which is a semi-rectangular plate with slightly rounded top and three heads peering out disproportionately. Faint suggestions of hands and wire like legs, or again partitioning lines in

ribs, are there to give a near non-realistic shape.

And now we see the arrangements of junks or scaffolding of metal strips into quaint yet powerful sculptures. The sculptor, Eduardo Paolozzi (b. 1924) tries to create brutes by assemblage of fragments of old machine parts. In his own words he tries to strike out a "metamorphosis of ordinary things into something wonderful". This attempt is observed in MEKANIK ZERO (Bronze 1958-6 ft. high) which has a complicated structural shape within a rectangular vacant space. There are designs of flat, polished, worn out machine parts soldered together to create a pell-mell affair, yet all have the same tone to speak out. Below are two squares to support so as to give the impression of legs, and the upper part is structural. Its total feeling is that man is all machine and loses himself in zero indeed. THE PHILOSOPHER (Bronze—6 ft. high) is a casting of various bits having circular design, dents, projections, ribs and what not and then coarsely soldered to form a hollow long cube. The whole shape is standing on two slender legs—all to express in a violent way that a philosopher is completely deluded and his brain is full of ideas.

These exhibits reveal that just as painters are profoundly impressed by the disquiet, stress and strain of the modern society and paint in surrealist, kinetic and non-objective styles, so the British sculptors express the restless spirit of nature or of man by means of ever new mannerisms. And, indeed, it is a good show to ponder over.

## WILLIAM SOMERSET MAUGHAM

C. S.

William Somerset Maugham is no more. But he will remain as a landmark in the memory of time.

Maugham lived with many a reputed man of letters but he survived them both in life and literature. It is no wonder if the present generation considers him as one of the most celebrated novelists and playwrights England has produced in this century. His 69 years of incessant activities in the world of literature have left an individuality of his own for the future generations to assess and assimilate.

Born on January 25, 1874. Maugham's earlier life was spent on trials and inconsistencies. He lost his parents when he was a child and was brought up by his uncle, a clergyman of Whitstable in England, and an aunt who had no children. His education was hampered and aimless. Though Maugham's uncle wanted him to go to Oxford and ordain himself to carry on the vicarage. Maugham found it not to his taste and went to Germany. He stayed at Heidelberg and learnt the German language for some time. Thereafter, he came back to Whitstable only to go to London for being articled to a Chartered Accountant. This job too was not to his choice. Finding solace and satisfaction nowhere, Maugham ultimately joined a Medical College in London and completed his medical education.

But he was not satisfied with his new avocation either. He was perennially disturbed by an insatiable urge from his soul. His heart seemed to whisper in his ears that he was destined to be some-one else. And those whisperings were a portent of what he became in later years. He was born to feel the pulse of the common men, their miseries and privations and naturally he was endowed with a heart thrilling and throbbing at the experiences of day-to-day life. Because he was a writer . . .

He took to writing leaving aside his medical profession. He wrote not only because he had an urge or instinct to write and thus be a professional writer, as he called himself later,

but because he was ordained to write. He wrote not because he wanted to, but because he thought he must. At the same time, he laboured incessantly to be proficient in the line he had ultimately chosen to be his own.

Maugham poured out his experiences with his singular skill to tell what he had in mind. And where was he lacking in experience? The mental agony caused by the death of his parents in his early childhood was equally disturbing as was his physical deformity. He stammered and did not have good health. His direct experience of the life of artists, the mental conflict he had till he adopted an avocation of his choice, the affairs he had with women and the opportunity he had to understand the pains and struggles of common men, in his capacity as doctor and above all, his war experiences, equipped him to write well and he wrote dipping his pen in the ink of realities.

But Maugham had made up his mind that having but one life, he should like to get the most out of it. It was not enough for him merely to write. He was preparing to live and at the same time, devising out of various experiments, successes and failures, a pattern of life, in which "writing would be an essential element, but which would include all the other activities proper to man, and which death would in the end round off in complete fulfilment". And this pattern which he adopted as a way of life, is amply reflected in all his works, as a link and no surprise if his personal experiences were profoundly mirrored in each of his works. And that is why we find facts and fiction closely intermingled in his novels, so much so that it is difficult to separate them.

Numerous short stories, plays, novels and essays have poured out of his prolific pen. His books have been translated into many languages in the world and it is estimated that nearly 100 million copies of his works have been printed. *From "Liza of Lambeth" to "Points of View"*

Maugham wrote his first novel called "Liza

of Lambeth" in 1897 when he was 23 years old. This novel is based on his experiences of hospital life in St. Thomas's as a practising surgeon. It virtually shook the society of that time and it had an unexpected success. Then came many novels and plays. However, for the first decade of his writing, Maugham could not succeed as a writer. Writing did not bring any reward to him. He found it difficult even to eke out a living out of this profession. He was virtually thrown into bankruptcy.

It was at this stage that his play "Lady Fredrick" was staged. This happened in 1907. This play brought him unexpected fortune and country-wide fame. He was getting recognition as a writer. Thereafter, he wrote many plays which were welcomed around the world. "The Land of Promise", "Our Betters" and "The Constant Wife" promised him a standing.

But his interest in play, though it was found more lucrative, soon died out. He felt that it was difficult to achieve proficiency in drama. "To get one result, you must sacrifice another, so that to write a play perfect in all its particulars, in the interest and significance of its theme, in the subtlety and originality of its characterisation, in the plausibility of its intrigue and in the beauty of its dialogue, is impossible. It seemed to me that in the novel and in the short story perfection had been sometimes achieved, and though I could scarcely hope to reach it, I had a notion that in those mediums I could come nearer to it than I had any chance of doing in the drama".

Thus he changed from stage to novel.

Soon after, his famous novel "Of Human Bondage" came out. This was in 1915. "Of Human Bondage" is an autobiographical novel. "Facts and fiction are inextricably inter-mingled" in it. It is believed that through this novel Maugham has portrayed the first 30 years of his own life :

Philip, the main character in the novel, spends his childhood with his uncle, the vicar of Blackstable, and aunt ; he grows disinterested in the school atmosphere and goes to Germany. He stays there for some time and comes back to be articled as Chartered Accountant in London. Then he goes to Paris and comes back to Blackstable again. In the meanwhile, his aunt dies. He then proceeds to London to join Medical

College. He develops a sort of attachment with a girl called Mildred who was working as a waitress in a restaurant. She exploits his innocence. This affair virtually brought him enough mental disturbance which even tells upon his examination. It was when he was practising as House Surgeon that he came across a kind-hearted journalist called Thorpe Athelny. He develops intimacy with Athelny family and subsequently falls in love with his daughter Sally. He decides to marry her and settle down.

Apart from being an index of his personal life with a touch of imagination here and there, this novel depicts the vicissitudes of a young man who became a victim of circumstances and suffered tremendous pain and humiliation due to his inconsistency in thinking and lack of proper guidance in formative years.

Three years later, "The Moon and Sixpence". Maugham's another great novel, was published. This novel has been written in an entirely different background. Maugham himself has admitted that he had based this novel on the life of the famous French painter Paul Gauguin :

Charles Strickland, a stock broker in London, suddenly disappears, deserting his sophisticated wife and daughter. But he reaches Paris in search of satisfaction for his surging impulses towards painting. There he leads a very wretched life, though he makes his talent known. But he finds his life in Paris also unbearable and relegates himself to obscurity.

Many years later, the author happens to visit Tahiti Islands. To his astonishment, he comes to know that Strickland had spent his later years in that Island having married a native girl and devoted his remaining life time in producing many masterpieces in painting. Strickland fell a victim to leprosy and suffered considerably.

When his name was known everywhere and the world grew crazy for his paintings, alas, Strickland was no more !

Maugham's masterly pen has sketched a man's life in such a way that we cannot but remain disturbed with the thoughts of the fate of Strickland, or that genius Paul Gauguin. Moreover, we get to know from this novel, Maugham's deep knowledge of art and his clarity of judgment of the works of painting.

Maugham's third great novel 'Cakes and Ale'

is both biographical and autobiographical. It is believed that it touches upon certain inner recesses of the famous English author Thomas Hardy's life.

Edward Driffield is a famous writer. His wife Rosie is beautiful and affectionate, but she is bereft of love or care from her busy husband. She continues her clandestine relations with a local coal merchant Lord George Kemp with whom she was having similar connections even before her marriage with Driffield. She was a bar maid and flirt-gill and everybody wondered how a celebrated man like Driffield could marry such a woman!

Rosie Driffield had ample opportunities to mix up and make merry with people and still she remained dissatisfied with her life. And she elopes with Lord George to America! That was virtually a shock to Driffield who had already entered the evening of his life. He falls a victim of pneumonia. A nurse was sent to him by his admirer and well-wisher Mrs. Barton Trafford and it so happened that he ultimately married the nurse.

Maugham met the Driffields for the first time at Blackstable (actually it is Whitstable where he spent his early days) and since then he knew them intimately for long. He reveals in his characteristic style how he also fell a 'victim' of love of Rosie Driffield—a woman quite older than him—and how she received him when he happened to meet her in New York after so many years when Driffield had died and gone.

'Cakes and Ale', which was published in 1930, created a great deal of furore in the literary world, as it had been suspected to have portrayed some of the contemporary leading writers. This novel has been written in a peculiarly pungent way and its barb and verve are as nerve racking as its narrative is extraordinarily novel.

Maugham's last great novel "The Razor's Edge" was published in 1943. This story revolves around an American young man called Larry Darrell who seeks fulfilment in life. He was restless ever since he found his young pilot friend had to meet death on his bid to save Larry's life. If good and evil were there in the world, why should evil befall the poor and innocent—Larry wondered. He seeks an answer. He works in the coal mines of France, wanders in the fields of Poland, roams about in Germany

and at last reaches India, where he spends five years, learning the Hindu way of living and meeting the saints. He spends two years in an ashram in Travancore. Ultimately he claims to have achieved what he sought for many years and returns to Paris. He comes to the conclusion that "self-perfection is the greatest ideal" and for the sake of this ideal, he forgoes everything dear to him, including the private income he had inherited. He decides to go back to America "to live with calmness, forbearance, compassion, selflessness and continence".

This novel is an excellent exposition of a man's search for truth and approach towards life with a mystic touch here and there and while concluding the story, Maugham skilfully gives an impression that it is actually not the end of the story, but a beginning of an end.

It was towards the end of 1930's that Maugham set to sort out his thoughts on matters which chiefly interested him in life and in 1938 he brought out his well-known book called 'The Summing Up'.

'The Summing Up' is virtually a testament Maugham has presented to the world of literature. It is a recapitulation of ideas scattered through his mind and he has written this to "disembarrass his soul of certain notions that have hovered about in it too long for his comfort". He has summed up systematically his views on various matters like his approach towards life, the pattern he has adopted and the "dos and don'ts" of a writer. This is certainly not an autobiography, but at the same time, it is not anything short of it inasmuch as it presents a glimpse of his literary career, "with a limit to privacy".

"Points of View"—Maugham's last published book—came out in 1958, after 60 years since his first book "Liza of Lambeth" was published. In this book Maugham makes a brilliant literary evaluation, with the exception of a philosophical treatise in his essay called 'The Saint'. Maugham's appreciation of the works of Goethe and Chekhov, with a flight to their highly sensitive life, is indeed a pleasure to read.

#### *Style and Characterisation*

Maugham was a story-teller par excellence. He possessed a peculiar way of narration. In



some cases. he excelled even Maupassant and Chekhov. Not only that he had a powerful and catching expression, but an uncanny knack to keep the link of the story unbroken throughout. He believed that plot was nothing but the link of the story and maintained the beginning, middle and end intact in all his novels. The reader is left behind without any doubt in his mind about any character. Maugham has made use of the first person singular, despite his fear of being misconstrued, for narration of the stories in his three major novels. viz., "The Moon and Sixpence", "Cakes and Ale" and "The Razor's Edge". And this medium has had powerful effect in his telling the stories in a convincing manner. Sometimes it may be in the middle of the story, the author suddenly emerges and keeps the chain of thinking unbroken. Like Chekhov, Maugham took care to avoid any incident or character having nothing to do with the plot and that is why we find his stories to the point.

Maugham's characters are true representatives of the time he lived. They are vain, inconsistent, hypocritical, idealistic, crazy and what not! Maugham took excessive interest in men and women and brought out their peculiar characteristics. "I think what has chiefly struck me in human beings is the lack of consistency". His characters are easily identified with many amidst us. And that is why Philip and Larry have caught our imagination.

Maugham's women characters are equally prominent. They are women possessed of burning emotions, unfulfilled yearnings. They are earth, earthy. Maugham's Isabel (The Razor's Edge) is one of those millions of modern women who want moneyed husbands to lead a cosy and comfortable life, whereas his Rosie Driffield (Cakes and Ale), Kitty (Painted Veil), Julia Lambert (Theatre) are women who want to satiate their faminine urge which they find impossible to fulfil from their busy, indifferent and incapable husbands. But one wonders why Maugham did not bother to portray a single woman character without blemish. Is it that the women he came across were all bereft of love? Julia Lambert (Theatre) carries on with a young man who is half her age and of just the same age as her son! Once when her passion was unbearably aroused, she even went to a

crowded street in search of someone, but alas, she had to come back totally disappointed! Kitty (Painted Veil) maintains clandestine relations with Charles Townsend, a friend of her husband, and becomes pregnant! Rosie Driffield (Cakes and Ale) seeks pleasure from her 'friends' when her husband is busy writing, closeted in his study, and she ultimately deserts him only to elope with her paramour to America! Mary Patton (Up at the Villa) picks up a poor but good looking young man and goes to bed with him! Blanche Stroeve, wife of Dirk Stroeve (The Moon and Sixpence) runs away with Charles Strickland! Sophie (The Razor's Edge) virtually becomes a down and out prostitute. One is amused and amazed at the strange behaviour of these 'creatures of circumstances'. Are they not the products of the so-called sophisticated society? They are. Maugham closely observed them in all their whimsical vagaries and probably he was convinced that essentially women were but one and the same, the only difference being of degree.

### *On Writing*

Maugham held certain concrete views on writing and it would be interesting to know where he stood so far as his conception of writing was concerned.

The writer writes to disembarass and liberate his soul. He finds ecstasy and exhilaration when he has given form and shape to his ideas. Maugham likes to call the works of authors as 'children of their brains'. If such children of brains are capable of pleasing the readers and developing their personality, these are certainly great pieces of art and the pleasure the author shares with the readers is indeed immeasurable. He feels a stirring of his soul, and is it not enough reward for the author, Maugham asks.

Writing, according to Maugham, is a pleasant, exciting and interesting profession. But it is as difficult as other branches of art are. Everybody cannot write. Writing calls for arduous labour, apart from the instinct to write. Further, a writer must take writing as his main, whole-time job. It is only a professional who can progress and according to Maugham, "the literature of a country is made not by a few excellent books, but by a great body of works and

this can only be produced by professional writers", and "a body of works is the result of long, continued and resolute efforts".

The writer has certainly different conceptions of the things around him. He is conscious of the mutual contradiction and inconsistencies his fellow-beings present to each other. He gathers impressions, chaffs them and discern the necessary material, according to his imagination. "By a simultaneous process, he discovers himself and learns how to display this discovery to the best advantage".

Maugham feels that "every production of an artist should be an expression of an adventure of his soul" and that is possible only if the artist resorts to his experiences rather than to his own instinct alone; otherwise, there is a danger of its losing the touch of realism.

Maugham has also to say something about the success for which every author is yearning and for which he is assiduously working. "Success improves the character of the man, but does not always improve the character of the author", because "success is the greatest danger when after a long and bitter struggle he has at last achieved it, he finds that it spreads a snare to entangle and destroy him". Every author is likely to be allured by the praise of the public, attraction of women and luxuries and these will impede his initiative and kill his instinct to produce better works. "The writer is wise who is wary of success."

Every writer, according to Maugham, should read criticism. "Censure is salutary than praise". Maugham liked criticism and it is true, it helped him in mending himself to a great extent, though sometimes the critics were not objective in his case. He recalls in his "To Summing Up": "In my twenties the critics they said I was brutal, in my thirties they said I was flippant, in my forties they said I was cynical, in my fifties they said I was competent and now in my sixties they say I am superficial". But he contented that criticism should be constructive, rather than destructive and it should guide the writers for improvement.

Maugham warns the writers to keep themselves away from the entanglement of politics,

because "their counsel has had no effect and is injurious to their pursuit." It is also dangerous for the writers to take journalism, as "there is an impersonality in a newspaper that insensibly affects the writer" and atrophies his individuality.

#### *Maugham—a traveller*

Maugham was a great traveller. He has gone round the world and seen for himself things which he had only heard of. His visits to various countries far and near, according to him, definitely helped him in the formation of his character. "I had my full share of the intellectual's arrogance and if, as I hope, I have lost it, I must ascribe it not to my own virtue or wisdom but to the chance that made me more of a traveller than most writers". His visits to India have had tremendous influence on his basic thinking. He understood not only the conditions of the people in India, but the tenets of Hindu philosophy. In his novel 'The Razor's Edge', Maugham has dealt with this aspect at great length through the conversation with Larry and the author. Maugham's visit to Tiruvannamalai in Madras and meeting the Maharshi and also his veneration for the saint have been described in his 'Points of View'. The essay on "The Saint" indicates how deep his study of the Hindu philosophy was. But the man in Maugham was pained to see the real India and who will not be moved to read the lines which he poured out of his heart: ".....It was not the Taj Mahal, the ghats of Banares, the temple of Madura or the mountains of Travancore that had most moved me— it was the peasant, terribly emaciated with nothing to cover his nakedness but a rag round his middle, the colour of the sun-baked earth he tilled, the peasant shivering in the cold of dawn, sweating in the heat of the noon, working still as the sun set red over the parched fields, the starving peasant toiling without cease in the north, in the south, in the east, in the west, toiling all over the vastness of India, toiling as he had toiled from father to son, back for 3,000 years when the Aryans had first descended upon the country, toiling for a scant subsistence, his only hope to keep body and soul together. That was the sight that had given me the most poignant emotion in India."

*Maugham as he was*

Maugham lived for 91 years and he has himself described it to be a happy fate. "With all my limitations, physical and mental, I have been glad to live". He earned abundance of wealth, millions of admirers and countless honours. He was acclaimed as "Maupassant of the English language". He was made a Companion of Honour by Queen Elizabeth. He was also one of Britain's first Companions of Literature and the first Englishman to become an honorary Senator in Heidelberg University.

But in his private life he suffered inwardly, inexorably. In his early life he had to struggle for his mere existence. His middle age was all the more uncomfortable. His marriage with Lady Wellcome, a widow, had to be dissolved after 13 years of their marriage! He was then relegated to loneliness and resorted to the writing of books, totally bereft of the family happiness, in his later years. He had gradually adjusted himself to such a life. But pain and agony continued dogging his footsteps. Three years ago, his old and weak heart received a terrible jolt when his only daughter Elizabeth had the temerity to sue him in the court as he had decided to forgo a substantial portion of his fortune to the British Society of Authors to help the "unhappy and sick writers". His daughter was apparently afraid that eventually her claim for inheritance of her patrimony would be futile. Maugham could not bear this callousness and threatened even to disown her! Happily both of them were reconciled in 1964.

Recently, Robin Maugham, Somerest Maugham's nephew, happened to visit him at his Riviera villa in France. Maugham was stale and his wry, wrinkled face gave a worried look. When asked by his nephew to recall the

happiest moment in his life, Maugham stammered in a very cold manner :

"I c...c...can't think of a single moment".

Maugham did not believe in God, and religion never appealed to him. But he did believe in right action and the goodness of the people. "Goodness", Maugham conceded, "is the only value that seems in this world of appearances to have any claim to be an end in itself. Virtue is its own reward". And he never changed his belief.

When he was aging, he did not grow impatient. Nor was he frightened. He looked forward to old age with tranquility and tried to enjoy its pleasures which "though different, are not less than the pleasures of the youth". Of course, he knew old age was hard too. "What makes old age hard to gear is not the failing of one's faculties, mental and physical, but the burden of one's memories" and that one could not help.

He was growing old, notwithstanding. There were moments when he curiously felt an "eagerness" for death which could offer him final and absolute freedom. But he lingered on. On the 90th birthday he said : "I have walked hand in hand with death and its hand is warmer than mine".

On his 91st birthday also he must have felt the same warmth, but it was not to last longer.

Day by day, he was failing in all his faculties. He was losing his memory and cataracts were forming in his eyes. He could not move freely. Suddenly he suffered a stroke and a fall at his Riviera villa. He fell unconscious. He struggled for 5 days in the hospital.

Sixth day. Sixteenth of December, 1965. Maugham was brought back to his villa. It was not yet dawn.

And that inevitable occurred—the sad end of a story !

## THE BEGINNING OF MUNSIFS IN BENGAL

Dr. MOTI BABU

When we think of a 'munsif' today, we think of the image of a dignified judicial officer in black gown and white bands, seated high on a dias in a big room, functioning with all the formalities of a British court of justice. How different is he from his earliest predecessor—a village zamindar, sitting in his own house or grove in his own way and hearing and disposing of cases in a most informal manner. That was what a munsif was like at the close of the eighteenth century.

It was in the capacity of the munsif that Indians were first associated with the British administration of justice in the Bengal Presidency. This office was started by Lord Cornwallis, who borrowed perhaps nothing more than the mere designation from Sher Shah Sur. No tradition of munsifs having been handed down to the British by the Mughals, the former had to plan the whole institution afresh. The lowest courts till then, established by the East India Company, were the Zillah and City Courts which were presided over by officers of British origin. These could hardly suffice for a convenient and broad-based administration of justice. As stated in the opening section of Regulation XL of 1793, the situation resulted in great expense and inconvenience to the parties and their witnesses by requiring them to go to a court situated far away from their places of residence and also in a greater portion of the time of these zillah and city courts being occupied by petty

matters, resulting in protraction of the disposal of causes of greater importance. It was felt that for these petty matters a court should be available to every defendant within five *ross* of his place of residence. This objective could be achieved only by the appointment of Indians. Accordingly, the said regulation provided for the grant of commissions to Mohammedans and Hindus "to try and determine suits for sums of money or personal property not exceeding in amount or value Fifty Sicca Rupees". The commissioners were to be nominated by the judges of the zillahs and cities, but they could not function as such unless their nomination was approved by the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut. Persons who were best qualified for the trust by their character and abilities were to be selected for these appointments, but this selection was confined to the Hindus and Mohammedans belonging to any of the following classes, namely,—

- (1) The principal proprietors of land who have the management of their own estates ;
- (2) Farmers of land holding farms immediately of government ;
- (3) Tehseeldars or Sejawuls collecting the revenues from lands held *khas*, or small estates whether let in farm or held *khas*.
- (4) Managers of estates under the court of wards ;
- (5) Under farmers, and some officers entrusted with the collection of land revenue

of estates which may be considered too extensive for the person belonging to any of the preceding four categories to determine with promptness all the suits that might come before him for disposal ;

- (6) Creditable merchants, traders, and shopkeepers or other persons of property and acknowledged character, residing in towns, bazars etc. of sufficient extent to require the appointment of a separate commissioner ;
- (7) Persons possessing extensive *ALTUM-GAHS* or *JAGHIREs* or persons appointed by them to manage these ;
- 8) *Cauzies* at Calcutta and the headquarters of the Zillah Courts (for their respective areas) ;
- (9) *Mofussil cauzies*.

Unless otherwise ordered by the *Sudder Dewanny Adawlut*, a commission remained in force only so long as the holder held the position which qualified him for appointment.

According to the terms of their respective commissions these native commissioners could act in one or more of the following three capacities :-

1. Referees or *Ameens*, in which capacity they were to hear and determine such suits as might be referred to them by the *dewanny adawluts* ;
2. Arbitrators or *Salisan*, in which capacity they were to try and determine such suits as parties might by arbitration agreements voluntarily submit to their decision ;
3. *Munsifs*, in which capacity they were empowered to receive, try and determine of their own authority (without any order from the *Dewanny Adawlut*) such suits as might be preferred to them against persons being under-renters or *ryots* in the estate in virtue of which they may be

vested with the office of commissioner. (The *Sudder Dewanny Adawlut* was empowered to extend the jurisdiction of a *munsif* to any circumadjacent estate).

Any commissioner could be granted power to act in the first two capacities, but only persons from among the first five of the nine categories mentioned above could be granted commissions to act as *munsifs*. Of course, the *Sudder Dewanny Adawlut* could confer power on *cauzies* also to act as *munsifs*.

As to the jurisdiction of these *munsifs*, some later legislation excluded from the jurisdiction of these officers the suits for personal damages and the suits in which a foreigner was a party. No such limits were laid down in this first regulation on the subject ; but the effect must have been the same, because as *munsifs* they could entertain suits against under-renters and *ryots* only and these could normally be only for rent.

This regulation also prescribed the procedure for institution and trial of suits. The parties could appear before the *munsif* either personally or through a *vakeel*. This *vakeel* need not have been a legal practitioner. He could be any person of the party's choice appointed under a *vakalutnamah* attested by atleast two witnesses. The *munsif* had the power of *ex-parte* hearing and to dismiss for default, though the power to set aside *ex-parte* proceedings and to order fresh hearing vested not in him, but in the City or Zillah Courts. Similarly, the decrees passed by these *munsifs* were executable not by the decreeing court but by the Zillah or City Court. An appeal against a decree of a *munsif* lay to the City or Zillah Court for that area.

Even at that initial stage this regulation provided for ensuring impartiality, honesty

and independence on the part of these judicial officers. No munsif could act as such unless he had taken an oath or made a solemn affirmation which bound him to administer justice impartially and to the best of his ability. He could be prosecuted in the Dewanny Adawlut for any corruption in the discharge of his duties or for any oppressive and unwarranted act of authority. A munsif could not try any suit in which he or any of his immediate servants was in any way interested. He had to try and determine all suits himself and was not to allow any other person to interfere therein. He could also impose a reasonable fine on any witness, party or vakeel guilty of disrespectful behaviour towards him while in attendance upon him for the trial of the suit. No munsif could be removed within the term of his appointment unless there was sufficient cause proved to the satisfaction of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut. It was also expected that these munsifs would act with due dispatch and they were required to submit quarterly returns in respect of pending suits, explaining in respect of each suit the cause why it had not been decided.

As to the remuneration of these officers, this regulation of 1793 made no provision. But soon after, section 2 of Regulation XXXVIII of 1795 empowered the munsifs to collect a cash court-fee of one anna per rupee on all the suits instituted before them. It also authorized them to appropriate such fees for their own use "as a compensation for their trouble and an indemnification for the expense which they may incur in the execution of the duties of their office."

This was the beginning of the office of the munsif. As time went on the relevant provisions were modified and improved upon. Their appointment was freed from class restrictions and made wholly dependent on merit.<sup>1</sup> They were converted into whole-time government servants and their powers also were widened from time to time so as to reach their present level.<sup>2</sup>

1. Regulation XLIX of 1803.

2. See regulations XXIII of 1814, II of 1821, and V of 1831 and Act XVI of 1868

## THE INDO-GERMAN CONSPIRACY : THE COLLAPSE

Prof. KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

While referring to the arrest of Heramba Lal Gupta on March 10, 1917 we mentioned two arrests made four days earlier.<sup>1</sup> One of these was that of Chandra Chakravarty himself and the other was that of Ernest Sekunna, a German subject who called himself "Doctor". The arrests made shortly after midnight at 364 East 120th Street in Hoboken (New York) "a house they had bought, according to the Government agents, from which to direct their anti-British plots." They were reported to have bought a second house in West Seventy-seventh Street and contemplated changing their headquarters to that house within a few days. The second house was to have been used as a combination headquarters and club for Indians in sympathy with the German scheme for the disruption of the Indian Empire. The police had been shadowing them for several weeks and located the headquarters building several weeks ago by "trailing a German banker" who was seen on various occasions conferring with Chakravarty and Sekunna. According to the Federal authorities, the arrests were likely to be a prelude to a countrywide round up of "aliens of various nationalities who have taken advantage of American neutrality to plot on American soil against the allies."<sup>2</sup>

United States Commissioner S. M. Hitchcock fixed bail for each man in the sum of \$25,000 which after some hesitation they promptly furnished. In a safety box in a downtown bank, held in the name of Chakravarty, the police found cash and securities to the value of \$30,000.<sup>3</sup> It is beyond doubt, therefore, that the accused had considerable funds under their control.

Even before formal proceedings had started and the San Francisco trial had taken shape, interesting information about the Indian revolutionary and his German accomplice was given out by the newspaper press. It was reported that these two took out on February 28, trade name certificates to do business as 'The Oriental Society', 'The Oriental Kitchen', and 'The Oriental Review'. The Review was to be a monthly magazine devoted to "arts, science and the affairs in the Far East, particularly, Japan, India, China and Persia." The place of publication was given as 170 West Seventy-seventh Street, a house that the two had bought sometime back. It was also reported that Sekunna had bought an isolated farm of about 200 acres in the New York state in response to an advertisement in the New York papers on February 17.<sup>4</sup>

The simultaneous arrest of an Indian and a German and the fragments of the admissions and the disclosures (reported to have been made by them) that reached the press provided the American newspapers with exciting and interesting materials on the character and sweep of the German sponsored conspiracies on the neutral soil of the United States. Prominence was given to the relevant reports and Chakravarty's arrest and its sequel was highlighted. As indicated already, some other arrests were also made at about the same time.

To turn to Chandra Chakravarty. Accompanied by their defence counsel, the prisoners were taken into the office of John C. Knox, Assistant United States District Attorney. In the course of the interrogations, they were reported to "have made important admissions and it was rumoured in the Federal Building that they had agreed to make a full and complete statement to

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1. The Modern Review; January; 1966.

2. The New York Times. March 7, 1917,

1 : 1

3 *Ibid.*

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4. *Ibid.*, March 8, 1917, 1 : 4.

the Government of all they knew concerning German activities in the U.S."<sup>5</sup> Chakravarty did make some admissions and the relevant document in support of the Government's contention was produced at the San Francisco trial.<sup>6</sup> The prisoners admitted receiving \$60,000 from Von Igel, "but this is believed to be only a small part of the total turned over to them." He was the German paymaster in the Indian Conspiracy and "according to a statement made yesterday always paid the money to Sekunna." The authorities were of the view that the Sekunna-Chakravarty case was "only one single of the German Conspiracy system" in the U.S.<sup>7</sup>

Besides rousing public curiosity about the sweep of a conspiracy project that had been foiled, a natural sequel to the developments, some of which we have referred to earlier, was a long editorial in the New York Times under the title—The German Plots. The Indian revolutionary activity finds no specific mention here. But, as the brief extracts reproduced below will show, it was also in the editor's mind.<sup>8</sup>

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5. *Ibid.*, March 10 1:1; 2

6. San Francisco Examiner, December 13, 1917, p. 13. The newspaper report purported to say that the Government produced (yesterday) testimony showing that Chakravarty had made a complete written confession of all the transactions between the German Government and the Indian plotters. The confession was made to Secretary of State Lansing on condition that it would not be used against Chakravarty in Court. The text of it was not divulged by the State Department.

After the interview with Tunney (of the Neutrality Bureau of Investigation of the New York Police Department) Chakravarty made the confession to the Secretary of State on the condition that the document should be made confidential.

7. The New York Times, March 10, 1917; 2:5.

8. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1917, 10:3.

"Every day some new German activity, conspiracy or espionage in the United States, or directed against the U.S. from its territory, comes to light. For more than two years acts of war against the Entente Powers have been planned on American soil, acts of violence and of destruction against American industry and commerce have been attempted or perpetrated."

"The hospitality of the country has been and is being abused to its damage and its danger."

"The Government has been long patient, too patient, of German aggressions, German crimes committed or plotted in the U.S."

"It is right that the nation should know in full the transactions of the representatives and agents in this country."

We have deviated from the Chakravarty-Sekunna story. Chakravarty appears to be a bundle (to an excess) of contradictions—of courage and timidity, truth and falsehood, patriotism and personal considerations, firm determination and strange indecision. His disclosures almost immediately after arrest made the work of the American Police and the British agents easier. In the Court room "both (Chakravarty and Sekunna) had the appearance of men suffering from fright."<sup>9</sup> Chakravarty's subsequent behaviour during the trial was, by and large, one of toughness and defiance. But there were occasions when he behaved irresponsibly earning the

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9. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1917, 4:5. This finds corroboration in the District Attorney's observations during the San Francisco trial. "Chakravarty is a man of little fortitude. As soon as he was caught in New York; when officer Tunney and these police officials had him down there, and a British agent, or whoever it was, was behind the screen, he began to turn up his toes and he said, 'Yes, I will tell the Government everything.'" Trial records, p. 6906.

It is interesting to note that a British agent was behind the screen.



disapprobation of his colleagues.<sup>10</sup> His maintains that "a revolution supposed to be mishandling of the cause of the Indian re- led by such men could not be taken seriously." The picture that Roy gives of this towards the end of the trial. Despite his man borders on ridicule and contempt. If bombastic sixteen minute address in the the assessment of Roy is fairly correct, one Jury<sup>11</sup> in which he said that he had ex- is left wondering how Chakravarty was put pended thousands of dollars "doing it in in such a position of confidence and responsibility." his German accomplices questioned his bona fides. After the Court had adjourned Franz Bopp asked Chakravarty, "You say you were inspired by patriotism?" To Chakravarty's answer "Yes", the German commented, "Patriotism and \$60,000" and turned away red of face.<sup>12</sup>

M. N. Roy, whose association with Chakravarty, we have discussed in our last paper<sup>13</sup> says that a New York newspaper announced the arrest of Chakravarty with the headline: "Oily leader of the Oily Revolution locked up in Tomb."<sup>14</sup> Roy objects to the word qualifying 'revolution', but agrees with the characterization of the leader and

Chakravarty was not alone responsible for the ultimate fizzling out of the revolutionary conspiracy. But it may be inferred that he did not take up his formidable responsibility with the seriousness it deserved. It seems that he primarily emphasized the propaganda aspect of the revolution and was a bad organizer of a political group. With the progress of the trial his imperfections as a revolutionary leader were exposed. His German accomplices were dissatisfied with the manner of his handling of the funds. The Indian colleagues were startled by the disclosures he had made and were seized with a sense of frustration. With Chakravarty the revolutionary effort was at most half-hearted. The annoyance of his colleagues with the 'leader' became unmistakable towards the close of the trial. It appears that the annoyance was general and not personal. It could, therefore, be mellowed by a sense of humour as will be proved by the following news item. "Recently the Hindu defendants confined in the County jail knitted a silk medal, which they facetiously conferred upon Dr. Chakravarty as

10. San Francisco Chronicle. December 13. 1917; p. 11.

"You are spoiling the whole case." With flushed face and clenched fists Franz Bopp, former German Consul-General in San Francisco hurled this reproach at Dr. C. K. Chakravarty.

"To the dark scowls of his countrymen Chakravarty responded with a broad grin."

11. *Ibid.*, April 18; 1918; p. 11.

In part Chakravarty said, "I had not the right to violate the neutrality laws of the United States. Why did I accept German gold? Because internal organization without external aid is impossible in our predicament—and Germany offered the best way out. We in India are endeavouring to do just as America did in 1776. While Washington was struggling at home Benjamin Franklin was seeking aid in France.; While my countrymen are struggling at home I sought aid in Berlin."

"Personally I did not attempt to put on foot a military enterprise..... But I did spread our propaganda and expended thousands of dollars doing it in the name of patriotism..."

12. *Ibid.*

13. The Modern Review for January 1966.

14. M. N. Roy. op. cit.; p: 41

15. *Ibid.*, p. 31. "The fact is that he had nothing whatsoever to do with any revolution. Nor was he a villain. He was rather a crank and could be flattered to do objectionable things. His German counterpart was the devil of the drama. Undoubtedly he was engaged in espionage and somehow managed to raise his friend to the position he was not qualified to occupy either by record or by merit. How the Berlin Committee trusted him remained a mystery. After all, they did have little to say about it. The last word belonged to the head of the German Secret Service in America. He wanted a dummy, and a buffoon could just fill the role."

the emblem of 'The Order of the Yellow Sreak and Double Cross'.<sup>16</sup>

It has been said already that Sekunna and Chakravarty furnished bail of \$25,000 each. Subsequently, however, the bail was refused because both of them were surrendered by the National Security Company on March 8 since the matter was one "with which the Company did not care to be involved", and the Company decided that it "would not in the future furnish bonds for persons arrested for un-American activities." Both, therefore, were sent to the Tombs. We are also told that as soon as Chakravarty got out of the clutches of the Federal officials on March 7 he "went to the County Naturalization Bureau and declared intention to become a citizen of the U.S." This, however, could not happen. For, "he cannot be naturalized for two years, and not then if he is deemed undesirable."<sup>17</sup>

Chakravarty had some real difficulty in the matter of his release on bail. On March 10, he managed to give \$25,000 bail, but at night, "the United States Casualty and Fidelity Company which had furnished the security, decided that he was not a good risk, and turned him back to the authorities."<sup>18</sup> Later, however, in order to make things easier for him and Sekunna the bail was reduced to \$5,000. Meanwhile, the German also was reported to have made important admissions to the Government.<sup>19</sup>

These few days in March saw a few important arrests. The American press was full of news of them and the newspapers gave out whatever information they could collect from official sources about a conspiracy that had potentialities but had become

virtually abortive. According to these sources, the big Indian uprising which was planned was a carefully worked-out plot "which had its origin in Berlin and which missed by only a narrow margin provoking one of the most serious outbreaks India had known since the Sepoy rebellion."<sup>20</sup> Startling disclosures re: sensational plots were expected—plots in which Germany hoped to send bona fide American citizens to England to get information which would, "among other things, aid Germany in her submarine warfare against allied and neutral merchant ships...."<sup>21</sup> It was also said that the U.S. Secret Service agents had with them the names of several hundred persons engaged in instigating rebellion against British rule in India. Such persons were, according to the reports, in all parts of the United States, Hawaii, Philippines, Japan, China and India. "In directing this big plot, as was disclosed in an official paper yesterday, 'Capt. Franz von Papen, the dismissed German Military Attache, played an important' role."<sup>22</sup>

A distinguished American who because of his public views figured in the newspaper press during Chakravarty's arrest and interrogation, and also on other occasions, was William Jennings Bryan who was three times a candidate for the Presidency. Bryan made a trip around the world in the course of which he stayed in India for some time, and on his return published a pamphlet on British Rule in India (1906). Chakravarty and other Indian revolutionaries made good use of Bryan's views in their propaganda literature. Not very long after his arrest Chakravarty, with reference to the literature that the Indian revolutionaries had prepared, was asked if what Bryan had said about British rule in India was complimen-

16. San Francisco Call and Post, April 24, 1918.

17. The New York Times, March 9; 1917; 2:7.

18. *Ibid.*, March 11; 1917: 2:3

19. *Ibid.*; March 13; 1917, 4:6 March 12, 1917; 2:5.

20. *Ibid.*; March 10; 1917. 1:1.

21. *Ibid.*; 2:5.

22. *Ibid.*; March 13; 1917 4:5.

tary. "Not very" replied the Indian.<sup>23</sup> At America came out with a public statement one time a ban was put by the U.S. Postal department on Bryan's pamphlet being sent from the United States to foreign countries. age and condemning Chakravarty for his complicity in it.<sup>25</sup>

On April 13, 1918 or thereabouts during the San Francisco trial, Ram Chandra, the Gadar Party leader "demanded that William Jennings Bryan be brought to this city to testify...."<sup>24</sup>

Chakravarty's arrest and the newspaper reports gleaned from the official sources exposed the alliance between the Indian revolutionaries and the German agents. Not that every patriotic Indian was happy at this turn of events. Lala Lajpat Rai who was in the U.S. at this time virtually as a political exile from India and was engaged in his mission of propagating the cause of India in

The New York Times brought out an editorial under the title—Chakravarty's Service—in which besides questioning, though mildly, Chakravarty's competence for the job, it castigated the conduct of the 'friendly' Government of Germany. The editorial says—"It may turn out a fortunate thing that there was a non-German implicated in the latest plot. There has been a constant procession of plots on American soil since the war broke out, beginning with the almost forgotten exploits of Fay and von Horn. But as each plot has been unearthed and the plotters captured, they have kept their own counsel and we have learned nothing about the source of this interminable, steady flowing stream of conspiracies. They were Germans and well trained.

23. *Ibid.*; March 10; 1917 2:5. The following extract from Bryan's *British Rule in India* is quoted from J. T. Sunderland's *India in Bondage*, pp. 50-51.

I have met in India some of the leading English officers (the Viceroy and the chief executives of the Province of Bengal, the United Provinces of Agra and Oude; and the Presidency of Bombay the three largest Indian states) and a number of officials in subordinate positions; I have talked with educated Indians—Hindus; Mohammedans and Parsis; have seen the people rich and poor; in the cities and in the country and have examined statistics and read speeches; reports; petitions and other literature that does not find its way to the United States; and British rule in India is far worse; far more burdensome to the people and far more unjust; than I had supposed. The trouble is that England acquired India for England's advantage; not for India's; she holds India for England's benefit; not for India's and she administers India with an eye to England's interests; not to India's.

24. San Francisco Bulletin, April 23; 1918 (5 P.M. edition). Ram Chandra "also sent messages to Secretary of State Robert Lansing and President Wilson asking for an investigation of the alleged efforts of Great Britain to wipe out the Hindu Revolutionary Party in America."

"This time a Hindu is among those in the net. He is not so well trained, and promptly admits that before coming to America to put his plot in motion he talked with the Foreign Office functionaries in Berlin. It may be that we are on the track now, and that before long we shall be able to give up the assumption on which, through international courtesy, we have been proceeding with increasing difficulty for two years and a half. That assumption has been that these endless plots originated in the

25. The New York Times, March 9; 1917; 2:7.

"If Mr. Chakravarty has confessed to fomenting a revolt in India; at the instance of the Germans; I can only say that I am sorry for him and his patriotism. I am a Hindu Nationalist; working for the attainment of Self-Government by India. but I do not believe it will be worth our while to achieve that end by foreign military aid. What we want is self-government and not the change of masters.....if any Hindu in the country is conspiring with the Germans to harm the United States; he is not only an idiot but a traitor.....and no Hindu will spare any tears for him if he meets his due."

individual enthusiasm of solitary cranks and the basic assumptions of these observations were deemed to be fairly correct that the "friendly" Government at Berlin was ignorant of them.<sup>26</sup> If the expectations then Chakravarty certainly rendered great

service to the American Government although he had failed in his primary objective.

26. The New York Times, March 11; though he had failed in his primary objective, 1917; II, 2:3,

## HISTORY OF INDIA

"India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and as such, is rightly designated by one name. Her type of civilization, too, has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world, while they are common to the whole country, or rather continent, in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human, social and intellectual development."

Indeed, had there been no such underlying unity, no empire could have been built up in India, in the ancient days of the Mahabharata, with its institution of the 'Rajasuya', in days of Asoka, and the comparatively modern times of Akbar.

Mr. Yusuf Ali, of the Bombay Civil Service, quotes Mr Vincent Smith with approval in his book on 'Life and Labour in India', and adds :

"The diversity of Social phenomena in India is a fact visible on the surface. But the groundwork on which that diversity is traced—the underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—is often lost sight of."

The author then goes on to expand this idea in felicitous and thoughtful language, and concludes :

"All its infinite variety hangs on a common thread of a somewhat distinctive Indian colour."

In the stage of nation-building at which we have arrived, it is more important for us to dwell on our resemblances than on our differences. We should remember what Okakura says on this subject :

"We forget, in an age of classification, that types are after all shining points of distinctness in an ocean of approximations, false gods deliberately set up to be worshipped, for the sake of mental convenience, but having no more ultimate or mutually exclusive validity than the separate existence of two interchangeable sciences."

Ramananda Chatterjee in  
The Modern Review, October, 1908, pp. 343-44

## (THE) WRATH OF THE CENSOR

Dr. MIHIR KUMAR SEN

### I

The first censoring of literature on Government level took place in 380 B.C. when Aristophanes was put to death in Greece as an atheist and corrupter of youth. Since then books have been banned down the ages in various places and for various reasons.

#### *Three Lines of Attack*

One observes three distinct lines of attack carried so far on books by the powers that have been. Books at first used to be banned on grounds of heresy. Later they were proscribed on charges of sedition. In more recent times the censoring of books has been due to their alleged obscenity. This chronological observation makes the change in governmental thought and taste an interesting study, indeed.

#### *Heresy*

In 1498 Savonarola was tortured into confessing his heresy in demanding church reforms. Afterwards, he was burnt along with his writings. In 1555 Queen Mary of England proclaimed that "no manner of persons presume to bring into this realm any mss., books, papers; by John Calvin.....containing false doctrine against the Catholic faith." In the 1631 edition of *The Bible* printed by R. Barker and assigns of Peter Bill the word "not" was omitted from the seventh commandment. The printers were heavily fined; the whole edition of 10,000 copies was seized and described as the Wicked Bible. When Defoe's *The Shortest Way With the Dissenters* came out in 1703, it was taken on its face value by the Church Party. Soon the dig behind Defoe's suggestion that dissenters be killed pricked the Churchmen. Immediately copies of the book were burnt and Defoe sent to prison. In 1812 *Queen Mab* was pulled up for blasphemy regarding "moral and religious matters". Darwin's *The Origin of Species* was published in 1859. In 1925 a law forbade teachers in England "to teach any theory that denies the story of the Divine creation of man

as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals". The Chinese government banned Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* in 1931. For they held that "Animals should not use human language, and that it was disastrous to put human beings and animals on the same level" !

#### *Sedition*

In 35 A.D. Caligula suppressed *The Odyssey*, because the epic gave vent to Greek ideals of freedom. Those might have brought to a close the autocratic rule in Rome. The original edition of *King Richard II* had a 'deposition' scene. That had to be knocked off in the 1597 edition under orders from Queen Elizabeth I. She felt that the play had been written "for the encouragement of disaffection". Milton's *Eikonoklastes* (1649) was burnt by the hangman at the time of the Restoration. An attack on the hypocrisy of Charles II's religion and an argument against the Divine Right of Kings comprised the 'offending matter'. A considerable amount of string-pulling finally kept Milton away from the scaffold.

What happened in England was taking place elsewhere as well. In France, Voltaire had to see "the inside of the Bastille", in 1717, for writing *J'ai Vue* and *Puero Regnante*, full of libels against Louis XIV. In Konigsberg, Frederick William II asked Immanuel Kant, in 1793, not to write any more on religion. *Die Religion Innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* bore traces of the philosopher's sympathies with the French revolutionary ideas: and, there was the rub! In Russia, in 1790, Catherine II interned Alexander Radishchev for ten years in Siberia. For the author's *Journey from Petersburg to Moscow* discussed the evils of serfdom and Tsarist absolutism. Nicholas I banned the entry of Hans Andersen's *Wonder Stories* (1835) into Russia. For the fairy tales glorified princes and princesses. The Soviets could not take them for granted. In Boston Upton Sinclair's *Oil!* became a taboo in 1927 because of its comments on the Harding administration. The trial cost Sinclair \$2,000 !

*Obscenity*

Obscenity has been a comparatively recent charge levelled against authors by official censors. Only in 1857 was E.B. Browning's *Aurora Leigh* officially condemned as "the hysterical indecency of an erotic mind." A couple of years later George Eliot's *Adam Bede* was cried down as "the vile outpourings of a lewd Woman's mind" and soon withdrawn from circulation. In 1890 Theodore Roosevelt decried Leo Tolstoi as "a sexual and moral pervert", the *Kreutzer Sonata* having been the offending work. In 1898 Havelock Ellis' *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* was condemned in London as "Lewd, lascivious, bawdy, scandalous, and obscene" by the prosecution. Ellis was not even allowed to defend himself and the scientific nature of his work.

In 1932 the Customs Court in England judged George Moore's *A Storyteller's Holiday* 'obscene'. Moore remarked that if all the censor-victims of the world were scotched, the Spring breeze would still be there to rouse desires in men and women. When Joyce's *Ulysses* was coming out serially in *The Little Review* in 1918, the instalments were burnt by the U.S. Post Office Department.

Here is an out of the ordinary story. One Mary Ware Dennett wrote in 1922 for the instruction of her sons *The Sexual Side of Life*. The U.S. Post Office Department promptly declared the publication 'un-mailable'. In 1928 she was one day requested by a "Mrs Miles" from Virginia for a copy of the booklet; and she obliged her correspondent. "Mrs Miles" turned out to be a postal inspector who had been officially directed to trap her: And Mrs Dennett had to pay a fine of \$300 for mailing "obscene matter".

Erskine Caldwell's *God's Little Acre* was dragged to the court in 1933 on charges of obscenity. New York City Magistrate Benjamin Greenspan held that the book as a whole was not 'pornographic'. For Caldwell had shown no tendency in it to "incite its readers to behave like its characters". Coarse language was no doubt used in some places. But the Court could not ask the author to put refined language in the

mouths of primitive people: In 1937 Magistrate Henry Curran used the same argument while releasing James Farrell's *A World I Never Made* from charges of obscenity.

## II

*Sanity in Courtrooms*

Greenspan's judgment in favour of *God's Little Acre* had set the ball rolling; and in the forties it was commonly held by judges in censorship cases that (i) a book must be judged as a whole, not in isolated passages; (ii) in order to be declared 'obscene', a book has got to incite its readers to behave as its characters; (iii) a 'pornographic' work ought to contain 'the leer of the sensualist' and a pornographic intent; (iv) a genuine literary attempt to show life as it is should not be taken for 'hard core pornography'; (v) dubious works of literature are generally sold underhand.

It is refreshing to note how books have had to fight for their freedom and come out victorious in the long run. The definite change in the tone (on the liberal side) of judgments given in 'proscription' cases is sure to amuse the reader. Times have changed. And sanity prevails, now more than ever, in courtrooms.

## III

*Censuring—a 'Symptom'*

It appears that the Guardians of Morals have all along been on the look-out for some sort of 'hook' to hang their 'doubts' and 'fears' on. These doubts and fears were no doubt born of guilty consciences. When anti-God literature could not be found handy, anti-Government stuff became their target. Lastly, when authors steered clear of even that snare, the Boards of Censor hooked to their ruling rods for whatever they could brand as 'morally hurtful'. Otherwise, O'hello's occupation would be gone.

Not merely that. This 'hooking' symptom will not disappear, in the absence of Shock Therapy or some equal cure... It will most probably find out some other 'objection' to which to cling. The next turn may well be that of 'differential calculus' or of 'psycho-analysis'.

## AVANT-GARDE CINEMA : A MUTED FANFARE

MARTIN S. DWORKIN

A chronic irritation with the notion of an *avant-garde* in the arts develops out of congenital ambiguities in application. It is rarely clear whether the term truly denotes distinctions of artists at work, or operates primarily in forming audiences: gathering banners and sounding trumpets in one corner of the field or another, where the newly faithful may find each other, and, perhaps, themselves. The matter may be simpler, of course, when the artists at their work deliberately affect particular flags or fanfares. But these are by nature and definition followers, and their parades hardly outdistance the oncoming novelties. Yet, there are leaders who are always in the van, who do what they must do whether they are followed or not; and these may be the hardest to recognize—the more so amid the noise and glare that come to signify recognition, in the age of Entertained Man.

The matter is more difficult in what we regard as newer arts, involved fundamentally in materials, instruments, and processes of Cyclopean industry, providing occasions of experience for measureless masses. The notion that the artist is by nature leader, innovator, or revolutionary has gained a resurgence that is characteristically modern, out of the complex transformations of social orders and political structures that accompanied the explosive growth of industrial masses in recent centuries. This role calls upon the artist to personate and articulate Man, in his continuing, enlarging crisis of self-identification and fulfillment, amid the pulverizing, obliterating forces of mass society.

But the arts themselves may edge the attack, inspiring each person with the presence of whatever gods are held up for worship, celebrating orthodoxies and managed enthusiasms or apathies of government and market place, serving rising tyrannies of unreason in the guise of emotional liberation. The drive towards total accessibility and experience of culture accompanies, at the least, the epochal vectors towards totalism in all forms and phases of the life of Man. And the formation of new orders of mass society

punctually assimilate the revolutionary, technological arts of collective experience, that project organizations of prepared imaginings so directly upon inner tissues of spirit, so far beyond controls of consciousness as are the private dreams they resemble and even imitate.

Some of the unclarity of a notion of an *avant-garde* in the mass arts have been inherited, to be sure, from its original currency in scuffles among cliques and critics over doctrines and departures in European painting and literature, during the dwindling years of elegant decadence before the war of 1914-18. More clouds of meaning, however, arose out of post-war fervors of disillusionment, concurrent with an awakening temper of experiment, particularly with forms and techniques of cinema. Among artists, already traditional passions against bourgeois life and aspirations were reasserted as paradoxical commitments to forces inimical to individualism, whether as ideal or practice. Among audiences, distinctions of intentions and quality were blurred more easily than ever, in vacillations between desires for sentient participation and unconscious absorption.

The arguments over relationships of art and artists to elite or popular audiences, that strewed the landscape of modern aesthetics with so much revered wreckage, were carried from the book-stalls, galleries, and concert halls into the new theaters. Here, too, there could and would be aristocracies. But the patents of belonging would be different for the cinema, that had come in less than three decades from a peep-show novelty and side-show attraction, to project a new reality for entire populations, throughout the world. Almost from the beginning, the magic shadows had been made for, and sold to the masses. Only later, in general, did the middle classes buy, especially as they were drawn to the stupefying, albeit respectable vulgarity of the gilded plaster palaces springing up in chains and clusters during the brash years between war and depression.

Those who knew better, according to tradition and vocation, arrived last of all. Moralists and evangelists had seen the menace and power of the

movies almost at once. Before the war, however, only a scattering of scholars and litterateurs—among the first anywhere were Hugo Münsterberg and Vachel Lindsay in the U.S.—took up the challenge to comprehend and criticize what was already apparent as a revolution in processes of imagination, as well as in forms of imagery. Wrote Lindsay in 1915: "It has come then, this new weapon of men, and the face of the whole earth changes." And what had arrived was something that the artists—in the sense of practitioners in the traditional fine arts; and the experimentalists—in the sense of seekers after new modes of personal expression, found already in being and in power.

Hans Richter, in noting its first appearance in post-war Germany, defined the *avant-garde* film as "the film as an art experiment," carefully adding that as a branch of creative activity, "... its roots were in the international art movement called modern art, which had its centre in Paris rather than in Berlin." But *avant-garde* cinema, root and branch, presumed the ground of cinema itself, and all it manifested and signified, amalgamating technology, commerce, and art as the quintessential expression of the popular culture of the modern industrial era. Before the *avant-garde* there had to be the pioneers, the innovators—especially those who had created a pictorial language to tell stories on screen: men such as Georges Méliès and Emile Cohl in France; G. S. Smith, James Williamson, Frank Mottershaw, and Cecil Hepworth in England; and Edwin S. Porter, Mack Sennett, Charles Chaplin, and D. W. Griffith in the United States. To denote an *avant-garde* in Richter's sense alone may be to properly indicate works of personal exploration, or edges of individual revolt—against the popular cinema, among other things, for the very faithfulness with which it incarnates the dominant culture. But it does not necessarily argue, and only rarely can specify what have been the most influential sources of origination along the main course of the medium.

In such perspective, to signify as *avant-garde* the personal, experimental films may say more for the wish than for the fact of their role in the history of cinema. Among them may be found several of the most profoundly original works ever put on film—as well as an immeasurable host of adolescent ebullitions, easy fakes, and pretentious

obscurities. In seeking and reaching special audiences, however, usually outside of established theatrical channels, and in most cases beyond access to currents of popular imagination, these films etched out distinctly different, and often divergent lines of direction and influence. If an analogy is provisionally made to literary, printed works, it would appear that such films have exerted far less force in guiding the principal vectors of the cinema than have the ventures in experimental or unconventional writing in the serious, traditionally ephemeral, "little" magazines upon the procession of literature.

The point is not at all to disparage past, present, or future efforts to create "the film as an art experiment," but to properly locate the definitively original influences in the development of cinema as a whole: cinema considered in the sense implicit in the notion of *avant-garde* itself—as what André Malraux called "the first world-wide art." And the problem of a terminology to denote the actual growing edges of cinema has not been eased by the persistence of *a priori* doctrinal factors. So much of the critical and historical discourse about *avant-garde* cinema has depended upon allegiances to particular aesthetic or ideological criteria, that may or may not bear upon the facts of influence within what is a unique complex of art, industry, and agency of social change.

Such allegiances have waved all the flag words that have marched with one echelon or another of the *avant-garde*, at one time or another: "abstract," "experimental," "impressionist," "expressionist," "realist," "surrealist," "neo-realist," "pure," "documentary," "intrinsic," "integral," "poetic," "absolute," "total"—even the loudly unregimented "off-trail," "off-beat," "free," "independent," and, simply, "new." And, to be sure, these often have been unfurled with standards signifying, in appropriately negative mode, forms of presentation to the public, or logistics and techniques of production: "non-commercial," and "non-theatrical"—hardly indicating, with typical clarity, precisely whether particular films were made to earn any money in some way, or whether they truly never were to be shown in theaters of any kind.

Most of the windstorms of doctrine that raged during the years between the wars have subsided, although much conceptual debris remain,



The works themselves have taken on other meanings: some in building to stature as genuine classics; others, by far the larger number, achieving no more than the vindication of their initial topicality, in becoming artifacts of a bygone epoch, to be archaeologized by scholars or antiquarians in film societies. In fact, the increasing availability of old films appears to quicken the processes of separation—not simply of the perishable from the preserved, but of the merely historical from the permanent.

In point, one of the most prestigious of all *avant-garde* films, *L'Age d'Or*, finally was shown in public in the U.S. at the 1964 New York Film Festival. The film, which Luis Bunuel made in 1930, from a script he created with Salvador Dali, had long been acknowledged as the archetype of surrealism on screen—and had long since ceased being a work that could simply be seen for the “first” time. Not only had every sequence, shot, and detail been described, interpreted, reclaimed and revisited, in myriads of articles and books, footnotes and captions to exemplary still photographs. The mode of imagery, and not a few of the images, had been so often followed and imitated, that almost all the novelty of the original was now leached out and dissipated.

What remained to be seen, of so unquestionably significant a work, could hardly live up to its significance. For most of the anti-clerical, anti-bourgeois images and juxtapositions, that had once been immediately shocking, there now could be little more than a critical reconstruction of what must have been their initial force. And, to be sure, post-war audiences had been exposed to much more explicit erotica, on screen and off, with and without intended meanings of love as the life principle, in protest against the respectable masquerades of Thanatos. What was least tolerable now, in trying to rehearse the original power of the film, was its slap-dash cinematography. The remark of Jacques Brunius, that “The violent impact of *L'Age d'Or* owes little or nothing to its technique . . .” had overlooked an element of tactical consistency, whereby the very faults of the film were proclaimed as integral with its attack upon conventional culture—including cinema. The assertion, in fact, has been part of *avant-garde* cant from the earliest talk of “pure,” “poetic,” and “experimental” film, and is heard again today among professional innocents

and other protagonists of anti-technique, in the name of new, and ever newer waves—among them “New American Cinema,” and “Cineverite.”

In all discourse about art, however, few arguments are more perishable than those for not taking pains, for eschewing the endless struggle for excellence—no matter how desperately worthy the immediate ends. The bad craftsmanship of a remembered work is a detail of a still developing judgment, and the early trials of any Bunuel may not argue for tactics of deliberate incompetence, without compromising the standards whereby new Bunuels may be recognized, and their works may come to be remembered. If *L'Age d'Or* is acknowledged as representing one column of an *avant-garde* at one time, its deficiencies prove no case for the unselected spontaneities of jet-age happy savages with cameras, or the unfocused metaphors of new acolytes of blind Homer, with photoelectric psyches and lenses that zoom.

Such considerations, to be sure, imply a bearing of critical judgment upon the ideas and works of an *avant-garde*—with all the problems and paradoxes, essential as well as historical, of this relationship. Some proclamation by critics is a presumptive, if not cardinal factor in the advent of an *avant-garde*. In the cinema, indeed, it is part of *avant-garde* tradition for critics to make films themselves—or, more as they might have it: for film makers to assert themselves, via critical writings, the founding of declamatory magazines, and the trumpeting of manifestoes, while awaiting or preparing opportunities for cinematic expression. But it is also part of *avant-garde* tradition to presume, once the films are made and presented, a certain suspension, even outright remission of critical attitude. Along with some advanced arguments for untrammelled film experience, or for the encouragement of unlimited innovation, often go quite familiar, rear-guard resentments of audience unappreciation—and naive expectations of mass response for inescapably particular works.

In a most revealing instance, the late Jean Cocteau (interviewed by Andre Fraigneau) deplored what he saw as a change in audience attitudes towards his films, between 1930 (when he finished *The Blood of A Poet*), and 1951 (a year after *Orpheus*):

"We have no public any more, we have only judges. An individualistic crowd, a crowd unfit for the collective hypnosis without which a spectacle becomes pointless. But this resistance ceases as soon as the mass audience pours in. They've paid for their seats and they are determined to enjoy the show. So it is not the mass audience that I accuse, but the false elite that has planted itself between the masses and ourselves. This false elite, which lives only by fashion, decrees that a work is out of fashion as soon as it deviates from what it considers fashionable..."

There is unwitting pathos in Cocteau's pretension that any of his films—even *The Eternal Return* (1913), and his most successful *Beauty and the Beast* (1946)—could be considered as inviting the "mass audience." And there is irony, as well as propriety, in the disaffiliation of one who was for so long a favorite of the "false elite," with its insatiable appetite for authorized enthusiasms. It is epicene logic, however, to characterize the resistant "elite" as being simultaneously "individualistic" and dominated by fashion. And more than complaint about the bad theater manners of particular Parisian audiences is involved in Cocteau's resentment of the "crowd unfit for the collective hypnosis..." demanded for his films.

A generation and more after the emergence of the first ideas and works of "film as an art experiment," Cocteau was rehearsing what have become plangent ambiguities of *avant-garde* cinema, concerning the relationship of film makers, critics, and audiences—and the nature of the film experience itself. All talk of films that advance beyond, or march apart from the procession of manufactures delivered in the theaters, must propose some experience of film different from that of mass consumption, with its addiction to narcotic unreason and uncriticized fantasy. If not, all the words, including *avant-*

*garde*, are no more than commercials for competing parades of packaged imaginings—whether or not the film makers are honest, dedicated men, or genuine eccentrics pursuing unique visions—or only poseurs, improvising esoteric entrees to commercial success.

In the same interview, it is pertinent to add, Cocteau properly denigrated mere technical innovation as defining serious, original works of cinema—what he chose to call "my conception of the cinematograph *versus* cinema." The point, to be sure, has classic validity. But it had never been more obvious than in the years following the transformation of the entertainment industries by the arrival of television, which devours and rewards novelty and technical virtuosity according to its nature—to ends of dubious nourishment. Since Cocteau spoke, there have occurred revolutionary alterations of habits of viewing films, and a world-wide disruption of industrial patterns of production and distribution. Abetted by punctual developments in cinema technology—particularly in cameras and lenses, film emulsions, and portable lighting and recording apparatus—these changes have encouraged an explosion of film making by persons who, scarcely a decade ago, would have been unable to begin, or to show their beginnings to substantial audiences.

In this upsurge of cinema activity, proliferating works of infinitely varied style, format, and content—as well as of every range of quality, it is more difficult than ever to speak with specificity and clarity of an *avant-garde*—and to be liberated critically from the deadly litanies of arbiters of modish immortality. And it is no easier than before to judge each work itself, beyond the whirling sweeps of enthusiasm and assassination of those whom Igor Stravinsky once devastated as "*Les pompiers d'avant-garde*." Wherever they go, rushing after every new alarm, blaring calls and slogans of belonging and exclusivism, something of each work of art and aesthetic experience must be held out of the way, and carried on to light new fires.

## THE CULTURAL IMPERIALISM OF THE WEST

SUKUMAR AZHICODE

Bertrand Russell has made, during one of his unconventional flights in history, a very ingenuous observation which is sure to awaken an idea that vaguely lies in the bosom of the non-Western scholars about the general unfairness of the Western academic mind in its attempt at estimating the real attainments of the Eastern world. Russell spoke about this tendency very frankly: "There is an imperialism of culture which is harder to overcome than the imperialism of power. Long after the Western Empire fell—indeed until the Reformation—all European culture retained a tincture of Roman Imperialism. It now has, for us, a West-European imperialistic flavour. I think that, if we are to feel at home in the world after the present war, we shall have to admit Asia to equality in our thoughts, not only politically, but culturally. What changes this will bring about, I do not know, but I am convinced that they will be profound and of the greatest importance."

Russell was urged to this confession while he was examining the idea behind the historical term, the Dark Ages. The meaning it usually carries is not universally valid, but has an undue concentration on the cultural situation of Europe from A. D. 600 to 1000. The acceptance of this meaning is clearly unhistorical. Russell's comment in this context is very illuminating: "In China, this period includes the time of the Tang dynasty, the greatest age of Chinese poetry, and in many other ways a most remarkable epoch. From India to Spain, the brilliant civilization

of Islam flourished. What was lost to Christendom at this time was not lost to civilization, but quite the contrary...To us, it seems that West-European civilization is civilization, but this is a narrow view."

This stricture upon the insular outlook of the West is but an echo of the disapproval voiced on behalf of India in particular by Max Muller many decades ago: "India has never had full justice done to it, and when I say this I think not only of ancient, but of modern India also."

The sensitive mind of Romain Rolland too joins these noble voices in chastising Europe for its policy of a thinly veiled cultural 'apartheid'. "Asia, the great land of which Europe is but a peninsula; the advance guard of the army, the prow of the heavy ship laden with a thousand wisdoms...from her have always come to us our gods and our ideas. But in the course of the many circuits made by our people who followed the track of the sun, losing contact with our native East, we have deformed, for our own end of violent and limited action, the universality of her great thoughts.....who, amid the disorder in which the chaotic conscience of the West is struggling, has sought whether the forty-century-old civilisations of India and China had not answers to offer to our own griefs, models, it may be, for our aspirations?"

Rolland is fair in singling out the Germans who "have been the first to ask of Asia that food which their starved appetite can no longer find in Europe." Especially does he

mention the generous services rendered by Count Hermann Keyserling and Hermann Hesse towards assessing and appreciating the work of the East for what it is worth. To these two, one may add a galaxy of such illustrious names from other countries as Schopenhauer, Goethe, Emerson, Thoreau, William James, Colebrooke, Paul Deussen, Weber, Joad, Aldous Huxley and Will Durant who were full-throated in their warm admiration of the achievements of the Orient. These many names, however, do not absolve the academic circles of the West from their sins of apathy and even hostility practised conventionally, though not intentionally, against the opposite hemisphere, particularly on the cultural front. For if one would examine those names, he could find that they fell under two groups—either universal minds and philosophers like Goethe, Rolland, Emerson, Keyserling and Huxley or veteran Orientalists like Max Muller, William Jones and Deussen. The liberal catholicity of the former and the specialised intimacy of the latter naturally made them the sympathisers of those despised civilizations. Their healthy influence can hardly be credited to have penetrated the uncharitable exclusiveness of the sanctuaries of western scholars in their academies and universities. Even the fairminded Will Durant fell a prey to this infection of parochial prejudice while he precluded from 'The Story of Philosophy' all accounts of Eastern philosophers. But we should hasten to congratulate him for his spontaneous realisation of this grave omission soon after. About it he wrote so penitently "The worst sin of all though the critics do not seem to have noticed it was the omission of Chinese and Hindu Philosophy. Even a 'story' of philosophy that begins with Socrates; and has nothing to say about Lao-tze and Confucius, Mencius

and Chevang-tze, Buddha and Sankara, is provincially incomplete."

Note the parenthesis; "though the critics do not seem to have noticed it." It is a dig at the insensible attitude of the Western pundits vis-a-vis the East which makes them often forgetful of the elementary fact that East is also one of the cardinal points of the compass. Durant is clever at such little ironies levelled against himself or his own group. He deserves more commendation in publishing subsequently 'Our Oriental Heritage,' being the first volume of 'The Story of Civilization' in order 'to atone for his omission.' With his background of close study of the East for many years, it is his firm conviction that "not even a lifetime of devoted scholarship would suffice to initiate a Western student into the subtle character and secret lore of the East." The accusing finger he points at European scholarship is more ominous than that of Russell. He writes :

"Our story begins with the Orient, not merely because Asia was the scene of the oldest civilizations known to us, but because those civilizations formed the background and basis of that Greek and Roman culture which Sir Henry Maine mistakenly supposed to be the whole source of the modern mind. We shall be surprised to learn how much of our most indispensable inventions, our economic and political organization, our science and our literature, our philosophy and our religion, goes back to Egypt and the Orient. All this historic movement when the ascendancy of Europe is so rapidly coming to an end, when Asia is swelling with resurrected life, and the theme of the twentieth century seems destined to be an all-embracing conflict between the East and the West the provincialism of our traditional histories, which began

with Greece and summed up Asia in a line has become not merely academic error, but a possibly fatal failure of perspective and intelligence. 'The future faces into the Pacific and understanding must follow it there.'

But the typical representative of the Western academic world is not so just, sympathetic or universal in his understanding of the global movements of history and culture. To give currency to Russell's opprobrium, he is a 'cultural imperialist, with his tacit faith unshaken in the west European supremacy in the field of human achievements. To him the world is more or less coextensive with the West. He believes, at best, that the world is West plus something. And that 'something' does not count! Authors of books on history are the greatest sinners on this score. Take, for example, Prof. T. R. Glover's 'Ancient World', a work of considerable scholarly calibre. Notwithstanding this, one cannot but accuse him of a mutilated historical vision, which is inexcusable in a historian. To him the 'ancient world' is a term which comprehends only ancient Greece and Rome. More ancient civilizations of Egypt, China and India are apparently neither so ancient nor so civilized! If at all he conceded the existence of the East, it is to damn it. See for example: "Again it is strange that the living religions of the world all build on religious ideas derived from the Jews; Protestantism, Catholicism, Islam all have creeds in which One God is central. The other great systems, Hinduism and Buddhism, have no creeds at all; they are curious amalgams of philosophic speculations and popular superstitions, with nothing universally held and universally required of all believers."<sup>7</sup>

Another equally pretentious work, 'Before Philosophy—the Intellectual Adventure of

Ancient Man, co-authored by three accredited scholars in the continent, also has erred into this oversight. To them, too, the ancient man is a denizen of the West who is fastidious in keeping within the boundary line marked by Bosphorus. The pity of it is that these writers, in the genuineness of their conviction are never tormented by that sense of contrition which haunts such earnest souls as Russell or Durant over their academic lapses.

The magnitude of the cultural and historical unilateralness in outlook adopted by the West will be visible if one takes a peep into works on World History. Many ignore the very entity, of the East! They seem to follow an 'Occidentcentric theory in history. Whether it is Wells, Weech or van Loon, the East gets a grudging page, or better still, a meagre paragraph, while chapters and volumes are devoted to the exploits of the West. Even the miserly allocation of a paragraph or two would be found to have been occasioned by topics of no less magnificence than the Buddha or Asoka who would have fared most generously at the hands of the authors if they had a different place of origin. I have yet to see a western work on history which has treated the Buddha on a par with Jesus Christ, though the former's potential, individually or historically or spiritually, is not in any way inferior. It is astounding to see Frederick the Great given more space and treated with more gusto than Akbar the Great, albeit the latter's title to greatness is, on all counts, far greater than the former's. Evidently, scientific objectivity, which is the hall-mark of true history, gets sacrificed at the altar of Western cultural Imperialism.

Another instance of this unhealthy tendency is afforded by the debasement in meaning that has overtaken the historical nomencla-

ture. We have already seen how this has affected such terms as 'Dark Ages' and 'Ancient World'. Those words would look all right, provided Europe is a world or at least the centre of world activities. There are many such misused terms. Take, for example, 'Reformation' and 'Renaissance'. Both are universal phenomena in history, critical situations that confront religion and society on occasions, not confined to any particular time or clime. But one who reads the ordinary text-books on European history is sure to be carried away by the notion that the one marks the emergence of Protestantism in Europe and that the other is formatively associated with Florence in the Middle Ages.

A projection of this unscientific bias is visible in the field of literature and arts. Only the greatest among the literati and the artists of the East are fortunate in securing the smallest attention of the chroniclers and critics. A Kalidasa or a Tagore may escape the colossal umbra of ignorance and indifference cherished by many of the university-bred scholars of the West. I am anxious here to cite a literary reference-work of cyclopaedical pretensions whose composition and compilation are linked with the names of scholars hailing from seven celebrated American universities, viz., "The Reader's Companion to World Literature". The fallacious claim which the editors put forward in the preface speaks out the chronic insularity of these university men. They say: "It is natural to stress occidental literature more than the Oriental, but this is genuinely a hand-book of world literature in that the greatest writers and works of the East are included." This is a sinister statement to say the least. How can a genuine handbook of world literature naturally stress occidental literature more

than the oriental? Is the occidental identical with the universal? Moreover, if the standard followed in the compilation is pure allegiance to the greatest writers and their works, then it should be invariably observed not only in respect of the Eastern literature, but also in the case of the Western. But what was done was that this self-advertised standard was used by the western purists as a lever to play down the East while its operation was suspended in relation to the West. The one Indian writer who is treated in that book, apart from other works, is Kalidasa. If such a severely rigorous application of high standards in selection is adopted in respect of European literatures, how many, over and above Shakespeare, Goethe, Dante and a few others, would have, in justice, survived is a matter for speculation. A better evidence of what Durant styled as "the provincialism of the traditional European mind" with its morbid habit to "sum up Asia in a line" cannot be thought of.

Illustrations of this prohibitive purism of West can be multiplied to legion. Another work of greater glory is "The Outline of Literature," originally edited by John Drinkwater. The judiciousness in its composition may be gauged by the number of chapters devoted to oriental literature—one and a fraction out of a total of 13. To cite another illustration—a volume on biography described by its author as "a compact biographical cyclopaedia" which exhausts nearly 300 life-sketches of famous men and women is found alarmingly susceptible to untouchability against the Eastern sector of humanity. The one Indian whose biography is accorded a place therein is Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest man of the twentieth century. Not even the Buddha, Asoka, Sankara, Akbar, Tagore or Nehru has a place in it. On the other hand,

obscure personalities, both European and American, like John Jacob Aster, a mere millionaire, and John Joseph Pershing, an ordinary commander, are consecrated in its niche. The limits of cultural obscurantism are touched here.

It is however tragic that intellectual imperialism whether born of ignorance, illusion or obscurantism is more longlived than external empires. Even after the collapse of the Roman imperial edifice, the Romanised mind of the West clung for long to the delusion that the Roman civilization was world-wide in idea and in reality. But ultimately history mocks at such views. The Roman delusion vanished in due course. We, in our wisdom, have the last laugh at that erroneous view. That historically discredited path of unwisdom is now being pursued by the West European civilization. It is the scholar with his unsullied vision of the totality of the human perspective who should cry a halt to this process of intellectual abridgment. But unfortunately they are affected, in larger measure, by the virus of bigotry.

What is the cause of this condition of the warped mind—narrow, bigoted, exclusive and restrictive? Max Muller locates it in the feeling of superiority of the white—skin over the brown one. May be so. Russell puts it down to the irrationality of power. Perhaps a more plausible reason. Whatever be it, its hold is luckily relaxing. The sneer that contorts the visage of the European scholar while encountering Asia is not at present always there in its former crudity and intensity. There is instead a little smile of recognition and appreciation. The liberal outlook of Russell, Durant and Rolland is slowly catching up. No western scholar will

be nowadays so callous as to say, like the editors of the "Companion to World Literature", that it is natural to stress the occidental in a universal reference book. Slow glimmerings of an awareness of true universalism are beginning to permeate the hitherto befogged western academic atmosphere. Whether in history, philosophy or literature, this healthier trend is in the offing. The East is an entity to be reckoned with. How delightful it is to note the tone of humility with which the editors of the Penguin's Dictionary of Art and Artists" acknowledge the exclusion of the East from its scope! The apology is worth quoting: "We have restricted the scope to the arts of painting, sculpture, and to a period beginning about the year 1300 and continuing up to the present day. One good reason for this restriction is that we are almost totally ignorant of the arts of other periods and places."

Ignorance in the scholastic field one can sympathise with, but not indifference or imperialistic intolerance. The same understanding of the inadequacy of one's scholarly equipment marks an American work on plays where the omission of the Orient is sought to be excused with these words. "One further word of explanation may be necessary. The omission of any plays from the Far East is due to the fact that the technique of Oriental drama is so different from that of the Western world that it seemed justifiable to limit this collection as we have." (8). Any thing but intellectual disdain is acceptable. Historians and writers truly informed with the spirit of internationalism can contribute a good deal to the shattering of the barriers of this cultural 'apartheid'. Only then can an integrated one world be heralded.

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE PANCHAYAT SYSTEMS IN WEST BENGAL

Prof. SUBRATA KUMAR MUKHERJEE, M. A.

Village Panchayat is the lowest unit of our democratic state apparatus. The setting up of Village Panchayat as a true self-governing institution is one of the Directives of our Constitution and Article 40 provides:—"The State shall take steps to organise Village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government". During the last 15 years this provision of the Constitution has been implemented more or less in almost all the States of India. It has also to be remembered that even though these institutions were set up there was (and it still continues) hesitancy on the part of authority in transferring effective power to these bodies.

### *Democratic Decentralisation*

But a new horizon has been opened with the publication of the Balawant Rai Mehta Committee Report. 'Democratic decentralisation' is the key-note of these recommendations. The Committee have placed before the country a positive picture of devolution of power and a programme of Panchayatiraj to be built up from below. The underlying principle of this new policy is that 'The Government should divest itself completely of certain duties and responsibilities and devolve them to a body which will have the entire charge of all development work within its jurisdiction, reserving to itself only the functions of guidance, supervision and higher planning'.<sup>1</sup> The Committee envisaged a three-tier organisation—Zilla Parishad at the district level, Panchayat Samity at the block level and Panchayat at the village level.

This expert committee further observed—"we have already indicated the reasons why in

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1. Balawant Rai Mehta Committee Report, Vol. 1, p. 125.

the matter of developmental activities village Panchayat and Panchayat Samities should be the main local bodies... The district board, the district school board and the Janapad Sabha become superfluous, as local interest, supervision and care, necessary to ensure that the expenditure of money upon local bodies conforms with the wishes and need of the locality are provided by the Panchayat Samiti, which we consider a body of size adequate in population and area. The functions which these bodies are at present performing will in our opinion be performed with greater efficiency by the Panchayat Samiti".<sup>2</sup> It may further be recalled that the recommendations of the Mehta Committee have since been accepted by the Parliament and steps are being taken to re-organise and re-shape the existing Panchayat enactments on the lines suggested by the Mehta Committee.

During the last few years practically every state in India as a matter of national policy has either recast or evolved its own 'Panchayatiraj system'. In the subsequent pages we attempt to trace, in the first instance, a short background of 'rural self-government' in Bengal as it existed and also a brief account of the present Panchayat System which is in operation since 1957-58. The 'West Bengal Zilla Parishads Act, 1963' which has just been introduced has been left out for obvious reasons.

### *Pre-Independence Acts*

It may be recalled that the rural life of West Bengal till 1957 was administered by three pre-Independence Acts, e.g., 'The Village Choukidari Act of 1870'; 'The Bengal Local Self-Government Act of 1885' and 'The Bengal Village Self-Government Act of 1919'. It may further be remembered that in the British

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2. Mehta Committee Report—p. 19.



period the village people of Bengal were first acquainted with the idea of Panchayat practically in 1870 in the Village Choukidari Act. But the scope of the Act was extremely restricted and the only function of the nominated Panchayat having 3 members was the maintenance and the supervision of the village choukidars.

In the historic resolution of Lord Ripon new possibilities were opened for Local Self-Government. In the subsequent Acts power and scope of the Local Self-Government bodies were extended to a large extent. "The Government of India issued in May, 1882, a resolution in which they indicated the lines on which the future development of rural Local Boards should take place. By the Bengal Local Self Government Act, 1885, the District Road Cess Committee was replaced by the District Board and the Branch Committee, of such District Committee by Local Boards in the Sub-divisions of the District".<sup>3</sup> But a comprehensive panchayat system at the village level was never established prior to the present Act. The situation remained unaltered even after the inauguration of the new constitution.

It should also be pointed out that even in the '1919 Act' no institution at the village level was created. In the said Act the 'Union Board' comprising several villages was the lowest unit. Their powers were restricted and confined to civic functions mainly. It has also to be remembered that due to inadequacy of funds the Local and the Union Boards, presented a dismal picture. In such an atmosphere peoples' apathy and frustration in Local Self-Government were quite obvious. It has also to be admitted that compared to other States the progress of rural Self-Government in Bengal was slow and halting. It was in such a historic background that the advent of the new 'Panchaytiraj' has to be judged.

### *West Bengal Panchayati Raj*

Like other States in India, West Bengal has also evolved its own Panchayati raj system. It has been introduced in two stages—first stage, i.e.,

3. Quoted from the Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute—January-March; 1965, P. 276.

the basic part was introduced in 1957 in the 'West Bengal Panchayat Act of 1957. The second stage has been introduced very recently in the 'West Bengal Zilla Parishads Act, 1963'. It may further be stated that these two Acts constitute in their entirety the 'Panchayati Raj System' in West Bengal. These Acts have envisaged a four-tier panchayat system, a novelty and an innovation in the whole of India. Starting from Gram Panchayat (at the village level) one will find at successive higher stages, the Anchal Panchayat (combination of several Gram Panchayats), the Anchalik Parishad (at the block level) and lastly The Zilla Parishad at the District level.

### *West Bengal Panchayat Act 1957*

The 'West Bengal Panchayat Act 1957' comprises altogether 120 sections divided into three parts. Part I deals with the administration of Gram Panchayat having 10 chapters in it. Part II deals with the Nyaya Panchayats, the judicial system. Part III deals with Miscellaneous items (Rule making powers of the State Government, etc.).

In Part I a two-tier Panchayat structure has been provided. Apart from the basic body, the Gram Sabha, the two executive organs are Gram Panchayat and the Anchal Panchayat.

### *Gram Sabha*

The 'Gram Sabha' which is the general body and the basis of this new body has been described as—"every Gram Sabha shall consist of all persons whose names are included in the electoral roll of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly for the time being in force pertaining to the area for which the Gram Sabha has been constituted".<sup>4</sup> Although no area or population is mentioned for a Gram Sabha in the Act it roughly covers about 800 to 1,000 population. Thus a Gram Sabha may cover a single village or two or three adjoining villages at the same time.

It is further noted that for the first time 'adult franchise' was introduced in the constitution of rural local bodies in West Bengal. In-

4. Section 7(1) of the W. B. Panchayat Act, 1957.

cidentally it may be stated that due to historic reasons in the 'Chandernagore Corporation' under the 'Chandernagore Municipal Act; 1955' the system of adult franchise had already been introduced.

### Meetings

The Act also provides—"Every Gram Sabha shall hold one annual meeting and one half-yearly general meeting". The agenda to be discussed at such meetings are also stated. "The Gram Sabha shall (a) at an annual general meeting—(I) Consider the Budget for the following year. (II) Consider the report submitted by the Gram Panchayat on the work done during the previous year and the work proposed to be done during the following year, and give such direction to the Gram Panchayat as it may deem necessary; and (III) Transact such other business as may be prescribed. (b) The half-yearly General meeting shall transact such business as may be prescribed. Apart from the said 'statutory' meetings there is also provision for "extra-ordinary general meeting" either by the Adhyaksha of the Gram Panchayat himself or on requisition by the Gram Sabha members.<sup>5</sup>

### Quorum

Like other Panchayat Acts there is provision of a quorum in the Gram Sabha meetings. But it is somewhat liberal in West Bengal. In all Gram Sabha meetings the presence of at least one-tenth of the total number of members of the Gram Sabha will be required. But even then meetings could not be held on fixed dates due to absence of quorum. The contributor had the opportunity of visiting about 15 village panchayats recently in the districts of Burdwan; Birbhum and Nadia. On enquiry it was learnt that excepting one or two Panchayats such 'annual' or 'half-yearly' meetings could not be held on scheduled dates due to lack of quorum.

The Act of course provides : 'In absence of proper quorum the meetings of the Gram Sabha shall be adjourned to a date within one month and the date of such adjourned meeting shall

be announced by the presiding person. Proper notice of such meeting shall have to be given. In the adjourned meeting no quorum shall be required and no new item shall be allowed to be taken up'.<sup>6</sup>

### Comments

It is thus observed that the general body i.e. the Gram Sabha has been empowered under the Act to supervise, to scrutinise and to control to some extent the activities of the Gram Panchayat as a whole. The holding of the annual and half-yearly meetings and the agenda to be placed in such meetings are mandatory on the part of the Gram Panchayat, the executive body of the Panchayat. That is the significance of 'shall' as stated in sections 8(1), 9(1) and (2) of the Act. The Act also states that either the Adhyaksha or the Upadhyaksha shall preside at such meetings. In their absence 'the Gram Sabha' shall elect in the manner prescribed one of the members present at the meeting to preside.

Although these 'meetings' are imperative it is not clear from the Act the fate of such 'Budget' and 'Annual report' in case these are not approved by the Gram Sabha. Similarly while the Act provides that the Gram Sabha shall 'give directions to the Gram Panchayat as it may deem necessary' it is silent over the subsequent steps. It is not clear whether it is 'imperative' for the Gram Panchayat to modify or to revise the 'Annual report' or the work to be taken up next year in the light of these 'recommendations'. With regard to the Budget estimate the Rule provides that the Adhyaksha shall submit the same before the Gram Panchayat meeting within seven days after the meeting of the Gram Sabha where the Budget shall be finalised. There is also no provision for re-submission of such report or Budget to the Gram Sabha meetings.

### U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947

It is interesting to note that the U.P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947 while making such a

5. Section 8(1) of the W. B. Panchayat Act; 1957 Ibid, Section 9(1).

6. Section 10(2) and (3) of the W. B. Panchayat Act, 1957.

provision had laid down clear procedure in this behalf.

"Every Panchayat prepares an estimate of its income and expenditure for the year and lays it before the 'Kharif' meetings of the Gaon Sabha commencing on the 1st day of April next following. Similarly the report including the accounts of its actual and expected receipts and expenditure of the year ending on the 31st March last preceding such report is laid before the 'Rabi' meeting of the Sabha".

"Gaon Sabha may pass or refer back to the Gaon Panchayat the budget submitted to it for reconsideration with such directions as it may give in the prescribed manner and may likewise pass a recommendatory resolution in respect of the report or of any other matter".<sup>7</sup>

"However, if the annual estimate is referred back to Gaon Panchayat for re-consideration, the Pradhan calls an extra-ordinary meeting of the Gaon Sabha to be held within a fortnight of the said annual meeting and the Gaon Panchayat re-submits the annual estimate at the said meeting with certain changes according to directions of the Gaon Sabha and then the Gaon Sabha passes the annual estimate in the prescribed manner".<sup>8</sup>

#### *Mysore Committee on Gram Sabha*

The importance of the Gram Sabha and its role in the 'Panchayati Raj' has been appreciated by experts in other states also. 'The Basappa Committee on Panchayati Raj in Mysore State' made an identical recommendation in their report in 1963 providing for a Gram Sabha with similar functions like that of U.P. for the Mysore State. That the Gram Sabha of the village shall consist of all persons whose names are included in the list of voters. **The Gram Sabha shall meet at least twice in every year to consider the following matters :**

- (a) Annual Statement of accounts and Audit reports ;

7. Section 41(1) U.P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947

Section 41(2) Ibid.

8. Quoted from the Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government institute, July; 1960. P. 88.

- (b) Report on the administration of the preceding financial year ;
- (c) Programme of work or any new programme not covered by the Budget or the Annual Programme ; and
- (d) Proposals for fresh taxation or enhancement of the existing taxes. The Panchayat shall give due consideration to the suggestions if any, of the Gram Sabha"<sup>9</sup>.

#### *Panchayati Raj Act*

In the 'reconstituted' and 'revised' 'Panchayati Raj Act 1961' of Andhra Pradesh provision has been made for this village assembly i.e. the Gram Sabha. Other provisions of Section 6 of the Act, are almost similar to those of U.P. and West Bengal excepting that the 'recommendations' of the Gram Sabha are harmless.

As observed by Sri Ram K. Vepa "The Gram Sabha is to meet twice a year to consider the Administration Report of the Panchayat; the annual statement of accounts, the works programme proposed to be undertaken and proposals for fresh taxation. The Gram Sabha will be presided over by the Sarpanch (President of the Panchayat) but its recommendations are purely advisory".<sup>10</sup>

#### *Imposition of Taxes*

Another important point to be noticed in this connection is that unlike other States; neither the Gram Sabha nor the Gram Panchayat in West Bengal has any say over the imposition or assessment of any tax in the villages. Such authority is exclusively vested in the Anchal Panchayat. In the circumstances the omission of 'Tax proposal' in the business agenda of the Gram Sabha is understood.

#### *Gram Panchayat*

There is an executive for this general body (Gram Sabha) which is known as Gram

9. Quoted from the Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute—Oct-Dec, 1963. P. 142.

10. Quoted from the 'Indian Journal of Public Administration Oct.-December, 1964, P. 694.

Panchayat. It is elected by the Gram Sabha members from amongst themselves. Its strength varies from 9 to 15. Apart from these 'elected' members there is provision in the Act for 'nominated members'. It is provided that persons possessing special qualifications, irrespective of the fact whether they are members of the Gram Sabha concerned or not, may be nominated by the State Government as members of the Gram Panchayat. But two disabilities have been imposed upon them: (1) they shall not have the right to vote. (2) they are debarred from holding the office of Adhyaksha or Upadhyaksha.

Further, the number of such associates shall not exceed one-third of the total number constituting the Gram Panchayat.<sup>11</sup>

The terms of office of the members including that of the Adhyaksha and the Upadhyaksha has been fixed as four years. This term may be extended up to one year by the prescribed authority. At its first meeting the members of the Gram Panchayat elect from amongst themselves the Adhyaksha and the Upadhyaksha of the Panchayat. The nominated members cannot participate in such elections. The total number of Gram Panchayats in 1964-65 were 19,647 covering 29,470 villages. Thus on an average a Gram Panchayat covers 1.5 village area.

#### *Observations*

It is thus observed as has been indicated earlier that for the first time a local body at the 'village level' has been constituted in West Bengal under the provisions of the present Act. Further, due to the introduction of adult franchise all sections of the village people (irrespective of their property, education or income) can participate in these elections and also are at liberty to exercise their free choice in selecting the pattern of the 'executive' they like. Of course there are seven disqualifications and any Gram Sabha member having any of the these disqualifications cannot be elected as a member of the Panchayat. One of the important disqualifications is with regard to the age-limits of a member. Under the provisions of the Act no

one can be elected a member or an office-bearer of the Gram Panchayat or the Anchal Panchayat unless he is 25 years of age. This section can be compared with Art. 84 of the Indian Constitution regarding qualifications for Lok Sabha membership. Similarly the other important disqualifications like 'unsound mind' and 'an undischarged insolvent, may be compared to Art. 102 of the Constitution.

As regards voting the relevant rule provides that the 'voting shall be 'secret' and by means of 'ballot'. The system of nomination has been justified on the ground that at the initial stage of this novel experiment in self-government the presence of outsiders may be useful as a source of guide and inspiration. But on the other hand there is genuine misgivings in the minds of the people that such 'nominated members' may create unnecessary complications in the rural politics and they may be useful 'instruments' in the hands of the ruling party to serve particular party interests.

It is also noticed that while the election of the Executive Committee (Gram Panchayat) is direct, that of the office-bearers is indirect. The term of office in both cases is, of course, the same. The system of election in U.P. and Punjab is direct in both the cases. In U.P. although the Pradhan is elected by the members of the Gaon Sabha for a period of 5 years, the Upa-Pradhan is elected by the Gaon Panchayat for a period of one year only.

#### *Poor response from women*

It is interesting to note that unlike some of the other States in India there is no provision in the 'West Bengal Panchayat Act' for reserving seats or associating women or persons belonging to scheduled castes in the Panchayat bodies. Of course, in the West Bengal Zilla Parishad Act, 1963, such provision has been made both in the Anchalik Parishad (Institution at the Block level) and in the Zilla Parishad. There is very poor response from the women of our community in these local bodies. The total number of women representatives (members) in the Gram Panchayats and in the Anchal Panchayats in 1964-65 were 91 and 27 respectively. Widespread illiteracy and prevailing purda system are

11. Sections 11(1), (2) and (5) of the W. B. Panchayat Act, 1957.

largely responsible factors for non-participation of women in local affairs.

It is further interesting to note that the response of women in the 'urban local bodies' in West Bengal is further depressing. In the 27 municipalities and 2 corporations of the State the number of women representatives barely exceed 4 or 5.

### *Functions of the Gram Panchayat*

The village Panchayat has been empowered to undertake a long list of functions covering as many as 48 items. But excepting the 'obligatory functions' (12 in number) the rest are either 'delegated' or 'discretionary'.

The powers and duties may be classified under three heads :—

1. Obligatory.
2. Other duties (delegated)
3. Discretionary.

Apart from these functions there are also the 'Agency' functions. On a perusal of these functions it will be observed that most of the 'obligatory functions' are civic functions whereas the 'other functions' and 'discretionary functions' are mainly concerned with development and rural reconstruction works. Some of the obligatory functions are :—

- a) Sanitary, conservancy and drainage.
- b) Anti-epidemic measures.
- c) Maintenance, repair and construction of public streets or places.
- d) Registration of births and deaths.
- e) Organising voluntary labour etc.
- f) Supply of drinking water.
- g) Supply of local information to the higher authorities when required.
- h) Vaccination and inoculation.

We may further classify the 'delegated and discretionary' functions under the following heads of development :—

- 1) Agricultural
- 2) Economic
- 3) Social and Public Health
- 4) Cultural.

Particular mention may be made of the agricultural and economic functions of the Gram Panchayat. They are extremely vital in the context of development and planning of rural life in West Bengal. These are :—

### *Functions relating to improvement of agriculture (Including food)*

- a) Irrigation
- b) Bringing Waste land under cultivation
- c) Cultivation of fallow land
- d) Co-operative land management
- e) As-sisting in the implementation of land reform
- f) Grow more food campaign
- g) Allotment of places for storing manures
- h) Improved breeding of cattle and prevention of cattle diseases etc.
- i) Construction and regulation of markets, fairs, melas and hats
- j) Planting and maintaining trees

### *Economic*

- a) Introduction and promotion of co-operative farming, co-operative stores and other such enterprises
- b) Promotion and encouragement of cottage industries.
- c) Acting as a channel for government assistance to villagers
- d) Assistance to agriculturists in regard to obtaining State loan, its distribution and repayment

No doubt the functions stated above cover different aspects of our villagers' life and are also essential for a planned development of our rural society.

### *Financial resources*

These functions can never be properly implemented unless adequate funds are provided at the disposal of the Panchayat. Under the West Bengal Panchayat Act only the Anchal Panchayat is entitled to impose taxes. The Gram Panchayat has no independent source of revenue. Not only that. The Act provides under Section 55, Sub-section 2 (d) that Anchal

Panchayat shall allot such sum to the Gram *Mode of Election*

Panchayat under its jurisdiction taking into consideration :—

- a) Amount available for distribution
- b) Amount realised from each of the Gram Sabhas within its jurisdiction as tax toll, fee or rate; and
- c) Amounts required by the Gram Panchayats concerned according to the budget framed by them for carrying on their duties and functions.

It can be well understood that after meeting its own expenses and that of the cost of administration of the Nyaya Panchayat and after considering the amount raised from each Gram Sabha as taxes, the Anchal Panchayat may be able to contribute only a meagre sum for the Gram Panchayat. There is also no provision of a fixed amount of land revenue as is provided in some State Acts. Under these circumstances the functions of the Gram Panchayat may only remain on paper. In the context of building up a true panchayat system in our State the provisions of the Act are unsatisfactory and disappointing.

It will further be remembered that welfare functions primarily belong to the Gram Panchayats "whereas the police and judicial functions are vested in the Anchal Panchayats. On account of financial handicaps the welfare functions of the Gram Panchayat would surely suffer. The Gram Panchayat will be just annexes to the Anchal Panchayat".

#### *Anchal Panchayat*

The second higher tier in the West Bengal Panchayat administration is the provision of the 'Anchal Panchayat'. An Anchal Panchayat roughly covers about 8 to 10 Village Panchayats having 9,000 to 10,000 population within it. Practically speaking it has replaced the old 'Union Boards' under the '1919 Village Act'. But compared to Union Boards the Anchals will have a different constitution and larger powers and functions. Upto 1964-65; 2924 Anchal Panchayats have been established in the 15 districts of the State (excluding Calcutta).

At the Anchal Panchayat stage the system of election is indirect. Here the Gram Panchayat members constitute the Anchal Panchayat from amongst the Gram Sabha members in the following ratio :—

For every 250 Gram Sabha Members...1 Anchal Panchayat Representative.

If the residue of Members is more than 125 but less than 250 .....1 Representative

The seven disqualifications stated earlier in the case of Gram Panchayat (Section 15) shall also apply in case of Anchal Panchayat. At its first meeting the Anchal Panchayat elects a Pradhan and an Upa-pradhan. The members of the Anchal Panchayat shall hold four year terms. A person can simultaneously be a member of the Gram Panchayat as also of the Anchal Panchayat.

#### *Powers and functions*

The Anchal Panchayat shall be responsible for :—

- 1) Control and administration of Anchal Panchayat fund.
- 2) Imposition, assessment and collection of the taxes, rates or fees leviable under this Act.
- 3) Maintenance and control of dafadars and chowkidars.
- 4) Constitution and maintenance of Nyaya Panchayat.
- 5) Other duties assigned by the State Government.

The Act also empowers the Anchal Panchayats to constitute committees for facility of work.

#### *Officers and servants*

There shall be a Secretary for each Anchal Panchayat. The Secretary shall function as the Executive Officer of the Anchal Panchayat. The Secretary shall frame the Budget, the annual estimate and the report of the Anchal Panchayat. Although his appointment, promotion, dismissal and other service conditions will be determined

by the State Government he shall be under the general supervision of the Anchal Panchayat. Although the Act provided that the salary and allowances of the Panchayat Secretary shall be paid from the 'Anchal Panchayat Fund'; the State Government is meeting at present the entire cost of such charges.

### Finance

It has already been noted that under the Act the Gram Panchayat has no authority to impose, assess or collect taxes. Only the Anchal Panchayat possesses the requisite power and authority in this behalf. The 'West Bengal Panchayat Act, has empowered the Anchals to impose the following tax, rate or fees :—

- 1) Compulsory imposition of property tax according to circumstances.
  - 2) May impose tax on professions, trades or callings.
  - 3) Fees on registration of vehicles.
  - 4) Fees on plants, petitions and other processes.
  - 5) Fee for providing sanitary arrangements.
  - 6) Water rate
  - 7) Light rate
  - 8) Conservancy rate
- } If such facilities are provided

It is noticed that in West Bengal excepting the 'property tax' all other taxes and fees are voluntary in nature. Also the sources of revenue stated above are mostly 'inelastic' in nature. There is also reluctance on the part of the executives to levy those fees or rates which are not compulsory in nature. It is doubtful how the Panchayat bodies with these limited sources of revenue may undertake genuine development and nation building work without substantial grant and assistance from the State Government.

Incidentally we reproduce some recent observations of the 'Santanam Committee' with regard to Panchayat in general—

"We hold that levy of at least a few compulsory taxes is essential not only to ensure to every Panchayat a small income from its own resources but also to emphasise the fact that it is a self-

government body. House tax; profession tax and vehicle tax are eminently suitable for the purpose."<sup>13</sup>

### Observations

It has already been pointed out that Anchal Panchayat is a peculiar innovation of the West Bengal Panchayat system. No other State has evolved such a stage. Neither the Mehta Committee suggested such a tier. It has been justified on the grounds that abolition of the Union Boards will create a void which can hardly be replaced by any institution at the village level. Further, compared to other States rural people in West Bengal did not enjoy so long any comparable institution at the village level. As such any drastic change at this initial stage may be harmful and may frustrate the very purpose for which these institutions are created. West Bengal Government had sufficient doubts whether 'devolution of power' and setting up of 'Panchayati Raj' in West Bengal should follow precisely the All-India pattern. Perhaps these points were responsible for introducing 'Panchayati Raj' in West Bengal at two distinct stages having certain time gap between the two. On the other hand the creation of this additional tier between the 'Block' and the 'Village' level had been severely questioned by the critics regarding the genuineness of devolution of power and authority by the Government to the people. In a nut-shell the functions of the Anchal Panchayat are rural police, rural finance and rural justice. Over and above the Anchal will have an important say over the Gram Panchayat budget. The funds of the Gram Panchayat will be distributed through the Anchal. It has been suggested that, by and large, the leadership of the village has been invested in the Anchal than in the Village Panchayat. In spite of the novelty, I am afraid, that of Anchal Panchayat functions there might be less emphasis on Panchayat work—particularly in building up democracy at the basic level.

Further, there are differences of opinion with regard to the provision of 'indirect election' at the Anchal stage. It is the consensus of opinion

13. Report of the Study Team on 'Panchayati Raj Finances' 1963, Part 1, p. 11.

that 'Anchal Panchayats' should be constituted along with the 'Gram Panchayats' simultaneously on direct vote by the Gram Sabha members.

#### *Removal of Panchayat Executives*

There is provision for removal of the heads of Gram Panchayats (Adhyaksha) and Anchal Panchayats (Pradhan) by the respective bodies if at anytime a resolution for such removal has been carried by two-thirds of the total number of members of the Gram Panchayat or the Anchal Panchayat, as the case may be, holding office and the same adopted at a meeting specially convened for the purpose. If the decision is carried by less than two-third of the votes but more than one half, the decision for such removal rests with the prescribed authority.

Apart from this procedure, the prescribed authority can also remove the Adhyakshas and the Pradhans on the grounds of (1) wilfully omitting or refusing to carry out the provisions of the Act or rules or orders (2) or abusing the powers vested in them under the Act.

The Act provides that before taking such action the persons concerned shall be given an opportunity to show cause. Further one aggrieved by the order has the right of appeal to the Commissioner of the Division within 30 days from the date of the order. Section 65(1) is an extra-ordinary provision. Of course the '1919 Village Act' also contained such a step of removal with regard to the 'Union Board' Presidents. Only difference in the present Act is the provision of the 'right of appeal'. It is further interesting to note that although the provisions for removal by the members of the concerned bodies are provided in the 'Bengal Municipal Act 1932' no provision for removal of a Municipal Chairman by the superior authority directly has been made. It is apprehended that the provision may be misused by the ruling party at the higher level to remove a Panchayat executive if he belongs to the opposite party even though the person concerned may possess requisite majority at the time of his removal.

#### *Control over Budget*

Section 59 of the Act indicates the procedure for the preparation of the Gram

Panchayat Budget. In the first instance budget will be framed by the Panchayat and the same will be deliberated by the Gram Sabha members. The Act provides that thereupon the Budget will have to be submitted to the prescribed authority through the Anchal Panchayat. The prescribed authority is competent to introduce modifications "as it may think fit". The prescribed authority is also entitled to modify in a similar manner the budget of the Anchal Panchayat.

Undoubtedly the whole procedure is to some extent complicated. It is admitted that superior bodies should have powers to scrutinise and supervise the activities of the lower bodies. Particularly financial matters and proposals for taxation deserve serious consideration. But steps should be taken to avoid unnecessary delays. Caution should also be taken so that local initiative, interest and activity may not stultify and suffer in these procedural checkings.

#### *Rural Police*

We have already observed that one of the main tasks of the Anchal Panchayat is to maintain and supervise the work of the village Dafadars and Choukidars. Principle of recruitment of these staff, question of their pay and emoluments and other related matters will be determined by the Government. In the 'Bengal Village Self-Government Act, 1919' we find a similar provision in this respect. 'The number of Dafadars and Choukidars to be employed in a Union, the salary to be paid to them and the nature and cost of their equipment shall be determined from time to time by the District Magistrate after consideration of the views of the Union Board'. Section 21(1). It may be recalled that in the Bengal Municipal Acts prior to 1884 the municipalities had to bear the police burden of the city. This was strongly resented by the social reformers and nationalists of the period. This provision was subsequently abandoned in the 1884 Act.

In the rural Government we witness the repetition of the very same retrograde provision of our pre-independence era. Besides, the Anchal Panchayat, as we have already seen, have to undertake and guide the Panchayats in the



matter of nation-building and development work. It is in the fitness of things that the State Government as the sole custodian of law and order and being the recipient, of the largest share of State revenue should bear the full responsibility of the rural police.

### *Conclusion*

We were so long analysing the provisions of our 'Village Panchayat Act'. In spite of some of the shortcomings stated above it cannot be denied that for the first time objective conditions have been created for the foundation of 'basic democracy' in this State. It may be remembered that only in the 'Gram-Sabha' meetings we observe the functioning of direct democracy. Under the Act members have got the right to put questions, to discuss and to participate in the Panchayat budget and in the finalisation of the annual report. In a sense it functions during its very short session as a 'legislature' to which the Gram Panchayat (the Executive) is held responsible.

Along with this we must also remember the manifold functions, particularly relating to development and rural planning which the Panchayats can undertake if suitable funds are provided at their disposal. But the ultimate success of the 'Panchayati Raj' will depend on

the future leadership that may have to be created from amongst the rural masses. Some minimum conditions are suggested which may be prescribed for building up this 'basic democracy' from below :—

- 1) Provision for liberal and scientific education.
- 2) Adequate training facilities for office-bearers and members.
- 3) Close co-ordination between different administrative bodies and the base.
- 4) Infusing faith and confidence in the masses.
- 5) Instead of cheap propaganda—provision for regular assessment of work and corrective measures for remedying the mistakes.
- 6) Insistence on active participation, spontaneity, boldness and initiative and to learn through mistakes.
- 7) Provision for adequate financial resources for the 'Gram Panchayat and the Anchal Panchayat.'

It can be understood that by proper acceptance and implementation of these essential measures may dawn a new horizon—a new outlook in the rural masses. It is expected that the constitutional objectives of setting up genuine democracy in this State may thus be fulfilled.

## PRICE POLICY FOR THE FOURTH PLAN

By B. S. BHATIA  
and  
KRISHAN KUMAR

The Third Plan period (upto June 1965) recorded a price increase of 34 per cent in respect of food articles, 27 per cent in industrial raw materials and 18 per cent in manufactured goods. The wholesale price index of all commodities moved up by 26 per cent during this period. The movement of prices of some selected groups of articles during last two plans is given below :

### Factors analysed

The major cause of spiralling prices is the shortage of food articles and other industrial products. Our plan achievements have not kept pace with the targets fixed and the expenditure incurred.

The index of agricultural production, for example, was 157.6 by the end of fourth year of the Third Five Year Plan against 142.2 in 1960-61. This shows an increase of

### Percentage Increase In Wholesale Prices

Groups	Percentage variation during II plan	Percentage variation during III plan till June, 1965	Percentage variation over combined II & III plan period
I. Food Articles	48	34	86
II. Industrial Raw materials	47	27	78
III. Manufactured goods	23	18	65
IV. All commodities.	33	26	71

The Second and Third Plan combined together, as shown above, have recorded an increase of 71 per cent in the prices of all commodities. The rise, as is clear from the above table, is still more in the prices of food articles and industrial raw materials.

During the early Second Five Year Plan period, when the prices began to increase tremendously it was envisaged that this price rise was inherent in the system and scale of development undertaken and therefore no steps to control the prices were undertaken. But now since the prices have touched the unbearable peak, there is an imperative need to evolve and implement a sound and continuing price policy in order to hold the price line.

about 11 per cent only over a period of 4 years between 1960-61 to 1964-65. But from the official indications about the Khariff crops and the prospects of the rabi crops, it is clear that the index for 1965-66 will be somewhere in the neighbourhood of 142. In other words, at the end of Third Plan we shall be back to where we were at the beginning of the Third Plan. This stagnation in the agricultural sector against a target of 30 per cent increase will have grave repercussions on the economy.

The performance of our industry—though better as compared to agriculture—can by no means be said to be satisfactory. Industrial production over the five years period is expected to increase by 35% as against a target of 70 per cent.

As against the failure on agricultural and industrial fronts, the money supply with the public has been increasing at a dangerous rate. It is to be seen that between March, 1961 and October, 1965, the money supply rose from Rs. 2785 crores to Rs. 4245 crores—a rise of 52 per cent within a period of less than five years. It is obvious that despite all talks of fiscal and monetary discipline money supply has been increasing particularly at a time when the economy can least stand this sort of suicidal policy.

Ever since the beginning of Second Five Year Plan the prices have been taking rapid strides which may be attributed to the stagnation of foodgrains output, to wrong channelization of investments and to faulty implementation of the policy against the hoarding and speculative habits of business tycoons. The onerous defence expenditure entailed first out of Chinese aggression and latter due to conflict with Pakistan has almost distorted the price situation in-toto. The current price rise, therefore, as Dr. Madiman puts it, "is as much due to structural imbalances, stagnation in production due to institutional factors and hoarding, as due to an inflationary situation."

Rising prices create a propensity towards hoarding; they make the manufacturers careless about costs resulting in inefficiency; they put a discount on exports in the competitive international market, deteriorate the balance of payment position, reduce the propensity to save amongst the lower strata of society because of their low incomes and amongst higher income brackets due to the decreasing value of money and result in affluent consumption and foreign exchange stringency. The solution of rising prices in the long run although lies in the maximisation of agricultural and industrial output but at the same time the importance of a proper and clear cut price policy need not be over-emphasised.

Price policy as an instrument of planning is comparatively of recent origin. A review of the price regulating measures prior to the world depression of thirties would clearly reveal the absence of a well

defined price policy to keep the economy on an even keel. Though ad hoc measures had been taken from time to time to meet the exigencies on the price front, in general, following the doctrine of *laissez-faire* the determination of prices was left to the general economic forces of demand and supply. It was only after the great depression that many countries adopted various price regulatory measures to stabilize agricultural incomes and to prevent them from falling below an adequate minimum level. American Agricultural Adjustment Act 1933 and Canadian Wheat Pool of 1939 are illustrations to the point. India too imposed a tariff on the imports of Australian wheat which could be sold in India at a cheaper price without the imposition of such a tariff. Nevertheless, India was one of the few countries where no measures were adopted to stabilize agricultural prices within the country. With the advent of planning, socialism and the welfare state, on the international plane, price policy has assumed wider dimensions and implications and today there is hardly any country in the world where the state does not intervene in the determination and regulation of prices.

The concept of price policy has undergone a radical change in that price policy is no longer devised to meet unprecedented situations but is a continuing policy to keep the price level stable in the country. Price policy has become a comprehensive and a continuing process, since ephemeral measures cannot be the appropriate answers to sudden crisis and eruptions in the economic life of a country.

### Criteria for a Price Policy

In a developing economy, investments create incomes and demand much in advance of supply. This adds a fuel to the fire of rising prices. This calls imperatively for a price policy. Before we delve into the objectives and the regulatory measures which our Government could take to check the upward trend in prices, it is essential

for us to know what should be the criteria of a price policy.

The price policy should be so framed as to ensure the proper exploitation of human and physical resources. In India the performance of agriculture has been bleak, for the farmers are not sure of whether they will get adequate rewards for their labour. The prices of the industrial goods should be so fixed as to give incentives to the producer to remain in the market. The price stabilization programme should be easily executable and be economic in nature. A price policy should be acceptable to the producer, the trade unionist and the public alike. A corollary to any Government price policy is that, as many interests are involved it gets a political colouring. It should not conflict with other national policies.

### Objectives

Recognising the fact that formulation of a fool-proof price policy is a formidable task, the objectives of the price policy in the Fourth Plan can be broadly categorised as below :—

- (a) to balance demand and supply and lessen the intensity of unprecedented fluctuations in price level;
- (b) to promote increased production within the country and to secure a balanced development of the different sectors of the economy;
- (c) to protect the interests of the consumers in general by providing commodities at reasonable rates;
- (d) to ensure that prices are in harmony with the priorities and targets of the Plan;
- (e) to prevent any skyhigh shooting of prices, especially those which affect the consumption of the lower strata of society.

### Pricing of Foodgrains

The experience of our successive Plans points out that the degree to which the

prices can be kept stable will largely depend upon agricultural production. In order to place an economy on an even keel and to accomplish an adequate rate of economic growth, it must rest on the solid foundation of more proficient and advanced agriculture.

Pricing for agricultural commodities should be so fixed as to reconcile the interest of the consumers and producers. Fixation of prices for the producers can be rightly called price support, as it ensures to them a minimum price for their produce. Stable and reasonable prices for what the farmer produces are likely to provide a better incentive than high but fluctuating and uncertain prices. A price policy has also to safeguard the interest of the consumers which implies resort to price control. It will ensure to the consumers the maximum price they have to pay for essential commodities.

Since the food shortage is likely to continue for several future years rationing seems to be an appropriate answer towards stabilization of prices. The criteria of a two-tier price system under rationing seems to be essential in the present context. One price policy should be a 'fair price' at which all the consumers could get the goods while the other should be a subsidized 'fair price' which should be charged from the poorest sections of the community.

To mitigate the sharp rise in prices steps should be taken to license the dealers and for bringing into existence cooperative organizations such as marketing societies and consumers' cooperatives. These institutions will be necessary even after production increases and all the restrictions are removed. They will assist in carrying out a programme of price support which may become necessary in times when agriculture makes rapid strides with the advancement of technology in our country.

The Price Stabilization Board as recommended by the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee which was appointed by the Government in June 1957 to suggest a price programme for agricultural commodities

## THE INDO-GERMAN CONSPIRACY : THE COLLAPSE

Prof. KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

While referring to the arrest of Heramba Lal Gupta on March 10, 1917 we mentioned two arrests made four days earlier.<sup>1</sup> One of these was that of Chandra Chakravarty himself and the other was that of Ernest Sekunna, a German subject who called himself "Doctor". The arrests made shortly after midnight at 364 East 120th Street in Hoboken (New York) "a house they had bought, according to the Government agents, from which to direct their anti-British plots." They were reported to have bought a second house in West Seventy-seventh Street and contemplated changing their headquarters to that house within a few days. The second house was to have been used as a combination headquarters and club for Indians in sympathy with the German scheme for the disruption of the Indian Empire. The police had been shadowing them for several weeks and located the headquarters building several weeks ago by "trailing a German banker" who was seen on various occasions conferring with Chakravarty and Sekunna. According to the Federal authorities, the arrests were likely to be a prelude to a countrywide round up of "aliens of various nationalities who have taken advantage of American neutrality to plot on American soil against the allies."<sup>2</sup>

United States Commissioner S. M. Hitchcock fixed bail for each man in the sum of \$25,000 which after some hesitation they promptly furnished. In a safety box in a downtown bank, held in the name of Chakravarty, the police found cash and securities to the value of \$30,000.<sup>3</sup> It is beyond doubt, therefore, that the accused had considerable funds under their control.

Even before formal proceedings had started and the San Francisco trial had taken shape, interesting information about the Indian revolutionary and his German accomplice was given out by the newspaper press. It was reported that these two took out on February 28, trade name certificates to do business as 'The Oriental Society', 'The Oriental Kitchen', and 'The Oriental Review'. The Review was to be a monthly magazine devoted to "arts, science and the affairs in the Far East, particularly, Japan, India, China and Persia." The place of publication was given as 170 West Seventy-seventh Street, a house that the two had bought sometime back. It was also reported that Sekunna had bought an isolated farm of about 200 acres in the New York state in response to an advertisement in the New York papers on February 17.<sup>4</sup>

The simultaneous arrest of an Indian and a German and the fragments of the admissions and the disclosures (reported to have been made by them) that reached the press provided the American newspapers with exciting and interesting materials on the character and sweep of the German sponsored conspiracies on the neutral soil of the United States. Prominence was given to the relevant reports and Chakravarty's arrest and its sequel was highlighted. As indicated already, some other arrests were also made at about the same time.

To turn to Chandra Chakravarty. Accompanied by their defence counsel, the prisoners were taken into the office of John C. Knox, Assistant United States District Attorney. In the course of the interrogations, they were reported to "have made important admissions and it was rumoured in the Federal Building that they had agreed to make a full and complete statement to

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1. The Modern Review; January; 1966.

2. The New York Times. March 7, 1917,

1 : 1

3 *Ibid.*

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4. *Ibid.*, March 8, 1917, 1 : 4.

the Government of all they knew concerning German activities in the U.S."<sup>5</sup> Chakravarty did make some admissions and the relevant document in support of the Government's contention was produced at the San Francisco trial.<sup>6</sup> The prisoners admitted receiving \$60,000 from Von Igel, "but this is believed to be only a small part of the total turned over to them." He was the German paymaster in the Indian Conspiracy and "according to a statement made yesterday always paid the money to Sekunna." The authorities were of the view that the Sekunna-Chakravarty case was "only one single of the German Conspiracy system" in the U.S.<sup>7</sup>

Besides rousing public curiosity about the sweep of a conspiracy project that had been foiled, a natural sequel to the developments, some of which we have referred to earlier, was a long editorial in the New York Times under the title—The German Plots. The Indian revolutionary activity finds no specific mention here. But, as the brief extracts reproduced below will show, it was also in the editor's mind.<sup>8</sup>

5. *Ibid.*, March 10 1:1; 2

6. San Francisco Examiner, December 13, 1917, p. 13. The newspaper report purported to say that the Government produced (yesterday) testimony showing that Chakravarty had made a complete written confession of all the transactions between the German Government and the Indian plotters. The confession was made to Secretary of State Lansing on condition that it would not be used against Chakravarty in Court. The text of it was not divulged by the State Department.

After the interview with Tunney (of the Neutrality Bureau of Investigation of the New York Police Department) Chakravarty made the confession to the Secretary of State on the condition that the document should be made confidential.

7. The New York Times, March 10, 1917; 2:5.

8. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1917, 10:3.

"Every day some new German activity, conspiracy or espionage in the United States, or directed against the U.S. from its territory, comes to light. For more than two years acts of war against the Entente Powers have been planned on American soil, acts of violence and of destruction against American industry and commerce have been attempted or perpetrated."

"The hospitality of the country has been and is being abused to its damage and its danger."

"The Government has been long patient, too patient, of German aggressions, German crimes committed or plotted in the U.S."

"It is right that the nation should know in full the transactions of the representatives and agents in this country."

We have deviated from the Chakravarty-Sekunna story. Chakravarty appears to be a bundle (to an excess) of contradictions—of courage and timidity, truth and falsehood, patriotism and personal considerations, firm determination and strange indecision. His disclosures almost immediately after arrest made the work of the American Police and the British agents easier. In the Court room "both (Chakravarty and Sekunna) had the appearance of men suffering from fright."<sup>9</sup> Chakravarty's subsequent behaviour during the trial was, by and large, one of toughness and defiance. But there were occasions when he behaved irresponsibly earning the

9. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1917, 4:5. This finds corroboration in the District Attorney's observations during the San Francisco trial. "Chakravarty is a man of little fortitude. As soon as he was caught in New York; when officer Tunney and these police officials had him down there, and a British agent, or whoever it was, was behind the screen, he began to turn up his toes and he said, 'Yes, I will tell the Government everything.'" Trial records, p. 6906.

It is interesting to note that a British agent was behind the screen.

disapprobation of his colleagues.<sup>10</sup> His maintains that "a revolution supposed to be mishandling of the cause of the Indian re- led by such men could not be taken seriously. The picture that Roy gives of this towards the end of the trial. Despite his man borders on ridicule and contempt. If bombastic sixteen minute address in the the assessment of Roy is fairly correct, one Jury<sup>11</sup> in which he said that he had ex- is left wondering how Chakravarty was put pended thousands of dollars "doing it in in such a position of confidence and responsibility.<sup>15</sup> the name of patriotism....." his German accomplices questioned his bona fides. After the Court had adjourned Franz Bopp asked Chakravarty, "You say you were inspired by patriotism?" To Chakravarty's answer "Yes", the German commented, "Patriotism and \$60,000" and turned away red of face.<sup>12</sup>

M. N. Roy, whose association with Chakravarty, we have discussed in our last paper<sup>13</sup> says that a New York newspaper announced the arrest of Chakravarty with the headline: "Oily leader of the Oily Revolution locked up in Tomb."<sup>14</sup> Roy objects to the word qualifying 'revolution', but agrees with the characterization of the leader and

Chakravarty was not alone responsible for the ultimate fizzling out of the revolutionary conspiracy. But it may be inferred that he did not take up his formidable responsibility with the seriousness it deserved. It seems that he primarily emphasized the propaganda aspect of the revolution and was a bad organizer of a political group. With the progress of the trial his imperfections as a revolutionary leader were exposed. His German accomplices were dissatisfied with the manner of his handling of the funds. The Indian colleagues were startled by the disclosures he had made and were seized with a sense of frustration. With Chakravarty the revolutionary effort was at most half-hearted. The annoyance of his colleagues with the 'leader' became unmistakable towards the close of the trial. It appears that the annoyance was general and not personal. It could, therefore, be mellowed by a sense of humour as will be proved by the following news item. "Recently the Hindu defendant's confined in the County jail knitted a silk medal, which they facetiously conferred upon Dr. Chakravarty as

10. San Francisco Chronicle. December 13. 1917; p. 11.

"You are spoiling the whole case." With flushed face and clenched fists Franz Bopp, former German Consul-General in San Francisco hurled this reproach at Dr. C. K. Chakravarty.

"To the dark scowls of his countrymen Chakravarty responded with a broad grin."

11. *Ibid.*, April 18; 1918; p. 11.

In part Chakravarty said, "I had not the right to violate the neutrality laws of the United States. Why did I accept German gold? Because internal organization without external aid is impossible in our predicament—and Germany offered the best way out. We in India are endeavouring to do just as America did in 1776. While Washington was struggling at home Benjamin Franklin was seeking aid in France.; While my countrymen are struggling at home I sought aid in Berlin."

"Personally I did not attempt to put on foot a military enterprise..... But I did spread our propaganda and expended thousands of dollars doing it in the name of patriotism..."

12. *Ibid.*

13. The Modern Review for January 1966.

14. M. N. Roy. op. cit.; p: 41

15. *Ibid.*, p. 31. "The fact is that he had nothing whatsoever to do with any revolution. Nor was he a villain. He was rather a crank and could be flattered to do objectionable things. His German counterpart was the devil of the drama. Undoubtedly he was engaged in espionage and somehow managed to raise his friend to the position he was not qualified to occupy either by record or by merit. How the Berlin Committee trusted him remained a mystery. After all, they did have little to say about it. The last word belonged to the head of the German Secret Service in America. He wanted a dummy, and a buffoon could just fill the role."

the emblem of 'The Order of the Yellow S'reak and Double Cross'.<sup>16</sup>

It has been said already that Sekunna and Chakravarty furnished bail of \$25,000 each. Subsequently, however, the bail was refused because both of them were surrendered by the National Security Company on March 8 since the matter was one "with which the Company did not care to be involved", and the Company decided that it "would not in the future furnish bonds for persons arrested for un-American activities." Both, therefore, were sent to the Tombs. We are also told that as soon as Chakravarty got out of the clutches of the Federal officials on March 7 he "went to the County Naturalization Bureau and declared intention to become a citizen of the U.S." This, however, could not happen. For, "he cannot be naturalized for two years, and not then if he is deemed undesirable."<sup>17</sup>

Chakravarty had some real difficulty in the matter of his release on bail. On March 10, he managed to give \$25,000 bail, but at night, "the United States Casualty and Fidelity Company which had furnished the security, decided that he was not a good risk, and turned him back to the authorities."<sup>18</sup> Later, however, in order to make things easier for him and Sekunna the bail was reduced to \$5,000. Meanwhile, the German also was reported to have made important admissions to the Government.<sup>19</sup>

These few days in March saw a few important arrests. The American press was full of news of them and the newspapers gave out whatever information they could collect from official sources about a conspiracy that had potentialities but had become

virtually abortive. According to these sources, the big Indian uprising which was planned was a carefully worked-out plot "which had its origin in Berlin and which missed by only a narrow margin provoking one of the most serious outbreaks India had known since the Sepoy rebellion."<sup>20</sup> Startling disclosures re: sensational plots were expected—plots in which Germany hoped to send bona fide American citizens to England to get information which would, "among other things, aid Germany in her submarine warfare against allied and neutral merchant ships...."<sup>21</sup> It was also said that the U.S. Secret Service agents had with them the names of several hundred persons engaged in instigating rebellion against British rule in India. Such persons were, according to the reports, in all parts of the United States, Hawaii, Philippines, Japan, China and India. "In directing this big plot, as was disclosed in an official paper yesterday, 'Capt. Franz von Papen, the dismissed German Military Attache, played an important' role."<sup>22</sup>

A distinguished American who because of his public views figured in the newspaper press during Chakravarty's arrest and interrogation, and also on other occasions, was William Jennings Bryan who was three times a candidate for the Presidency. Bryan made a trip around the world in the course of which he stayed in India for some time, and on his return published a pamphlet on British Rule in India (1906). Chakravarty and other Indian revolutionaries made good use of Bryan's views in their propaganda literature. Not very long after his arrest Chakravarty, with reference to the literature that the Indian revolutionaries had prepared, was asked if what Bryan had said about British rule in India was complimen-

16. San Francisco Call and Post, April. 24, 1918.

17. The New York Times, March 9; 1917; 2:7.

18. *Ibid.*, March 11; 1917: 2:3

19. *Ibid.*; March 13; 1917, 4:6 March 12, 1917; 2:5.

20. *Ibid.*; March 10; 1917. 1:1.

21. *Ibid.*; 2:5.

22. *Ibid.*; March 13; 1917 4:5.



tary. "Not very" replied the Indian.<sup>23</sup> At America came out with a public statement one time a ban was put by the U.S. Postal department on Bryan's pamphlet being sent from the United States to foreign countries. age and condemning Chakravarty for his complicity in it.<sup>25</sup>

On April 13, 1918 or thereabouts during the San Francisco trial, Ram Chandra, the Gadar Party leader "demanded that William Jennings Bryan be brought to this city to testify...."<sup>24</sup>

Chakravarty's arrest and the newspaper reports gleaned from the official sources exposed the alliance between the Indian revolutionaries and the German agents. Not that every patriotic Indian was happy at this turn of events. Lala Lajpat Rai who was in the U.S. at this time virtually as a political exile from India and was engaged in his mission of propagating the cause of India in

The New York Times brought out an editorial under the title—Chakravarty's Service—in which besides questioning, though mildly, Chakravarty's competence for the job, it castigated the conduct of the 'friendly' Government of Germany. The editorial says—"It may turn out a fortunate thing that there was a non-German implicated in the latest plot. There has been a constant procession of plots on American soil since the war broke out, beginning with the almost forgotten exploits of Fay and von Horn. But as each plot has been unearthed and the plotters captured, they have kept their own counsel and we have learned nothing about the source of this interminable, steady flowing stream of conspiracies. They were Germans and well trained.

23. *Ibid.*; March 10; 1917 2:5. The following extract from Bryan's *British Rule in India* is quoted from J. T. Sunderland's *India in Bondage*, pp. 50-51.

I have met in India some of the leading English officers (the Viceroy and the chief executives of the Province of Bengal, the United Provinces of Agra and Oude; and the Presidency of Bombay the three largest Indian states) and a number of officials in subordinate positions; I have talked with educated Indians—Hindus; Mohammedans and Parsis; have seen the people rich and poor; in the cities and in the country and have examined statistics and read speeches; reports; petitions and other literature that does not find its way to the United States; and British rule in India is far worse; far more burdensome to the people and far more unjust; than I had supposed. The trouble is that England acquired India for England's advantage; not for India's; she holds India for England's benefit; not for India's and she administers India with an eye to England's interests; not to India's.

24. San Francisco Bulletin, April 23; 1918 (5 P.M. edition). Ram Chandra "also sent messages to Secretary of State Robert Lansing and President Wilson asking for an investigation of the alleged efforts of Great Britain to wipe out the Hindu Revolutionary Party in America."

"This time a Hindu is among those in the net. He is not so well trained, and promptly admits that before coming to America to put his plot in motion he talked with the Foreign Office functionaries in Berlin. It may be that we are on the track now, and that before long we shall be able to give up the assumption on which, through international courtesy, we have been proceeding with increasing difficulty for two years and a half. That assumption has been that these endless plots originated in the

25. The New York Times, March 9; 1917; 2:7.

"If Mr. Chakravarty has confessed to fomenting a revolt in India; at the instance of the Germans; I can only say that I am sorry for him and his patriotism. I am a Hindu Nationalist; working for the attainment of Self-Government by India. but I do not believe it will be worth our while to achieve that end by foreign military aid. What we want is self-government and not the change of masters.....if any Hindu in the country is conspiring with the Germans to harm the United States; he is not only an idiot but a traitor.....and no Hindu will spare any tears for him if he meets his due."

individual enthusiasm of solitary cranks and and the basic assumptions of these observations were deemed to be fairly correct that the "friendly" Government at Berlin was ignorant of them.<sup>26</sup> If the expectations then Chakravarty certainly rendered great

service to the American Government although he had failed in his primary objective.

26. The New York Times, March 11; though he had failed in his primary objective, 1917; II, 2:3,

## HISTORY OF INDIA

"India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and as such, is rightly designated by one name. Her type of civilization, too, has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world, while they are common to the whole country, or rather continent, in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human, social and intellectual development."

Indeed, had there been no such underlying unity, no empire could have been built up in India, in the ancient days of the Mahabharata, with its institution of the 'Rajasuya', in days of Asoka, and the comparatively modern times of Akbar.

Mr. Yusuf Ali, of the Bombay Civil Service, quotes Mr Vincent Smith with approval in his book on 'Life and Labour in India', and adds :

"The diversity of Social phenomena in India is a fact visible on the surface. But the groundwork on which that diversity is traced—the underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—is often lost sight of."

The author then goes on to expand this idea in felicitous and thoughtful language, and concludes :

"All its infinite variety hangs on a common thread of a somewhat distinctive Indian colour."

In the stage of nation-building at which we have arrived, it is more important for us to dwell on our resemblances than on our differences. We should remember what Okakura says on this subject :

"We forget, in an age of classification, that types are after all shining points of distinctness in an ocean of approximations, false gods deliberately set up to be worshipped, for the sake of mental convenience, but having no more ultimate or mutually exclusive validity than the separate existence of two interchangeable sciences."

Ramananda Chatterjee in  
The Modern Review, October, 1908, pp. 343-44

## (THE) WRATH OF THE CENSOR

Dr. MIHIR KUMAR SEN

### I

The first censoring of literature on Government level took place in 380 B.C. when Aristophanes was put to death in Greece as an atheistic and corrupter of youth. Since then books have been banned down the ages in various places and for various reasons.

#### *Three Lines of Attack*

One observes three distinct lines of attack carried so far on books by the powers that have been. Books at first used to be banned on grounds of heresy. Later they were proscribed on charges of sedition. In more recent times the censoring of books has been due to their alleged obscenity. This chronological observation makes the change in governmental thought and taste an interesting study, indeed.

#### *Heresy*

In 1498 Savonarola was tortured into confessing his heresy in demanding church reforms. Afterwards, he was burnt along with his writings. In 1555 Queen Mary of England proclaimed that "no manner of persons presume to bring into this realm any mss., books, papers; by John Calvin.....containing false doctrine against the Catholic faith." In the 1631 edition of *The Bible* printed by R. Barker and assigns of Peter Bill the word "not" was omitted from the seventh commandment. The printers were heavily fined; the whole edition of 10,000 copies was seized and described as the Wicked Bible. When Defoe's *The Shortest Way With the Dissenters* came out in 1703, it was taken on its face value by the Church Party. Soon the dig behind Defoe's suggestion that dissenters be killed pricked the Churchmen. Immediately copies of the book were burnt and Defoe sent to prison. In 1812 *Queen Mab* was pulled up for blasphemy regarding "moral and religious matters". Darwin's *The Origin of Species* was published in 1859. In 1925 a law forbade teachers in England "to teach any theory that denies the story of the Divine creation of man

as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals". The Chinese government banned Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* in 1931. For they held that "Animals should not use human language, and that it was disastrous to put human beings and animals on the same level" !

#### *Sedition*

In 35 A.D. Caligula suppressed *The Odyssey*, because the epic gave vent to Greek ideals of freedom. Those might have brought to a close the autocratic rule in Rome. The original edition of *King Richard II* had a 'deposition' scene. That had to be knocked off in the 1597 edition under orders from Queen Elizabeth I. She felt that the play had been written "for the encouragement of disaffection". Milton's *Eikonoklastes* (1649) was burnt by the hangman at the time of the Restoration. An attack on the hypocrisy of Charles II's religion and an argument against the Divine Right of Kings comprised the 'offending matter'. A considerable amount of string-pulling finally kept Milton away from the scaffold.

What happened in England was taking place elsewhere as well. In France, Voltaire had to see "the inside of the Bastille", in 1717, for writing *J'ai Vue* and *Puero Regnante*, full of libels against Louis XIV. In Konigsberg, Frederick William II asked Immanuel Kant, in 1793, not to write any more on religion. *Die Religion Innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* bore traces of the philosopher's sympathies with the French revolutionary ideas: and, there was the rub! In Russia, in 1790, Catherine II interned Alexander Radishchev for ten years in Siberia. For the author's *Journey from Petersburg to Moscow* discussed the evils of serfdom and Tsarist absolutism. Nicholas I banned the entry of Hans Andersen's *Wonder Stories* (1835) into Russia. For the fairy tales glorified princes and princesses. The Soviets could not take them for granted. In Boston Upton Sinclair's *Oil!* became a taboo in 1927 because of its comments on the Harding administration. The trial cost Sinclair \$2,000 !

## Obscenity

Obscenity has been a comparatively recent charge levelled against authors by official censors. Only in 1857 was E.B. Browning's *Aurora Leigh* officially condemned as "the hysterical indecency of an erotic mind." A couple of years later George Eliot's *Adam Bede* was cried down as "the vile outpourings of a lewd Woman's mind" and soon withdrawn from circulation. In 1890 Theodore Roosevelt decried Leo Tolstoi as "a sexual and moral pervert", the *Kreutzer Sonata* having been the offending work. In 1898 Havelock Ellis' *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* was condemned in London as "Lewd, lascivious, bawdy, scandalous, and obscene" by the prosecution. Ellis was not even allowed to defend himself and the scientific nature of his work.

In 1932 the Customs Court in England judged George Moore's *A Storyteller's Holiday* 'obscene'. Moore remarked that if all the censor-victims of the world were scotched, the Spring breeze would still be there to rouse desires in men and women. When Joyce's *Ulysses* was coming out serially in *The Little Review* in 1918, the instalments were burnt by the U.S. Post Office Department.

Here is an out of the ordinary story. One Mary Ware Dennett wrote in 1922 for the instruction of her sons *The Sexual Side of Life*. The U.S. Post Office Department promptly declared the publication 'un-mailable'. In 1928 she was one day requested by a "Mrs Miles" from Virginia for a copy of the booklet; and she obliged her correspondent. "Mrs Miles" turned out to be a postal inspector who had been officially directed to trap her: And Mrs Dennett had to pay a fine of \$300 for mailing "obscene matter".

Erskine Caldwell's *God's Little Acre* was dragged to the court in 1933 on charges of obscenity. New York City Magistrate Benjamin Greenspan held that the book as a whole was not 'pornographic'. For Caldwell had shown no tendency in it to "incite its readers to behave like its characters". Coarse language was no doubt used in some places. But the Court could not ask the author to put refined language in the

mouths of primitive people: In 1937 Magistrate Henry Curran used the same argument while releasing James Farrell's *A World I Never Made* from charges of obscenity.

## II

### Sanity in Courtrooms

Greenspan's judgment in favour of *God's Little Acre* had set the ball rolling; and in the forties it was commonly held by judges in censorship cases that (i) a book must be judged as a whole, not in isolated passages; (ii) in order to be declared 'obscene', a book has got to incite its readers to behave as its characters; (iii) a 'pornographic' work ought to contain 'the leer of the sensualist' and a pornographic intent; (iv) a genuine literary attempt to show life as it is should not be taken for 'hard core pornography'; (v) dubious works of literature are generally sold underhand.

It is refreshing to note how books have had to fight for their freedom and come out victorious in the long run. The definite change in the tone (on the liberal side) of judgments given in 'proscription' cases is sure to amuse the reader. Times have changed. And sanity prevails, now more than ever, in courtrooms.

## III

### Censuring—a 'Symptom'

It appears that the Guardians of Morals have all along been on the look-out for some sort of 'hook' to hang their 'doubts' and 'fears' on. These doubts and fears were no doubt born of guilty consciences. When anti-God literature could not be found handy, anti-Government stuff became their target. Lastly, when authors steered clear of even that snare, the Boards of Censor hooked to their ruling rods for whatever they could brand as 'morally hurtful'. Otherwise, O'hello's occupation would be gone.

Not merely that. This 'hooking' symptom will not disappear, in the absence of Shock Therapy or some equal cure... It will most probably find out some other 'objection' to which to cling. The next turn may well be that of 'differential calculus' or of 'psycho-analysis'.

## AVANT-GARDE CINEMA : A MUTED FANFARE

MARTIN S. DWORKIN

A chronic irritation with the notion of an *avant-garde* in the arts develops out of congenital ambiguities in application. It is rarely clear whether the term truly denotes distinctions of artists at work, or operates primarily in forming audiences: gathering banners and sounding trumpets in one corner of the field or another, where the newly faithful may find each other, and, perhaps, themselves. The matter may be simpler, of course, when the artists at their work deliberately affect particular flags or fanfares. But these are by nature and definition followers, and their parades hardly outdistance the oncoming novelties. Yet, there are leaders who are always in the van, who do what they must do whether they are followed or not; and these may be the hardest to recognize—the more so amid the noise and glare that come to signify recognition, in the age of Entertained Man.

The matter is more difficult in what we regard as newer arts, involved fundamentally in materials, instruments, and processes of Cyclopean industry, providing occasions of experience for measureless masses. The notion that the artist is by nature leader, innovator, or revolutionary has gained a resurgence that is characteristically modern, out of the complex transformations of social orders and political structures that accompanied the explosive growth of industrial masses in recent centuries. This role calls upon the artist to personate and articulate Man, in his continuing, enlarging crisis of self-identification and fulfillment, amid the pulverizing, obliterating forces of mass society.

But the arts themselves may edge the attack, inspiring each person with the presence of whatever gods are held up for worship, celebrating orthodoxies and managed enthusiasms or apathies of government and market place, serving rising tyrannies of unreason in the guise of emotional liberation. The drive towards total accessibility and experience of culture accompanies, at the least, the epochal vectors towards totalism in all forms and phases of the life of Man. And the formation of new orders of mass society

punctually assimilate the revolutionary, technological arts of collective experience, that project organizations of prepared imaginings so directly upon inner tissues of spirit, so far beyond controls of consciousness as are the private dreams they resemble and even imitate.

Some of the unclarity of a notion of an *avant-garde* in the mass arts have been inherited, to be sure, from its original currency in scuffles among cliques and critics over doctrines and departures in European painting and literature, during the dwindling years of elegant decadence before the war of 1914-18. More clouds of meaning, however, arose out of post-war fervors of disillusionment, concurrent with an awakening temper of experiment, particularly with forms and techniques of cinema. Among artists, already traditional passions against bourgeois life and aspirations were reasserted as paradoxical commitments to forces inimical to individualism, whether as ideal or practice. Among audiences, distinctions of intentions and quality were blurred more easily than ever, in vacillations between desires for sentient participation and unconscious absorption.

The arguments over relationships of art and artists to elite or popular audiences, that strewed the landscape of modern aesthetics with so much revered wreckage, were carried from the book-stalls, galleries, and concert halls into the new theaters. Here, too, there could and would be aristocracies. But the patents of belonging would be different for the cinema, that had come in less than three decades from a peep-show novelty and side-show attraction, to project a new reality for entire populations, throughout the world. Almost from the beginning, the magic shadows had been made for, and sold to the masses. Only later, in general, did the middle classes buy, especially as they were drawn to the stupefying, albeit respectable vulgarity of the gilded plaster palaces springing up in chains and clusters during the brash years between war and depression.

Those who knew better, according to tradition and vocation, arrived last of all. Moralists and evangelists had seen the menace and power of the

movies almost at once. Before the war, however, only a scattering of scholars and litterateurs—among the first anywhere were Hugo Münsterberg and Vachel Lindsay in the U.S.—took up the challenge to comprehend and criticize what was already apparent as a revolution in processes of imagination, as well as in forms of imagery. Wrote Lindsay in 1915: "It has come then, this new weapon of men, and the face of the whole earth changes." And what had arrived was something that the artists—in the sense of practitioners in the traditional fine arts; and the experimentalists—in the sense of seekers after new modes of personal expression, found already in being and in power.

Hans Richter, in noting its first appearance in post-war Germany, defined the *avant-garde* film as "the film as an art experiment," carefully adding that as a branch of creative activity, "... its roots were in the international art movement called modern art, which had its centre in Paris rather than in Berlin." But *avant-garde* cinema, root and branch, presumed the ground of cinema itself, and all it manifested and signified, amalgamating technology, commerce, and art as the quintessential expression of the popular culture of the modern industrial era. Before the *avant-garde* there had to be the pioneers, the innovators—especially those who had created a pictorial language to tell stories on screen: men such as Georges Méliès and Emile Cohl in France; G. S. Smith, James Williamson, Frank Mottershaw, and Cecil Hepworth in England; and Edwin S. Porter, Mack Sennett, Charles Chaplin, and D. W. Griffith in the United States. To denote an *avant-garde* in Richter's sense alone may be to properly indicate works of personal exploration, or edges of individual revolt—against the popular cinema, among other things, for the very faithfulness with which it incarnates the dominant culture. But it does not necessarily argue, and only rarely can specify what have been the most influential sources of origination along the main course of the medium.

In such perspective, to signify as *avant-garde* the personal, experimental films may say more for the wish than for the fact of their role in the history of cinema. Among them may be found several of the most profoundly original works ever put on film—as well as an immeasurable host of adolescent ebullitions, easy fakes, and pretentious

obscurities. In seeking and reaching special audiences, however, usually outside of established theatrical channels, and in most cases beyond access to currents of popular imagination, these films etched out distinctly different, and often divergent lines of direction and influence. If an analogy is provisionally made to literary, printed works, it would appear that such films have exerted far less force in guiding the principal vectors of the cinema than have the ventures in experimental or unconventional writing in the serious, traditionally ephemeral, "little" magazines upon the procession of literature.

The point is not at all to disparage past, present, or future efforts to create "the film as an art experiment," but to properly locate the definitively original influences in the development of cinema as a whole: cinema considered in the sense implicit in the notion of *avant-garde* itself—as what André Malraux called "the first world-wide art." And the problem of a terminology to denote the actual growing edges of cinema has not been eased by the persistence of *a priori* doctrinal factors. So much of the critical and historical discourse about *avant-garde* cinema has depended upon allegiances to particular aesthetic or ideological criteria, that may or may not bear upon the facts of influence within what is a unique complex of art, industry, and agency of social change.

Such allegiances have waved all the flag words that have marched with one echelon or another of the *avant-garde*, at one time or another: "abstract," "experimental," "impressionist," "expressionist," "realist," "surrealist," "neo-realist," "pure," "documentary," "intrinsic," "integral," "poetic," "absolute," "total"—even the loudly unregimented "off-trail," "off-beat," "free," "independent," and, simply, "new." And, to be sure, these often have been unfurled with standards signifying, in appropriately negative mode, forms of presentation to the public, or logistics and techniques of production: "non-commercial," and "non-theatrical"—hardly indicating, with typical clarity, precisely whether particular films were made to earn any money in some way, or whether they truly never were to be shown in theaters of any kind.

Most of the windstorms of doctrine that raged during the years between the wars have subsided, although much conceptual debris remain,

The works themselves have taken on other meanings: some in building to stature as genuine classics; others, by far the larger number, achieving no more than the vindication of their initial topicality, in becoming artifacts of a bygone epoch, to be archaeologized by scholars or antiquarians in film societies. In fact, the increasing availability of old films appears to quicken the processes of separation—not simply of the perishable from the preserved, but of the merely historical from the permanent.

In point, one of the most prestigious of all *avant-garde* films, *L'Age d'Or*, finally was shown in public in the U.S. at the 1964 New York Film Festival. The film, which Luis Bunuel made in 1930, from a script he created with Salvador Dali, had long been acknowledged as the archetype of surrealism on screen—and had long since ceased being a work that could simply be seen for the “first” time. Not only had every sequence, shot, and detail been described, interpreted, reclaimed and revisited, in myriads of articles and books, footnotes and captions to exemplary still photographs. The mode of imagery, and not a few of the images, had been so often followed and imitated, that almost all the novelty of the original was now leached out and dissipated.

What remained to be seen, of so unquestionably significant a work, could hardly live up to its significance. For most of the anti-clerical, anti-bourgeois images and juxtapositions, that had once been immediately shocking, there now could be little more than a critical reconstruction of what must have been their initial force. And, to be sure, post-war audiences had been exposed to much more explicit erotica, on screen and off, with and without intended meanings of love as the life principle, in protest against the respectable masquerades of Thanatos. What was least tolerable now, in trying to rehearse the original power of the film, was its slap-dash cinematography. The remark of Jacques Brunius, that “The violent impact of *L'Age d'Or* owes little or nothing to its technique . . .” had overlooked an element of tactical consistency, whereby the very faults of the film were proclaimed as integral with its attack upon conventional culture—including cinema. The assertion, in fact, has been part of *avant-garde* cant from the earliest talk of “pure,” “poetic,” and “experimental” film, and is heard again today among professional innocents

and other protagonists of anti-technique, in the name of new, and ever newer waves—among them “New American Cinema,” and “Cineverite.”

In all discourse about art, however, few arguments are more perishable than those for not taking pains, for eschewing the endless struggle for excellence—no matter how desperately worthy the immediate ends. The bad craftsmanship of a remembered work is a detail of a still developing judgment, and the early trials of any Bunuel may not argue for tactics of deliberate incompetence, without compromising the standards whereby new Bunuels may be recognized, and their works may come to be remembered. If *L'Age d'Or* is acknowledged as representing one column of an *avant-garde* at one time, its deficiencies prove no case for the unselected spontaneities of jet-age happy savages with cameras, or the unfocused metaphors of new acolytes of blind Homer, with photoelectric psyches and lenses that zoom.

Such considerations, to be sure, imply a bearing of critical judgment upon the ideas and works of an *avant-garde*—with all the problems and paradoxes, essential as well as historical, of this relationship. Some proclamation by critics is a presumptive, if not cardinal factor in the advent of an *avant-garde*. In the cinema, indeed, it is part of *avant-garde* tradition for critics to make films themselves—or, more as they might have it: for film makers to assert themselves, via critical writings, the founding of declamatory magazines, and the trumpeting of manifestoes, while awaiting or preparing opportunities for cinematic expression. But it is also part of *avant-garde* tradition to presume, once the films are made and presented, a certain suspension, even outright remission of critical attitude. Along with some advanced arguments for untrammelled film experience, or for the encouragement of unlimited innovation, often go quite familiar, rear-guard resentments of audience unappreciation—and naive expectations of mass response for inescapably particular works.

In a most revealing instance, the late Jean Cocteau (interviewed by Andre Fraigneau) deplored what he saw as a change in audience attitudes towards his films, between 1930 (when he finished *The Blood of A Poet*), and 1951 (a year after *Orpheus*):

"We have no public any more, we have only judges. An individualistic crowd, a crowd unfit for the collective hypnosis without which a spectacle becomes pointless. But this resistance ceases as soon as the mass audience pours in. They've paid for their seats and they are determined to enjoy the show. So it is not the mass audience that I accuse, but the false elite that has planted itself between the masses and ourselves. This false elite, which lives only by fashion, decrees that a work is out of fashion as soon as it deviates from what it considers fashionable..."

There is unwitting pathos in Cocteau's pretension that any of his films—even *The Eternal Return* (1913), and his most successful *Beauty and the Beast* (1946)—could be considered as inviting the "mass audience." And there is irony, as well as propriety, in the disaffiliation of one who was for so long a favorite of the "false elite," with its insatiable appetite for authorized enthusiasms. It is epicene logic, however, to characterize the resistant "elite" as being simultaneously "individualistic" and dominated by fashion. And more than complaint about the bad theater manners of particular Parisian audiences is involved in Cocteau's resentment of the "crowd unfit for the collective hypnosis..." demanded for his films.

A generation and more after the emergence of the first ideas and works of "film as an art experiment," Cocteau was rehearsing what have become plangent ambiguities of *avant-garde* cinema, concerning the relationship of film makers, critics, and audiences—and the nature of the film experience itself. All talk of films that advance beyond, or march apart from the procession of manufactures delivered in the theaters, must propose some experience of film different from that of mass consumption, with its addiction to narcotic unreason and uncriticized fantasy. If not, all the words, including *avant-*

*garde*, are no more than commercials for competing parades of packaged imaginings—whether or not the film makers are honest, dedicated men, or genuine eccentrics pursuing unique visions—or only poseurs, improvising esoteric entrees to commercial success.

In the same interview, it is pertinent to add, Cocteau properly denigrated mere technical innovation as defining serious, original works of cinema—what he chose to call "my conception of the cinematograph *versus* cinema." The point, to be sure, has classic validity. But it had never been more obvious than in the years following the transformation of the entertainment industries by the arrival of television, which devours and rewards novelty and technical virtuosity according to its nature—to ends of dubious nourishment. Since Cocteau spoke, there have occurred revolutionary alterations of habits of viewing films, and a world-wide disruption of industrial patterns of production and distribution. Abetted by punctual developments in cinema technology—particularly in cameras and lenses, film emulsions, and portable lighting and recording apparatus—these changes have encouraged an explosion of film making by persons who, scarcely a decade ago, would have been unable to begin, or to show their beginnings to substantial audiences.

In this upsurge of cinema activity, proliferating works of infinitely varied style, format, and content—as well as of every range of quality, it is more difficult than ever to speak with specificity and clarity of an *avant-garde*—and to be liberated critically from the deadly litanies of arbiters of modish immortality. And it is no easier than before to judge each work itself, beyond the whirling sweeps of enthusiasm and assassination of those whom Igor Stravinsky once devastated as "*Les pompiers d'avant-garde*." Wherever they go, rushing after every new alarm, blaring calls and slogans of belonging and exclusivism, something of each work of art and aesthetic experience must be held out of the way, and carried on to light new fires.



## THE CULTURAL IMPERIALISM OF THE WEST

SUKUMAR AZHICODE

Bertrand Russell has made, during one of his unconventional flights in history, a very ingenuous observation which is sure to awaken an idea that vaguely lies in the bosom of the non-Western scholars about the general unfairness of the Western academic mind in its attempt at estimating the real attainments of the Eastern world. Russell spoke about this tendency very frankly: "There is an imperialism of culture which is harder to overcome than the imperialism of power. Long after the Western Empire fell—indeed until the Reformation—all European culture retained a tincture of Roman Imperialism. It now has, for us, a West-European imperialistic flavour. I think that, if we are to feel at home in the world after the present war, we shall have to admit Asia to equality in our thoughts, not only politically, but culturally. What changes this will bring about, I do not know, but I am convinced that they will be profound and of the greatest importance."

Russell was urged to this confession while he was examining the idea behind the historical term, the Dark Ages. The meaning it usually carries is not universally valid, but has an undue concentration on the cultural situation of Europe from A. D. 600 to 1000. The acceptance of this meaning is clearly unhistorical. Russell's comment in this context is very illuminating: "In China, this period includes the time of the Tang dynasty, the greatest age of Chinese poetry, and in many other ways a most remarkable epoch. From India to Spain, the brilliant civilization

of Islam flourished. What was lost to Christendom at this time was not lost to civilization, but quite the contrary...To us, it seems that West-European civilization is civilization, but this is a narrow view."

This stricture upon the insular outlook of the West is but an echo of the disapproval voiced on behalf of India in particular by Max Muller many decades ago: "India has never had full justice done to it, and when I say this I think not only of ancient, but of modern India also."

The sensitive mind of Romain Rolland too joins these noble voices in chastising Europe for its policy of a thinly veiled cultural 'apartheid'. "Asia, the great land of which Europe is but a peninsula; the advance guard of the army, the prow of the heavy ship laden with a thousand wisdoms...from her have always come to us our gods and our ideas. But in the course of the many circuits made by our people who followed the track of the sun, losing contact with our native East, we have deformed, for our own end of violent and limited action, the universality of her great thoughts...who, amid the disorder in which the chaotic conscience of the West is struggling, has sought whether the forty-century-old civilisations of India and China had not answers to offer to our own griefs, models, it may be, for our aspirations?"

Rolland is fair in singling out the Germans who "have been the first to ask of Asia that food which their starved appetite can no longer find in Europe." Especially does he

mention the generous services rendered by Count Hermann Keyserling and Hermann Hesse towards assessing and appreciating the work of the East for what it is worth. To these two, one may add a galaxy of such illustrious names from other countries as Schopenhauer, Goethe, Emerson, Thoreau, William James, Colebrooke, Paul Deussen, Weber, Joad, Aldous Huxley and Will Durant who were full-throated in their warm admiration of the achievements of the Orient. These many names, however, do not absolve the academic circles of the West from their sins of apathy and even hostility practised conventionally, though not intentionally, against the opposite hemisphere, particularly on the cultural front. For if one would examine those names, he could find that they fell under two groups—either universal minds and philosophers like Goethe, Rolland, Emerson, Keyserling and Huxley or veteran Orientalists like Max Muller, William Jones and Deussen. The liberal catholicity of the former and the specialised intimacy of the latter naturally made them the sympathisers of those despised civilizations. Their healthy influence can hardly be credited to have penetrated the uncharitable exclusiveness of the sanctuaries of western scholars in their academies and universities. Even the fairminded Will Durant fell a prey to this infection of parochial prejudice while he precluded from 'The Story of Philosophy' all accounts of Eastern philosophers. But we should hasten to congratulate him for his spontaneous realisation of this grave omission soon after. About it he wrote so penitently "The worst sin of all though the critics do not seem to have noticed it was the omission of Chinese and Hindu Philosophy. Even a 'story' of philosophy that begins with Socrates; and has nothing to say about Lao-tze and Confucius, Mencius

and Chevang-tze, Buddha and Sankara, is provincially incomplete."

Note the parenthesis; "though the critics do not seem to have noticed it." It is a dig at the insensible attitude of the Western pundits vis-a-vis the East which makes them often forgetful of the elementary fact that East is also one of the cardinal points of the compass. Durant is clever at such little ironies levelled against himself or his own group. He deserves more commendation in publishing subsequently 'Our Oriental Heritage,' being the first volume of 'The Story of Civilization' in order 'to atone for his omission.' With his background of close study of the East for many years, it is his firm conviction that "not even a lifetime of devoted scholarship would suffice to initiate a Western student into the subtle character and secret lore of the East." The accusing finger he points at European scholarship is more ominous than that of Russell. He writes :

"Our story begins with the Orient, not merely because Asia was the scene of the oldest civilizations known to us, but because those civilizations formed the background and basis of that Greek and Roman culture which Sir Henry Maine mistakenly supposed to be the whole source of the modern mind. We shall be surprised to learn how much of our most indispensable inventions, our economic and political organization, our science and our literature, our philosophy and our religion, goes back to Egypt and the Orient. All this historic movement when the ascendancy of Europe is so rapidly coming to an end, when Asia is swelling with resurrected life, and the theme of the twentieth century seems destined to be an all-embracing conflict between the East and the West the provincialism of our traditional histories, which began

with Greece and summed up Asia in a line has become not merely academic error, but a possibly fatal failure of perspective and intelligence. 'The future faces into the Pacific and understanding must follow it there.'

But the typical representative of the Western academic world is not so just, sympathetic or universal in his understanding of the global movements of history and culture. To give currency to Russell's opprobrium, he is a 'cultural imperialist, with his tacit faith unshaken in the west European supremacy in the field of human achievements. To him the world is more or less coextensive with the West. He believes, at best, that the world is West plus something. And that 'something' does not count! Authors of books on history are the greatest sinners on this score. Take, for example, Prof. T. R. Glover's 'Ancient World', a work of considerable scholarly calibre. Notwithstanding this, one cannot but accuse him of a mutilated historical vision, which is inexcusable in a historian. To him the 'ancient world' is a term which comprehends only ancient Greece and Rome. More ancient civilizations of Egypt, China and India are apparently neither so ancient nor so civilized! If at all he conceded the existence of the East, it is to damn it. See for example: "Again it is strange that the living religions of the world all build on religious ideas derived from the Jews; Protestantism, Catholicism, Islam all have creeds in which One God is central. The other great systems, Hinduism and Buddhism, have no creeds at all; they are curious amalgams of philosophic speculations and popular superstitions, with nothing universally held and universally required of all believers."<sup>7</sup>

Another equally pretentious work, 'Before Philosophy—the Intellectual Adventure of

Ancient Man, co-authored by three accredited scholars in the continent, also has erred into this oversight. To them, too, the ancient man is a denizen of the West who is fastidious in keeping within the boundary line marked by Bosphorus. The pity of it is that these writers, in the genuineness of their conviction are never tormented by that sense of contrition which haunts such earnest souls as Russell or Durant over their academic lapses.

The magnitude of the cultural and historical unilateralness in outlook adopted by the West will be visible if one takes a peep into works on World History. Many ignore the very entity, of the East! They seem to follow an 'Occidentcentric theory in history. Whether it is Wells, Weech or van Loon, the East gets a grudging page, or better still, a meagre paragraph, while chapters and volumes are devoted to the exploits of the West. Even the miserly allocation of a paragraph or two would be found to have been occasioned by topics of no less magnificence than the Buddha or Asoka who would have fared most generously at the hands of the authors if they had a different place of origin. I have yet to see a western work on history which has treated the Buddha on a par with Jesus Christ, though the former's potential, individually or historically or spiritually, is not in any way inferior. It is astounding to see Frederick the Great given more space and treated with more gusto than Akbar the Great, albeit the latter's title to greatness is, on all counts, far greater than the former's. Evidently, scientific objectivity, which is the hall-mark of true history, gets sacrificed at the altar of Western cultural Imperialism.

Another instance of this unhealthy tendency is afforded by the debasement in meaning that has overtaken the historical nomencla-

ture. We have already seen how this has affected such terms as 'Dark Ages' and 'Ancient World'. Those words would look all right, provided Europe is a world or at least the centre of world activities. There are many such misused terms. Take, for example, 'Reformation' and 'Renaissance'. Both are universal phenomena in history, critical situations that confront religion and society on occasions, not confined to any particular time or clime. But one who reads the ordinary text-books on European history is sure to be carried away by the notion that the one marks the emergence of Protestantism in Europe and that the other is formatively associated with Florence in the Middle Ages.

A projection of this unscientific bias is visible in the field of literature and arts. Only the greatest among the literati and the artists of the East are fortunate in securing the smallest attention of the chroniclers and critics. A Kalidasa or a Tagore may escape the colossal umbra of ignorance and indifference cherished by many of the university-bred scholars of the West. I am anxious here to cite a literary reference-work of cyclopaedical pretensions whose composition and compilation are linked with the names of scholars hailing from seven celebrated American universities, viz., "The Reader's Companion to World Literature". The fallacious claim which the editors put forward in the preface speaks out the chronic insularity of these university men. They say: "It is natural to stress occidental literature more than the Oriental, but this is genuinely a hand-book of world literature in that the greatest writers and works of the East are included." This is a sinister statement to say the least. How can a genuine handbook of world literature naturally stress occidental literature more

than the oriental? Is the occidental identical with the universal? Moreover, if the standard followed in the compilation is pure allegiance to the greatest writers and their works, then it should be invariably observed not only in respect of the Eastern literature, but also in the case of the Western. But what was done was that this self-advertised standard was used by the western purists as a lever to play down the East while its operation was suspended in relation to the West. The one Indian writer who is treated in that book, apart from other works, is Kalidasa. If such a severely rigorous application of high standards in selection is adopted in respect of European literatures, how many, over and above Shakespeare, Goethe, Dante and a few others, would have, in justice, survived is a matter for speculation. A better evidence of what Durant styled as "the provincialism of the traditional European mind" with its morbid habit to "sum up Asia in a line" cannot be thought of.

Illustrations of this prohibitive purism of West can be multiplied to legion. Another work of greater glory is "The Outline of Literature," originally edited by John Drinkwater. The judiciousness in its composition may be gauged by the number of chapters devoted to oriental literature—one and a fraction out of a total of 13. To cite another illustration—a volume on biography described by its author as "a compact biographical cyclopaedia" which exhausts nearly 300 life-sketches of famous men and women is found alarmingly susceptible to untouchability against the Eastern sector of humanity. The one Indian whose biography is accorded a place therein is Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest man of the twentieth century. Not even the Buddha, Asoka, Sankara, Akbar, Tagore or Nehru has a place in it. On the other hand,

obscure personalities, both European and American, like John Jacob Aster, a mere millionaire, and John Joseph Pershing, an ordinary commander, are consecrated in its niche. The limits of cultural obscurantism are touched here.

It is however tragic that intellectual imperialism whether born of ignorance, illusion or obscurantism is more longlived than external empires. Even after the collapse of the Roman imperial edifice, the Romanised mind of the West clung for long to the delusion that the Roman civilization was world-wide in idea and in reality. But ultimately history mocks at such views. The Roman delusion vanished in due course. We, in our wisdom, have the last laugh at that erroneous view. That historically discredited path of unwisdom is now being pursued by the West European civilization. It is the scholar with his unsullied vision of the totality of the human perspective who should cry a halt to this process of intellectual abridgment. But unfortunately they are affected, in larger measure, by the virus of bigotry.

What is the cause of this condition of the warped mind—narrow, bigoted, exclusive and restrictive? Max Muller locates it in the feeling of superiority of the white—skin over the brown one. May be so. Russell puts it down to the irrationality of power. Perhaps a more plausible reason. Whatever be it, its hold is luckily relaxing. The sneer that contorts the visage of the European scholar while encountering Asia is not at present always there in its former crudity and intensity. There is instead a little smile of recognition and appreciation. The liberal outlook of Russell, Durant and Rolland is slowly catching up. No western scholar will

be nowadays so callous as to say, like the editors of the "Companion to World Literature", that it is natural to stress the occidental in a universal reference book. Slow glimmerings of an awareness of true universalism are beginning to permeate the hitherto befogged western academic atmosphere. Whether in history, philosophy or literature, this healthier trend is in the offing. The East is an entity to be reckoned with. How delightful it is to note the tone of humility with which the editors of the Penguin's Dictionary of Art and Artists" acknowledge the exclusion of the East from its scope! The apology is worth quoting: "We have restricted the scope to the arts of painting, sculpture, and to a period beginning about the year 1300 and continuing up to the present day. One good reason for this restriction is that we are almost totally ignorant of the arts of other periods and places."

Ignorance in the scholastic field one can sympathise with, but not indifference or imperialistic intolerance. The same understanding of the inadequacy of one's scholarly equipment marks an American work on plays where the omission of the Orient is sought to be excused with these words. "One further word of explanation may be necessary. The omission of any plays from the Far East is due to the fact that the technique of Oriental drama is so different from that of the Western world that it seemed justifiable to limit this collection as we have." (8). Any thing but intellectual disdain is acceptable. Historians and writers truly informed with the spirit of internationalism can contribute a good deal to the shattering of the barriers of this cultural 'apartheid'. Only then can an integrated one world be heralded.

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE PANCHAYAT SYSTEMS IN WEST BENGAL

Prof. SUBRATA KUMAR MUKHERJEE, M. A.

Village Panchayat is the lowest unit of our democratic state apparatus. The setting up of Village Panchayat as a true self-governing institution is one of the Directives of our Constitution and Article 40 provides:—"The State shall take steps to organise Village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government". During the last 15 years this provision of the Constitution has been implemented more or less in almost all the States of India. It has also to be remembered that even though these institutions were set up there was (and it still continues) hesitancy on the part of authority in transferring effective power to these bodies.

### *Democratic Decentralisation*

But a new horizon has been opened with the publication of the Balawant Rai Mehta Committee Report. 'Democratic decentralisation' is the key-note of these recommendations. The Committee have placed before the country a positive picture of devolution of power and a programme of Panchayatiraj to be built up from below. The underlying principle of this new policy is that 'The Government should divest itself completely of certain duties and responsibilities and devolve them to a body which will have the entire charge of all development work within its jurisdiction, reserving to itself only the functions of guidance, supervision and higher planning'.<sup>1</sup> The Committee envisaged a three-tier organisation—Zilla Parishad at the district level, Panchayat Samity at the block level and Panchayat at the village level.

This expert committee further observed—"we have already indicated the reasons why in

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1. Balawant Rai Mehta Committee Report, Vol. 1, p. 125.

the matter of developmental activities village Panchayat and Panchayat Samities should be the main local bodies... The district board, the district school board and the Janapad Sabha become superfluous, as local interest, supervision and care, necessary to ensure that the expenditure of money upon local bodies conforms with the wishes and need of the locality are provided by the Panchayat Samiti, which we consider a body of size adequate in population and area. The functions which these bodies are at present performing will in our opinion be performed with greater efficiency by the Panchayat Samiti".<sup>2</sup> It may further be recalled that the recommendations of the Mehta Committee have since been accepted by the Parliament and steps are being taken to re-organise and re-shape the existing Panchayat enactments on the lines suggested by the Mehta Committee.

During the last few years practically every state in India as a matter of national policy has either recast or evolved its own 'Panchayatiraj system'. In the subsequent pages we attempt to trace, in the first instance, a short background of 'rural self-government' in Bengal as it existed and also a brief account of the present Panchayat System which is in operation since 1957-58. The 'West Bengal Zilla Parishads Act, 1963' which has just been introduced has been left out for obvious reasons.

### *Pre-Independence Acts*

It may be recalled that the rural life of West Bengal till 1957 was administered by three pre-Independence Acts, e.g., 'The Village Choukidari Act of 1870'; 'The Bengal Local Self-Government Act of 1885' and 'The Bengal Village Self-Government Act of 1919'. It may further be remembered that in the British

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2. Mehta Committee Report—p. 19.

period the village people of Bengal were first acquainted with the idea of Panchayat practically in 1870 in the Village Choukidari Act. But the scope of the Act was extremely restricted and the only function of the nominated Panchayat having 3 members was the maintenance and the supervision of the village choukidars.

In the historic resolution of Lord Ripon new possibilities were opened for Local Self-Government. In the subsequent Acts power and scope of the Local Self-Government bodies were extended to a large extent. "The Government of India issued in May, 1882, a resolution in which they indicated the lines on which the future development of rural Local Boards should take place. By the Bengal Local Self Government Act, 1885, the District Road Cess Committee was replaced by the District Board and the Branch Committee, of such District Committee by Local Boards in the Sub-divisions of the District".<sup>3</sup> But a comprehensive panchayat system at the village level was never established prior to the present Act. The situation remained unaltered even after the inauguration of the new constitution.

It should also be pointed out that even in the '1919 Act' no institution at the village level was created. In the said Act the 'Union Board' comprising several villages was the lowest unit. Their powers were restricted and confined to civic functions mainly. It has also to be remembered that due to inadequacy of funds the Local and the Union Boards, presented a dismal picture. In such an atmosphere peoples' apathy and frustration in Local Self-Government were quite obvious. It has also to be admitted that compared to other States the progress of rural Self-Government in Bengal was slow and halting. It was in such a historic background that the advent of the new 'Panchaytiraj' has to be judged.

### *West Bengal Panchayati Raj*

Like other States in India, West Bengal has also evolved its own Panchayati raj system. It has been introduced in two stages—first stage, i.e.,

3. Quoted from the Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute—January-March; 1965, P. 276.

the basic part was introduced in 1957 in the 'West Bengal Panchayat Act of 1957. The second stage has been introduced very recently in the 'West Bengal Zilla Parishads Act, 1963'. It may further be stated that these two Acts constitute in their entirety the 'Panchayati Raj System' in West Bengal. These Acts have envisaged a four-tier panchayat system, a novelty and an innovation in the whole of India. Starting from Gram Panchayat (at the village level) one will find at successive higher stages, the Anchal Panchayat (combination of several Gram Panchayats), the Anchalik Parishad (at the block level) and lastly The Zilla Parishad at the District level.

### *West Bengal Panchayat Act 1957*

The 'West Bengal Panchayat Act 1957' comprises altogether 120 sections divided into three parts. Part I deals with the administration of Gram Panchayat having 10 chapters in it. Part II deals with the Nyaya Panchayats, the judicial system. Part III deals with Miscellaneous items (Rule making powers of the State Government, etc.).

In Part I a two-tier Panchayat structure has been provided. Apart from the basic body, the Gram Sabha, the two executive organs are Gram Panchayat and the Anchal Panchayat.

### *Gram Sabha*

The 'Gram Sabha' which is the general body and the basis of this new body has been described as—"every Gram Sabha shall consist of all persons whose names are included in the electoral roll of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly for the time being in force pertaining to the area for which the Gram Sabha has been constituted".<sup>4</sup> Although no area or population is mentioned for a Gram Sabha in the Act it roughly covers about 800 to 1,000 population. Thus a Gram Sabha may cover a single village or two or three adjoining villages at the same time.

It is further noted that for the first time 'adult franchise' was introduced in the constitution of rural local bodies in West Bengal. In-

4. Section 7(1) of the W. B. Panchayat Act, 1957.

cidentally it may be stated that due to historic reasons in the 'Chandernagore Corporation' under the 'Chandernagore Municipal Act; 1955' the system of adult franchise had already been introduced.

### Meetings

The Act also provides—"Every Gram Sabha shall hold one annual meeting and one half-yearly general meeting". The agenda to be discussed at such meetings are also stated. "The Gram Sabha shall (a) at an annual general meeting—(I) Consider the Budget for the following year. (II) Consider the report submitted by the Gram Panchayat on the work done during the previous year and the work proposed to be done during the following year, and give such direction to the Gram Panchayat as it may deem necessary; and (III) Transact such other business as may be prescribed. (b) The half-yearly General meeting shall transact such business as may be prescribed. Apart from the said 'statutory' meetings there is also provision for "extra-ordinary general meeting" either by the Adhyaksha of the Gram Panchayat himself or on requisition by the Gram Sabha members.<sup>5</sup>

### Quorum

Like other Panchayat Acts there is provision of a quorum in the Gram Sabha meetings. But it is somewhat liberal in West Bengal. In all Gram Sabha meetings the presence of at least one-tenth of the total number of members of the Gram Sabha will be required. But even then meetings could not be held on fixed dates due to absence of quorum. The contributor had the opportunity of visiting about 15 village panchayats recently in the districts of Burdwan; Birbhum and Nadia. On enquiry it was learnt that excepting one or two Panchayats such 'annual' or 'half-yearly' meetings could not be held on scheduled dates due to lack of quorum.

The Act of course provides : 'In absence of proper quorum the meetings of the Gram Sabha shall be adjourned to a date within one month and the date of such adjourned meeting shall

be announced by the presiding person. Proper notice of such meeting shall have to be given. In the adjourned meeting no quorum shall be required and no new item shall be allowed to be taken up'.<sup>6</sup>

### Comments

It is thus observed that the general body i.e. the Gram Sabha has been empowered under the Act to supervise, to scrutinise and to control to some extent the activities of the Gram Panchayat as a whole. The holding of the annual and half-yearly meetings and the agenda to be placed in such meetings are mandatory on the part of the Gram Panchayat, the executive body of the Panchayat. That is the significance of 'shall' as stated in sections 8(1), 9(1) and (2) of the Act. The Act also states that either the Adhyaksha or the Upadhyaksha shall preside at such meetings. In their absence 'the Gram Sabha' shall elect in the manner prescribed one of the members present at the meeting to preside.

Although these 'meetings' are imperative it is not clear from the Act the fate of such 'Budget' and 'Annual report' in case these are not approved by the Gram Sabha. Similarly while the Act provides that the Gram Sabha shall 'give directions to the Gram Panchayat as it may deem necessary' it is silent over the subsequent steps. It is not clear whether it is 'imperative' for the Gram Panchayat to modify or to revise the 'Annual report' or the work to be taken up next year in the light of these 'recommendations'. With regard to the Budget estimate the Rule provides that the Adhyaksha shall submit the same before the Gram Panchayat meeting within seven days after the meeting of the Gram Sabha where the Budget shall be finalised. There is also no provision for re-submission of such report or Budget to the Gram Sabha meetings.

*U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947*

It is interesting to note that the U.P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947 while making such a

5. Section 8(1) of the W. B. Panchayat Act; 1957 Ibid, Section 9(1).

6. Section 10(2) and (3) of the W. B. Panchayat Act, 1957.



provision had laid down clear procedure in this behalf.

"Every Panchayat prepares an estimate of its income and expenditure for the year and lays it before the 'Kharif' meetings of the Gaon Sabha commencing on the 1st day of April next following. Similarly the report including the accounts of its actual and expected receipts and expenditure of the year ending on the 31st March last preceding such report is laid before the 'Rabi' meeting of the Sabha".

"Gaon Sabha may pass or refer back to the Gaon Panchayat the budget submitted to it for reconsideration with such directions as it may give in the prescribed manner and may likewise pass a recommendatory resolution in respect of the report or of any other matter".<sup>7</sup>

"However, if the annual estimate is referred back to Gaon Panchayat for re-consideration, the Pradhan calls an extra-ordinary meeting of the Gaon Sabha to be held within a fortnight of the said annual meeting and the Gaon Panchayat re-submits the annual estimate at the said meeting with certain changes according to directions of the Gaon Sabha and then the Gaon Sabha passes the annual estimate in the prescribed manner".<sup>8</sup>

#### *Mysore Committee on Gram Sabha*

The importance of the Gram Sabha and its role in the 'Panchayati Raj' has been appreciated by experts in other states also. 'The Basappa Committee on Panchayati Raj in Mysore State' made an identical recommendation in their report in 1963 providing for a Gram Sabha with similar functions like that of U.P. for the Mysore State. That the Gram Sabha of the village shall consist of all persons whose names are included in the list of voters. **The Gram Sabha shall meet at least twice in every year to consider the following matters :**

- (a) Annual Statement of accounts and Audit reports ;

7. Section 41(1) U.P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947

Section 41(2) Ibid.

8. Quoted from the Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute, July; 1960. P. 88.

- (b) Report on the administration of the preceding financial year ;
- (c) Programme of work or any new programme not covered by the Budget or the Annual Programme ; and
- (d) Proposals for fresh taxation or enhancement of the existing taxes. The Panchayat shall give due consideration to the suggestions if any, of the Gram Sabha"<sup>9</sup>.

#### *Panchayati Raj Act*

In the 'reconstituted' and 'revised' 'Panchayati Raj Act 1961' of Andhra Pradesh provision has been made for this village assembly i.e. the Gram Sabha. Other provisions of Section 6 of the Act, are almost similar to those of U.P. and West Bengal excepting that the 'recommendations' of the Gram Sabha are harmless.

As observed by Sri Ram K. Vepa "The Gram Sabha is to meet twice a year to consider the Administration Report of the Panchayat; the annual statement of accounts, the works programme proposed to be undertaken and proposals for fresh taxation. The Gram Sabha will be presided over by the Sarpanch (President of the Panchayat) but its recommendations are purely advisory".<sup>10</sup>

#### *Imposition of Taxes*

Another important point to be noticed in this connection is that unlike other States; neither the Gram Sabha nor the Gram Panchayat in West Bengal has any say over the imposition or assessment of any tax in the villages. Such authority is exclusively vested in the Anchal Panchayat. In the circumstances the omission of 'Tax proposal' in the business agenda of the Gram Sabha is understood.

#### *Gram Panchayat*

There is an executive for this general body (Gram Sabha) which is known as Gram

9. Quoted from the Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute—Oct-Dec, 1963. P. 142.

10. Quoted from the 'Indian Journal of Public Administration Oct.-December, 1964, P. 694.

Panchayat. It is elected by the Gram Sabha members from amongst themselves. Its strength varies from 9 to 15. Apart from these 'elected' members there is provision in the Act for 'nominated members'. It is provided that persons possessing special qualifications, irrespective of the fact whether they are members of the Gram Sabha concerned or not, may be nominated by the State Government as members of the Gram Panchayat. But two disabilities have been imposed upon them: (1) they shall not have the right to vote. (2) they are debarred from holding the office of Adhyaksha or Upadhyaksha.

Further, the number of such associates shall not exceed one-third of the total number constituting the Gram Panchayat.<sup>11</sup>

The terms of office of the members including that of the Adhyaksha and the Upadhyaksha has been fixed as four years. This term may be extended up to one year by the prescribed authority. At its first meeting the members of the Gram Panchayat elect from amongst themselves the Adhyaksha and the Upadhyaksha of the Panchayat. The nominated members cannot participate in such elections. The total number of Gram Panchayats in 1964-65 were 19,647 covering 29,470 villages. Thus on an average a Gram Panchayat covers 1.5 village area.

#### *Observations*

It is thus observed as has been indicated earlier that for the first time a local body at the 'village level' has been constituted in West Bengal under the provisions of the present Act. Further, due to the introduction of adult franchise all sections of the village people (irrespective of their property, education or income) can participate in these elections and also are at liberty to exercise their free choice in selecting the pattern of the 'executive' they like. Of course there are seven disqualifications and any Gram Sabha member having any of the these disqualifications cannot be elected as a member of the Panchayat. One of the important disqualifications is with regard to the age-limits of a member. Under the provisions of the Act no

one can be elected a member or an office-bearer of the Gram Panchayat or the Anchal Panchayat unless he is 25 years of age. This section can be compared with Art. 84 of the Indian Constitution regarding qualifications for Lok Sabha membership. Similarly the other important disqualifications like 'unsound mind' and 'an undischarged insolvent, may be compared to Art. 102 of the Constitution.

As regards voting the relevant rule provides that the 'voting shall be 'secret' and by means of 'ballot'. The system of nomination has been justified on the ground that at the initial stage of this novel experiment in self-government the presence of outsiders may be useful as a source of guide and inspiration. But on the other hand there is genuine misgivings in the minds of the people that such 'nominated members' may create unnecessary complications in the rural politics and they may be useful 'instruments' in the hands of the ruling party to serve particular party interests.

It is also noticed that while the election of the Executive Committee (Gram Panchayat) is direct, that of the office-bearers is indirect. The term of office in both cases is, of course, the same. The system of election in U.P. and Punjab is direct in both the cases. In U.P. although the Pradhan is elected by the members of the Gaon Sabha for a period of 5 years, the Upa-Pradhan is elected by the Gaon Panchayat for a period of one year only.

#### *Poor response from women*

It is interesting to note that unlike some of the other States in India there is no provision in the 'West Bengal Panchayat Act' for reserving seats or associating women or persons belonging to scheduled castes in the Panchayat bodies. Of course, in the West Bengal Zilla Parishad Act, 1963, such provision has been made both in the Anchalik Parishad (Institution at the Block level) and in the Zilla Parishad. There is very poor response from the women of our community in these local bodies. The total number of women representatives (members) in the Gram Panchayats and in the Anchal Panchayats in 1964-65 were 91 and 27 respectively. Widespread illiteracy and prevailing purda system are

11. Sections 11(1), (2) and (5) of the W. B. Panchayat Act, 1957.

largely responsible factors for non-participation of women in local affairs.

It is further interesting to note that the response of women in the 'urban local bodies' in West Bengal is further depressing. In the 27 municipalities and 2 corporations of the State the number of women representatives barely exceed 4 or 5.

### *Functions of the Gram Panchayat*

The village Panchayat has been empowered to undertake a long list of functions covering as many as 48 items. But excepting the 'obligatory functions' (12 in number) the rest are either 'delegated' or 'discretionary'.

The powers and duties may be classified under three heads :—

1. Obligatory.
2. Other duties (delegated)
3. Discretionary.

Apart from these functions there are also the 'Agency' functions. On a perusal of these functions it will be observed that most of the 'obligatory functions' are civic functions whereas the 'other functions' and 'discretionary functions' are mainly concerned with development and rural reconstruction works. Some of the obligatory functions are :—

- a) Sanitary, conservancy and drainage.
- b) Anti-epidemic measures.
- c) Maintenance, repair and construction of public streets or places.
- d) Registration of births and deaths.
- e) Organising voluntary labour etc.
- f) Supply of drinking water.
- g) Supply of local information to the higher authorities when required.
- h) Vaccination and inoculation.

We may further classify the 'delegated and discretionary' functions under the following heads of development :—

- 1) Agricultural
- 2) Economic
- 3) Social and Public Health
- 4) Cultural.

Particular mention may be made of the agricultural and economic functions of the Gram Panchayat. They are extremely vital in the context of development and planning of rural life in West Bengal. These are :—

### *Functions relating to improvement of agriculture (Including food)*

- a) Irrigation
- b) Bringing Waste land under cultivation
- c) Cultivation of fallow land
- d) Co-operative land management
- e) As-sisting in the implementation of land reform
- f) Grow more food campaign
- g) Allotment of places for storing manures
- h) Improved breeding of cattle and prevention of cattle diseases etc.
- i) Construction and regulation of markets, fairs, melas and hats
- j) Planting and maintaining trees

### *Economic*

- a) Introduction and promotion of co-operative farming, co-operative stores and other such enterprises
- b) Promotion and encouragement of cottage industries.
- c) Acting as a channel for government assistance to villagers
- d) Assistance to agriculturists in regard to obtaining State loan, its distribution and repayment

No doubt the functions stated above cover different aspects of our villagers' life and are also essential for a planned development of our rural society.

### *Financial resources*

These functions can never be properly implemented unless adequate funds are provided at the disposal of the Panchayat. Under the West Bengal Panchayat Act only the Anchal Panchayat is entitled to impose taxes. The Gram Panchayat has no independent source of revenue. Not only that. The Act provides under Section 55, Sub-section 2 (d) that Anchal

Panchayat shall allot such sum to the Gram *Mode of Election*

Panchayat under its jurisdiction taking into consideration :—

- a) Amount available for distribution
- b) Amount realised from each of the Gram Sabhas within its jurisdiction as tax toll, fee or rate; and
- c) Amounts required by the Gram Panchayats concerned according to the budget framed by them for carrying on their duties and functions.

It can be well understood that after meeting its own expenses and that of the cost of administration of the Nyaya Panchayat and after considering the amount raised from each Gram Sabha as taxes, the Anchal Panchayat may be able to contribute only a meagre sum for the Gram Panchayat. There is also no provision of a fixed amount of land revenue as is provided in some State Acts. Under these circumstances the functions of the Gram Panchayat may only remain on paper. In the context of building up a true panchayat system in our State the provisions of the Act are unsatisfactory and disappointing.

It will further be remembered that welfare functions primarily belong to the Gram Panchayats "whereas the police and judicial functions are vested in the Anchal Panchayats. On account of financial handicaps the welfare functions of the Gram Panchayat would surely suffer. The Gram Panchayat will be just annexes to the Anchal Panchayat".

#### *Anchal Panchayat*

The second higher tier in the West Bengal Panchayat administration is the provision of the 'Anchal Panchayat'. An Anchal Panchayat roughly covers about 8 to 10 Village Panchayats having 9,000 to 10,000 population within it. Practically speaking it has replaced the old 'Union Boards' under the '1919 Village Act'. But compared to Union Boards the Anchals will have a different constitution and larger powers and functions. Upto 1964-65; 2924 Anchal Panchayats have been established in the 15 districts of the State (excluding Calcutta).

At the Anchal Panchayat stage the system of election is indirect. Here the Gram Panchayat members constitute the Anchal Panchayat from amongst the Gram Sabha members in the following ratio :—

For every 250 Gram Sabha Members...1 Anchal Panchayat Representative.

If the residue of Members is more than 125 but less than 250 .....1 Representative

The seven disqualifications stated earlier in the case of Gram Panchayat (Section 15) shall also apply in case of Anchal Panchayat. At its first meeting the Anchal Panchayat elects a Pradhan and an Upa-pradhan. The members of the Anchal Panchayat shall hold four year terms. A person can simultaneously be a member of the Gram Panchayat as also of the Anchal Panchayat.

#### *Powers and functions*

The Anchal Panchayat shall be responsible for :—

- 1) Control and administration of Anchal Panchayat fund.
- 2) Imposition, assessment and collection of the taxes, rates or fees leviable under this Act.
- 3) Maintenance and control of dafadars and chowkidars.
- 4) Constitution and maintenance of Nyaya Panchayat.
- 5) Other duties assigned by the State Government.

The Act also empowers the Anchal Panchayats to constitute committees for facility of work.

#### *Officers and servants*

There shall be a Secretary for each Anchal Panchayat. The Secretary shall function as the Executive Officer of the Anchal Panchayat. The Secretary shall frame the Budget, the annual estimate and the report of the Anchal Panchayat. Although his appointment, promotion, dismissal and other service conditions will be determined

by the State Government he shall be under the general supervision of the Anchal Panchayat. Although the Act provided that the salary and allowances of the Panchayat Secretary shall be paid from the 'Anchal Panchayat Fund'; the State Government is meeting at present the entire cost of such charges.

### Finance

It has already been noted that under the Act the Gram Panchayat has no authority to impose, assess or collect taxes. Only the Anchal Panchayat possesses the requisite power and authority in this behalf. The 'West Bengal Panchayat Act, has empowered the Anchals to impose the following tax, rate or fees :—

- 1) Compulsory imposition of property tax according to circumstances.
  - 2) May impose tax on professions, trades or callings.
  - 3) Fees on registration of vehicles.
  - 4) Fees on plants, petitions and other processes.
  - 5) Fee for providing sanitary arrangements.
  - 6) Water rate
  - 7) Light rate
  - 8) Conservancy rate
- } If such facilities are provided

It is noticed that in West Bengal excepting the 'property tax' all other taxes and fees are voluntary in nature. Also the sources of revenue stated above are mostly 'inelastic' in nature. There is also reluctance on the part of the executives to levy those fees or rates which are not compulsory in nature. It is doubtful how the Panchayat bodies with these limited sources of revenue may undertake genuine development and nation building work without substantial grant and assistance from the State Government.

Incidentally we reproduce some recent observations of the 'Santanam Committee' with regard to Panchayat in general—

"We hold that levy of at least a few compulsory taxes is essential not only to ensure to every Panchayat a small income from its own resources but also to emphasise the fact that it is a self-

government body. House tax; profession tax and vehicle tax are eminently suitable for the purpose."<sup>13</sup>

### Observations

It has already been pointed out that Anchal Panchayat is a peculiar innovation of the West Bengal Panchayat system. No other State has evolved such a stage. Neither the Mehta Committee suggested such a tier. It has been justified on the grounds that abolition of the Union Boards will create a void which can hardly be replaced by any institution at the village level. Further, compared to other States rural people in West Bengal did not enjoy so long any comparable institution at the village level. As such any drastic change at this initial stage may be harmful and may frustrate the very purpose for which these institutions are created. West Bengal Government had sufficient doubts whether 'devolution of power' and setting up of 'Panchayati Raj' in West Bengal should follow precisely the All-India pattern. Perhaps these points were responsible for introducing 'Panchayati Raj' in West Bengal at two distinct stages having certain time gap between the two. On the other hand the creation of this additional tier between the 'Block' and the 'Village' level had been severely questioned by the critics regarding the genuineness of devolution of power and authority by the Government to the people. In a nut-shell the functions of the Anchal Panchayat are rural police, rural finance and rural justice. Over and above the Anchal will have an important say over the Gram Panchayat budget. The funds of the Gram Panchayat will be distributed through the Anchal. It has been suggested that, by and large, the leadership of the village has been invested in the Anchal than in the Village Panchayat. In spite of the novelty, I am afraid, that of Anchal Panchayat functions there might be less emphasis on Panchayat work—particularly in building up democracy at the basic level.

Further, there are differences of opinion with regard to the provision of 'indirect election' at the Anchal stage. It is the consensus of opinion

13. Report of the Study Team on 'Panchayati Raj Finances' 1963, Part 1, p. 11.

that 'Anchal Panchayats' should be constituted along with the 'Gram Panchayats' simultaneously on direct vote by the Gram Sabha members.

#### *Removal of Panchayat Executives*

There is provision for removal of the heads of Gram Panchayats (Adhyaksha) and Anchal Panchayats (Pradhan) by the respective bodies if at anytime a resolution for such removal has been carried by two-thirds of the total number of members of the Gram Panchayat or the Anchal Panchayat, as the case may be, holding office and the same adopted at a meeting specially convened for the purpose. If the decision is carried by less than two-third of the votes but more than one half, the decision for such removal rests with the prescribed authority.

Apart from this procedure, the prescribed authority can also remove the Adhyakshas and the Pradhans on the grounds of (1) wilfully omitting or refusing to carry out the provisions of the Act or rules or orders (2) or abusing the powers vested in them under the Act.

The Act provides that before taking such action the persons concerned shall be given an opportunity to show cause. Further one aggrieved by the order has the right of appeal to the Commissioner of the Division within 30 days from the date of the order. Section 65(1) is an extra-ordinary provision. Of course the '1919 Village Act' also contained such a step of removal with regard to the 'Union Board' Presidents. Only difference in the present Act is the provision of the 'right of appeal'. It is further interesting to note that although the provisions for removal by the members of the concerned bodies are provided in the 'Bengal Municipal Act 1932' no provision for removal of a Municipal Chairman by the superior authority directly has been made. It is apprehended that the provision may be misused by the ruling party at the higher level to remove a Panchayat executive if he belongs to the opposite party even though the person concerned may possess requisite majority at the time of his removal.

#### *Control over Budget*

Section 59 of the Act indicates the procedure for the preparation of the Gram

Panchayat Budget. In the first instance budget will be framed by the Panchayat and the same will be deliberated by the Gram Sabha members. The Act provides that thereupon the Budget will have to be submitted to the prescribed authority through the Anchal Panchayat. The prescribed authority is competent to introduce modifications "as it may think fit". The prescribed authority is also entitled to modify in a similar manner the budget of the Anchal Panchayat.

Undoubtedly the whole procedure is to some extent complicated. It is admitted that superior bodies should have powers to scrutinise and supervise the activities of the lower bodies. Particularly financial matters and proposals for taxation deserve serious consideration. But steps should be taken to avoid unnecessary delays. Caution should also be taken so that local initiative, interest and activity may not stultify and suffer in these procedural checkings.

#### *Rural Police*

We have already observed that one of the main tasks of the Anchal Panchayat is to maintain and supervise the work of the village Dafadars and Choukidars. Principle of recruitment of these staff, question of their pay and emoluments and other related matters will be determined by the Government. In the 'Bengal Village Self-Government Act, 1919' we find a similar provision in this respect. 'The number of Dafadars and Choukidars to be employed in a Union, the salary to be paid to them and the nature and cost of their equipment shall be determined from time to time by the District Magistrate after consideration of the views of the Union Board'. Section 21(1). It may be recalled that in the Bengal Municipal Acts prior to 1884 the municipalities had to bear the police burden of the city. This was strongly resented by the social reformers and nationalists of the period. This provision was subsequently abandoned in the 1884 Act.

In the rural Government we witness the repetition of the very same retrograde provision of our pre-independence era. Besides, the Anchal Panchayat, as we have already seen, have to undertake and guide the Panchayats in the

matter of nation-building and development work. It is in the fitness of things that the State Government as the sole custodian of law and order and being the recipient, of the largest share of State revenue should bear the full responsibility of the rural police.

### *Conclusion*

We were so long analysing the provisions of our 'Village Panchayat Act'. In spite of some of the shortcomings stated above it cannot be denied that for the first time objective conditions have been created for the foundation of 'basic democracy' in this State. It may be remembered that only in the 'Gram-Sabha' meetings we observe the functioning of direct democracy. Under the Act members have got the right to put questions, to discuss and to participate in the Panchayat budget and in the finalisation of the annual report. In a sense it functions during its very short session as a 'legislature' to which the Gram Panchayat (the Executive) is held responsible.

Along with this we must also remember the manifold functions, particularly relating to development and rural planning which the Panchayats can undertake if suitable funds are provided at their disposal. But the ultimate success of the 'Panchayati Raj' will depend on

the future leadership that may have to be created from amongst the rural masses. Some minimum conditions are suggested which may be prescribed for building up this 'basic democracy' from below :—

- 1) Provision for liberal and scientific education.
- 2) Adequate training facilities for office-bearers and members.
- 3) Close co-ordination between different administrative bodies and the base.
- 4) Infusing faith and confidence in the masses.
- 5) Instead of cheap propaganda—provision for regular assessment of work and corrective measures for remedying the mistakes.
- 6) Insistence on active participation, spontaneity, boldness and initiative and to learn through mistakes.
- 7) Provision for adequate financial resources for the 'Gram Panchayat and the Anchal Panchayat.'

It can be understood that by proper acceptance and implementation of these essential measures may dawn a new horizon—a new outlook in the rural masses. It is expected that the constitutional objectives of setting up genuine democracy in this State may thus be fulfilled.

## PRICE POLICY FOR THE FOURTH PLAN

By B. S. BHATIA  
and  
KRISHAN KUMAR

The Third Plan period (upto June 1965) recorded a price increase of 34 per cent in respect of food articles, 27 per cent in industrial raw materials and 18 per cent in manufactured goods. The wholesale price index of all commodities moved up by 26 per cent during this period. The movement of prices of some selected groups of articles during last two plans is given below :

### Factors analysed

The major cause of spiralling prices is the shortage of food articles and other industrial products. Our plan achievements have not kept pace with the targets fixed and the expenditure incurred.

The index of agricultural production, for example, was 157.6 by the end of fourth year of the Third Five Year Plan against 142.2 in 1960-61. This shows an increase of

### Percentage Increase In Wholesale Prices

Groups	Percentage variation during II plan	Percentage variation during III plan till June, 1965	Percentage variation over combined II & III plan period
I. Food Articles	48	34	86
II. Industrial Raw materials	47	27	78
III. Manufactured goods	23	18	65
IV. All commodities.	33	26	71

The Second and Third Plan combined together, as shown above, have recorded an increase of 71 per cent in the prices of all commodities. The rise, as is clear from the above table, is still more in the prices of food articles and industrial raw materials.

During the early Second Five Year Plan period, when the prices began to increase tremendously it was envisaged that this price rise was inherent in the system and scale of development undertaken and therefore no steps to control the prices were undertaken. But now since the prices have touched the unbearable peak, there is an imperative need to evolve and implement a sound and continuing price policy in order to hold the price line.

about 11 per cent only over a period of 4 years between 1960-61 to 1964-65. But from the official indications about the Khariff crops and the prospects of the rabi crops, it is clear that the index for 1965-66 will be somewhere in the neighbourhood of 142. In other words, at the end of Third Plan we shall be back to where we were at the beginning of the Third Plan. This stagnation in the agricultural sector against a target of 30 per cent increase will have grave repercussions on the economy.

The performance of our industry—though better as compared to agriculture—can by no means be said to be satisfactory. Industrial production over the five years period is expected to increase by 35% as against a target of 70 per cent.



As against the failure on agricultural and industrial fronts, the money supply with the public has been increasing at a dangerous rate. It is to be seen that between March, 1961 and October, 1965, the money supply rose from Rs. 2785 crores to Rs. 4245 crores—a rise of 52 per cent within a period of less than five years. It is obvious that despite all talks of fiscal and monetary discipline money supply has been increasing particularly at a time when the economy can least stand this sort of suicidal policy.

Ever since the beginning of Second Five Year Plan the prices have been taking rapid strides which may be attributed to the stagnation of foodgrains output, to wrong channelization of investments and to faulty implementation of the policy against the hoarding and speculative habits of business tycoons. The onerous defence expenditure entailed first out of Chinese aggression and latter due to conflict with Pakistan has almost distorted the price situation in-toto. The current price rise, therefore, as Dr. Madiman puts it, "is as much due to structural imbalances, stagnation in production due to institutional factors and hoarding, as due to an inflationary situation."

Rising prices create a propensity towards hoarding; they make the manufacturers careless about costs resulting in inefficiency; they put a discount on exports in the competitive international market, deteriorate the balance of payment position, reduce the propensity to save amongst the lower strata of society because of their low incomes and amongst higher income brackets due to the decreasing value of money and result in affluent consumption and foreign exchange stringency. The solution of rising prices in the long run although lies in the maximisation of agricultural and industrial output but at the same time the importance of a proper and clear cut price policy need not be over-emphasised.

Price policy as an instrument of planning is comparatively of recent origin. A review of the price regulating measures prior to the world depression of thirties would clearly reveal the absence of a well

defined price policy to keep the economy on an even keel. Though ad hoc measures had been taken from time to time to meet the exigencies on the price front, in general, following the doctrine of *laissez-faire* the determination of prices was left to the general economic forces of demand and supply. It was only after the great depression that many countries adopted various price regulatory measures to stabilize agricultural incomes and to prevent them from falling below an adequate minimum level. American Agricultural Adjustment Act 1933 and Canadian Wheat Pool of 1939 are illustrations to the point. India too imposed a tariff on the imports of Australian wheat which could be sold in India at a cheaper price without the imposition of such a tariff. Nevertheless, India was one of the few countries where no measures were adopted to stabilize agricultural prices within the country. With the advent of planning, socialism and the welfare state, on the international plane, price policy has assumed wider dimensions and implications and today there is hardly any country in the world where the state does not intervene in the determination and regulation of prices.

The concept of price policy has undergone a radical change in that price policy is no longer devised to meet unprecedented situations but is a continuing policy to keep the price level stable in the country. Price policy has become a comprehensive and a continuing process, since ephemeral measures cannot be the appropriate answers to sudden crisis and eruptions in the economic life of a country.

### Criteria for a Price Policy

In a developing economy, investments create incomes and demand much in advance of supply. This adds a fuel to the fire of rising prices. This calls imperatively for a price policy. Before we delve into the objectives and the regulatory measures which our Government could take to check the upward trend in prices, it is essential

for us to know what should be the criteria of a price policy.

The price policy should be so framed as to ensure the proper exploitation of human and physical resources. In India the performance of agriculture has been bleak, for the farmers are not sure of whether they will get adequate rewards for their labour. The prices of the industrial goods should be so fixed as to give incentives to the producer to remain in the market. The price stabilization programme should be easily executable and be economic in nature. A price policy should be acceptable to the producer, the trade unionist and the public alike. A corollary to any Government price policy is that, as many interests are involved it gets a political colouring. It should not conflict with other national policies.

### Objectives

Recognising the fact that formulation of a fool-proof price policy is a formidable task, the objectives of the price policy in the Fourth Plan can be broadly categorised as below :—

- (a) to balance demand and supply and lessen the intensity of unprecedented fluctuations in price level;
- (b) to promote increased production within the country and to secure a balanced development of the different sectors of the economy;
- (c) to protect the interests of the consumers in general by providing commodities at reasonable rates;
- (d) to ensure that prices are in harmony with the priorities and targets of the Plan;
- (e) to prevent any skyhigh shooting of prices, especially those which affect the consumption of the lower strata of society.

### Pricing of Foodgrains

The experience of our successive Plans points out that the degree to which the

prices can be kept stable will largely depend upon agricultural production. In order to place an economy on an even keel and to accomplish an adequate rate of economic growth, it must rest on the solid foundation of more proficient and advanced agriculture.

Pricing for agricultural commodities should be so fixed as to reconcile the interest of the consumers and producers. Fixation of prices for the producers can be rightly called price support, as it ensures to them a minimum price for their produce. Stable and reasonable prices for what the farmer produces are likely to provide a better incentive than high but fluctuating and uncertain prices. A price policy has also to safeguard the interest of the consumers which implies resort to price control. It will ensure to the consumers the maximum price they have to pay for essential commodities.

Since the food shortage is likely to continue for several future years rationing seems to be an appropriate answer towards stabilization of prices. The criteria of a two-tier price system under rationing seems to be essential in the present context. One price policy should be a 'fair price' at which all the consumers could get the goods while the other should be a subsidized 'fair price' which should be charged from the poorest sections of the community.

To mitigate the sharp rise in prices steps should be taken to license the dealers and for bringing into existence cooperative organizations such as marketing societies and consumers' cooperatives. These institutions will be necessary even after production increases and all the restrictions are removed. They will assist in carrying out a programme of price support which may become necessary in times when agriculture makes rapid strides with the advancement of technology in our country.

The Price Stabilization Board as recommended by the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee which was appointed by the Government in June 1957 to suggest a price programme for agricultural commodities

should be established as early as possible on a permanent basis. It would be composed of agricultural economists and agricultural statisticians. They would make extensive analysis of the factors responsible for variation in agricultural prices and for the unpredictable year to year variation in the supply of individual produce. Indian agriculture is subject to regional and seasonal variation. They would also investigate how much marketable surplus increased in response to the application of improved technology under the planned production programme.

### **Pricing of Essential Commodities**

At present the Government has the power to control prices and make allocation of essential commodities in short supply. Among the commodities controlled are raw cotton, sugar, steel, and coal. In most cases prices are fixed by the Tariff Commission, special Boards and distribution is based on priorities in accordance with the Plan. It would be desirable to have the existing system of fixation of prices and allocation examined by a committee with a view to its simplification. The Government of India has not entered in a large way into the production of consumer goods because it is felt that at this stage of our economic development large scale investments in the consumer goods industries would be a mis-direction of resources which could be more profitably used in establishing basic and heavy industries. But rising prices call for the intervention of the Government in consumer goods industries. There should be a move on the part of the Government to set up consumer goods industries like textile mills, sugar factories, cement plants and drug factories in the public sector in the Fourth Plan to provide the State with necessary means to control prices in these important sectors of the national life.

### **Pricing in the Private Sector**

India is striving vigorously to catch up with the advanced nations of the world.

It has established a socialist order as the goal of her economic policy. Though the public sector has been assigned heightening importance as is revealed from the study of successive Five Year Plans, yet the private sector has to play an important role in the economic life of our country. Private enterprise motivated by profits generally ignore social responsibilities. Although in advanced countries, private enterprises have come to realise that the perpetual existence of the business depends not merely upon profit making capacity of the enterprises but also upon the degree to which it can cater to the interests of the shareholders, customers and employees. Yet profiteering on the part of private enterprise in India is on the increase. Resources in the private sector are generally diverted in the direction in which greater profits can be made. It is true, that in a free economy, the forces of demand and supply left to themselves will determine the equilibrium of prices. But India has to establish a socialist pattern of society. The Government must intervene when the prices are rising high. A separate price policy for the private sector could be evolved by the Government to ensure that resources are diverted into the right direction and consumers get essential commodities at reasonable prices. The needs of a developing economy, demand that the profit margins of the private sector should be fixed. This programme would however have to be designed in conjunction with other control measures.

### **Pricing in the Public Sector**

The Government intends to enter in a large way into the production of consumer goods, as the time demands, during the Fourth Plan period. Pricing in public enterprises is a complicated process. Whether prices should cover merely costs or whether they should also include an element of profit, is a controversial topic. In practice, however, profit maximisation is rarely admitted as the aim of public enterprise since it is feared to imply sanction to antisocial objectives of private enterprises.

It is contended that 'profit motive' belongs to the paladins of the private sector. But now times have changed. It is admitted that public enterprises should be so conducted as to yield a planned profit. It means that the prices in the public sector should not only cover the costs but should also include an element of profits. Profits have come to stay in public enterprises because of the increasing welfare responsibilities of the Government. The structure of public enterprises tends to be highly heterogeneous in terms of profit motive. Some are chosen for subsidised operation e.g., milk supply; some industries are asked to work on a no profit no loss basis e.g., electricity undertakings, some enterprises are refused to make reasonable profits e.g., iron and steel, some activities are chosen for high profits, some industries are allowed to make profits in some regions but not in others; and so on.

It is asked by some; why are public enterprises not allowed to run on the same principles and business methods that are followed by private enterprises? People are suggesting the establishment of a high powered Public Enterprise Commission with judicial independence and the function of assessing the financial, pricing and profit policies of the public enterprises with a view to assisting in Governmental decision on the major aspects of optimum price policy. A manager of a public enterprise cannot take into consideration the overall nation's view point. Furthermore, if managements are allowed to fix prices there is a great danger as Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao has pointed out: "There is a great deal of possibility of waste and inefficiency and the bringing in non-economic considerations into economics, which is not the business of the manager and which gives him the most tremendous loophole in the public enterprise to cloak inefficiency and incapacity under the theory of all sorts of considerations in the name of public interest. Any loss of profit made should be the responsibility of Central Authority and not the individual enterprise." A separate

Central Agency for the fixation of the prices is needed.

I think even if a separate Central Agency is established to assist the Government in the fixation of the prices, it would be desirable to allow the manager of the enterprise to fix an economic price. It will not be the final price, but the price may be fixed by the Central Authority considering the overall view point.

Prices in a mixed economy: Prices depend very much on the nature of the product and the type of economy, viz., mixed or competitive, monopolistic or mixed economy like ours, where the stake has entered into large way into business, the prices of the goods produced under competition are already determined. This is seen from the way prices have been fixed in case of sugar, soap and the like. There the State enjoys a semimonopoly in the production of commodities, as in steel and fertilisers, the situation is quite different. In the case of fertilisers an artificial monopoly has been created by fixing a pooled price. Where the State has complete monopoly in the production of a particular commodity or in the rendering of a particular service, higher profits could be charged on a purely economic consideration. But generally when decisions are taken, other considerations are taken into account. The rates in Post and Telegraph Departments provide an illustration to the point. Price covers the cost of production and makes a provision for normal profits only.

### Discriminating Prices

Since the policy of the Government in a growing economy should be to encourage investment and discourage consumption, a discriminating price policy could considerably help to accomplish the desired results. A discriminating price policy should be based on a classification of consumer goods, and capital goods or on a classification of clientele.

Although industrial production has made rapid strides, its performance has by

no means been in accordance with the plan expectations. It is of course true that some of the new industries, producing capital goods and basic intermediate goods have shown wonderful progress, but most of these industries have lagged behind targets. In fact what is flabbergasting is that the shortfalls have secured in the very industries which are of crucial importance like iron and steel, machine tools, heavy chemicals, fertilisers. These gaps will be difficult to bridge during the remaining period of the Plan. The Fourth Plan will have a critical situation to deal with, since it is not only the agricultural field in which our performance has been poor, but we will have to start with appreciably lower supplies of vital capital and intermediate goods as well. This underlines the importance of following a discriminating price policy during the Fourth Plan period in order to give encouragement to those which are the foundation stones on which the structure of our rapid and speedy industrialization has to be built.

### **General price regulating measures**

Monetary and fiscal policy can considerably help us in accomplishing a stabilized price structure. Fiscal policy would help us in mopping the excess purchasing power which tends to push up demand above the level of available supplies. The quantum of taxation must be adequate to keep down consumption to the limits provided for in the Plan. The requirements of the public sector must be met not by the transfer of real resources rather than by resorting to deficit financing. In other words, a fiscal policy must aim at restraining consumption and mobilizing savings more effectively. It is relevant to note here that in our country taxation has also been relied upon as a means of preventing rising prices. But the right approach will be to make the adjustments through monetary policy as well. The credit needs of the country are continually on an increase and

have to be provided for. Liberal credit policies facilitate hoarding and speculation and therefore have to be discouraged in a developing economy like ours.

The existence of black money is an important factor responsible for rising prices in our country. This black money is either underground or spent on conspicuous consumption. It is not diverted into the desired channels of national developmental and reconstructional programmes. If the Government is in a position to trace this black money, rising prices could be considerably reduced. The policy of Government in raiding lockers does not appeal to the public. The scheme of ex-Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari to unearth black money, under which the person voluntarily disclosing his black money is to keep 40% of the money so disclosed with him and to deposit 60 per cent to the Government has not met with good response from the public. The right approach seems to be that the Government should ask the public to pass on the black money to the Government in the shape of loans. And this could be possible only when the Government assures them that they will not be asked any questions in regard to their source of income. This is an appropriate answer to the black money which is the chief disturbing factor in the price situation.

### **Conclusion**

Some sort of price rise is an inherent characteristic feature of a developing economy. Up to this time there has been no set price policy to deal with sudden crises and eruptions in the economy. Our Government must have a price policy well defined to meet the needs of the economy. It will be worth pointing out here that it is highly essential to keep a close watch on the movement of prices, especially on the prices of essential commodities. It is obligatory on the part of the Government to keep a check on the rising prices irrespective of the economy which it may practice.

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## OVERHEAD AND INTERMEDIARY EXPENSES

In a socialistic state all national production, distribution, accounting, supervision, procurement, storage, management and control eventually replaces the haphazard method of getting things done followed by the traditional variety of private enterprise. Before, however, a perfect socialistic system can be established one may pass through phases of development during which there may develop wide gaps; overlapping of functions, lack of specialised ability and a general state of unholy muddles and mix ups. But all good things usually have had beginnings and socialism is no exception: the more so, when it is taken on as a readymade pattern of a monster plan of action. If a thing evolves slowly over a long period it corrects its own faults as it goes on. But when a vast and highly complicated organisation is imposed on an already existing social system with numerous running concerns studded all over it, the work of substitution of the one by the other becomes well nigh impossible for the reason that the old order does not yield place to the new without offering resistance. So that when socialistic management of the affairs of the nation begins to take shape over this factory or that, this project of electrification, irrigation or industrial development or that, there are more occasions for mismanagement than for smooth management. This is so even if the ventures are primarily arranged and set up for social ownership. If one tries to impose socialistic control over education, medical science, agriculture; fisheries, retail trade, commerce and already existing manufacturing industries like textile mills, husking or grinding mills etc., then the work becomes really troublesome. For, the strange movements of the machineries of government established by law usually cause school text books to be written by millers or weavers and the teachers to look after boilers. Then also armies of officials, their assistants, political overlords and their hangers on, troop in everywhere to interfere with the work and soon there are crowds milling around with no work being done anywhere. The real trouble arises out of the preference that be-

lievers in socialism have for work of management and supervision as against productive labour. Like some ancient military organisations in which all men wanted to be generals and nobody desired to be soldiers; the great armies of modern socialism as found in underdeveloped countries have too many aspirants after high level jobs of directors, controllers and managers. The result is that the political heads of affairs create more and more non-productive posts in order to keep their followers satisfied, and soon overheads reach the sky. Intermediaries are also created for no clear-cut purpose with a view to accommodate yet more people in the scheme of distribution of earnings. After some time the costs of management, control and ancillary services total upto 100 per cent of the prime costs and the consumers have to pay for all that. In fact, if the cultivators have to pay for the maintenance of numerous offices with hundreds of thousands of incumbents who do no cultivation but merely issue permits and arrange for checks and supervision; then the costs of cultivation are loaded up by taxation to pay for all these non-productive "services". And when the cultivation eventually gets done, more offices, godowns; stores, shops, supervisors, checkers, policemen, court personnel, etc., etc., have to be paid for before the products of cultivation can reach the cooking pot. In business, all arrangements should be as simple as possible, to keep down costs. It would appear that in the business of social management of production and distribution, a very complex system has to be built up, so that a little production can maintain a maximum in overheads. Unless, therefore, the political heads of states learn to cut down the overheads and the intermediaries, socialism will become too expensive and will defeat its own purpose by allowing large numbers of persons to live on what really will be unearned incomes. It is not only by inheriting capital that one can have unearned incomes. Inheritance of power, function, social importance and privileges also enable one to live like a lord without doing any productive work. Those who labour to pro-

duce can therefore continue to be the exploited masses in a socialistic set up. Exploited by politicians and bureaucrats.

If therefore one has to make socialism good business, one must arrange to cut down these overheads which are both visible and unseen. If the number of public servants go on increasing out of all proportion to the growth of national production, then one has to be cautious and stop creating new departments, functions and offices. If again, there are too many committees, commissions, delegations and so forth, which all cost money, then also, one has to cry halt and stop squandering national resources without any return in values directly connected with these organisations. If every maund of rice that is grown

requires to be half eaten up by supervisors, controllers, managers, checkers and others employed by government then the cost of the rice will be doubled automatically. The greatest fault of capitalism is that the capitalists take a large chunk out of the total production without actually producing anything themselves. If socialistic management does the same sort of thing, dressed up differently, why take the trouble and face the inconveniences associated with a great change over from one system to another? The ancient kings and their officials exploited the masses. The political leaders and the bureaucrats must not follow that ignoble example.

(A.C.)

### New Repressive Legislation for Bengal

"The Bengal Government is going shortly to place before the Legislative Council a bill for enabling it (the Government) to do during the next five years what it has recently done by way of repression. We hope the Bengal M. L. C's will not be party to any lawless law by means of which the executive and the police would find it easy to deprive men of their liberty and punish them without open trial according to the ordinary forms of law."

Ramananda Chatterjee

The M. R. for January, 1925

# Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is entertained.

84-NOT OUT, Publications Division Government of India. National Book Trust, 1961, Demy 8vo. Pp. 184. Rs. 1.75.

One of 13 children, born on February, 1876, at Murdi, R. P. Paranjpye considers himself more fortunate than a large majority of his fellow-men. He wishes his fellow-men "to be more rational, more independent minded, more concerned with this world of reality than with a problematical other world, and more heedful of the interests and happiness of their fellow-beings." In fine, he dreams of a world where "Peace and happiness should reign supreme . . ."

Paranjpye always tried to extend help to several of his relations and others. But what he inherited from his father (along with his brothers) comprised "a coconut and betelnut garden and a few rice-fields, the whole just constituting an economic holding for a farmer and his family." Here it may be noted that he has had particularly intimate ties with the Karves and himself was educated by Anna Karve.

A student of C. E. Graves, Sandys, J. E., Dr. D. McAlister and other prominent educationists, he always regarded the college as his home and his object was "to observe what was best in English social and political life" and he still maintains his erstwhile and

great interest in England and the English people. The principle that guided him was "the advice of Gokhale not to neglect general subjects and the humanities."

He is critical of the policy of the Congress—in particular, the policy that led to the partitioning of the country into India and Pakistan and "which could possibly have been avoided if a statesmanlike policy on the communal question had been followed," opines Paranjpye.

"I have never believed in a life after death, and I am always prepared for the call whenever it should come" are the words that briefly reveals the man Paranjpye. An ardent disciple of Gokhale, a lifelong devotee of the Servants of India Society along with such celebrities as the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Shastri and others and a dedicated educationist of no mean achievement, R. P. Paranjpye at 84 remains mentally as vigorous and intellectually as scintillating as he was in his prime.

This brief autobiographical sketch—it is really no more elaborate than a mere thumbnail sketch—would prove really to be of fascinating interest to readers who would want to know of the history of his times.

Amar Raha



# Indian Periodicals

## THE NATION & SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

Writing Editorially under the above legend, what the *Science & Culture* has to say on the nation and the social scientists would appear to be a timely warning against the present lack of effective and wholesome leadership in social development.

The economic problems of the nation are becoming more and more acute, and call for an appreciable increase in production. But as we try to execute our Five-Year Plans one after another, it becomes obvious that the response is not adequate, or that there is too much wastage at various levels. At least, production has not been able to keep pace with our growing needs and the growing size of our population. Those who have tried to analyse the underlying causes have observed that the whole nation to-day seems to rely inordinately on what the Government does, and do not therefore put their own shoulders to the wheel. In other words, one of the reasons why production lags behind lies embedded in our psychology : there is an insufficiency of initiative and leadership where there should be more. There is more inertia than our planners and national leaders ever anticipated.

Of course, an economist will naturally say that if more money is put into production, if more employment is offered to the public, and the right kind of initiative, then the inertia would be broken. But the question is, how is this going to be done ? Where is the necessary capital and leadership to come from ? The economists answer will be that it should initially come from foreign loans and foreign technicians who know how to get

things done. We should, moreover, improve our administrative machinery and also tighten our belts at home by means of controlled inflation.

Perhaps all this needs to be done, as it is already being done on a fairly large scale. Yet the results are not encouraging enough. The machinery of administration creaks at every joint: there are too many men, too many files to be disposed of, and a wide gap between intention and performance, even when part of the task of Community Development has been handed over to local leadership. So that the plans once more founder at the human or social level.

Why is this so ? Competent observers have tried to find an answer to this question also. And some of them have begun to believe that the root lies in the 'traditionalism' of Indian culture. What does this word really mean ? Are we born so ? Or, did the Brahmins of old indoctrinate us so successfully in 'other-worldliness' that all the sorrows of the present day, and all the change through which India has passed in two centuries have been nullified by the ancient effort of the Brahmins, even when they remained unsupported by political authority for a thousand years, at least, in North India ?

Surely, the root of the inertia has to be laid bare if we are to rid ourselves of the disease. One way lies, of course, in a careful and scientific diagnosis of the disease itself. There is a paper in the present issue of *Science and Culture* dealing with the urbanization of the communities living in Calcutta. By means of extensive investigation carried out by the Anthropological Survey of India,

it has been discovered that the inhabitants of Calcutta have not been 'urbanized' to a sufficient extent. There is still a large amount of dependence on old forms of social identification by means of language, commonness of origin, and so on. Although the productive organization of West Bengal has changed considerably, yet new forms of organization like trade unions, municipal associations, or other voluntary organizations, in which various communities participate for promoting common interests, have not grown fast enough. Some have only grown nominally; and do not function in a crisis like a communal conflict.

If this is true of a city like Calcutta, one can anticipate that this will also be true of other cities and towns in India. Moreover, all States in our country have not been subjected to an equal amount of economic and social change in the last two hundred years. So that, when they try to march hand in hand in the execution of national plans of development, they bring to the surface conflicts of interest between State and State, and even between one class or community and another within the same State. Bengal has changed socially and economically more than, say, Orissa or Assam. And this has been due to historical accidents rather than to the claim of the Bengalis that they are more intelligent and progressive than others. That claim is nonsense. The fact is that society has changed more in one place than in another. And so have communities like Rajasthani, Punjabi,

Gujarati, Assamese or Oriya, or 'Upper' castes and 'Lower' castes when they are compared with one another.

Perhaps one cause of India's inertia, when taken as a whole lies in this inequality of economic and social change. We do believe that an extensive scientific investigation is called for in this respect in different parts of the country. How far do caste-prejudices still control men's selection of new types of urban jobs and occupations? Do people tend to lose status in either towns or villages if they take to unorthodox types of work? Is the resistance to change wearing down among various classes of people? How is the pattern of leadership changing? What are the voluntary associations in an area, not based on caste? How are they formed? How are they managed? Are any changes noticeable in them since independence?

These are questions which social scientists all over India may take up immediately for investigation, even if it only to prove that social science can play a significant role in the development of our nation. And there are ten university departments where social anthropology is taught at the post-graduate level, and perhaps sixteen in which sociology, either theoretical or applied, is taught at the same level;

Will the universities, and more particularly the social science departments, rise to the occasion and prove that they are indispensable in guiding the course of modern India's social change?

# Foreign Periodicals

## BACK TO THE BUTCHERY

The problem of U. S. intervention in Vietnam has been increasingly becoming one of the gravest world concerns of the day. Apart from the fact that so long U.S. military intervention continues, Vietnam will remain one of the most explosive elements in a tense and uneasy world situation, there is also the question of the basic legitimacy of the American position in this far-Eastern theatre. Above all, there is the question of the basic norms of civilized behaviour. Writing editorially under the above legend, what the "New Statesman" of London of February 4 has to say will, we feel, find wide endorsement from the rest of the uninvolved world. The "New Statesman", in these editorial comments, appears especially to underline the brutality and inhumanity of American action and questions the Wilson Government's policies in this connection :

PRESIDENT Johnson was a young Congressman when German bombers carried out a market-day massacre at a little Basque town called Guernica. Whether the event made any impact on him, we do not know. It did inspire an agonized masterpiece of art, send a wave of shock and protest across the civilized world, and became a symbol of wanton inhumanity. We travelled far from those innocent days : a Guernica a day is now a commonplace. Abstention from such horrors for 37 days is counted a virtue, and on Monday standard practice was resumed in Vietnam.

Few people, we hope, will be deceived by

the routine humbug about 'military targets' and 'great care' which the President repeated in his speech on Monday. Before the pause, the Americans apologised for strafing a bus in South Vietnam which the pilot took to be north of the border, and twice for bombing villages erroneously thought to be Vietcong hideouts. It is to be deduced that a bus in North Vietnam and a village actually containing guerrillas would be legitimate targets. (No doubt there were Republican soldiers in Guernica.) The bombing strikes, and is meant to strike at the functioning of daily life in the North and in the large regions of the South controlled by the Liberation Front. A State Department spokesman has justified its resumption by accusing the North of the intolerable provocation of using the truce to repair roads and bridges.

Where napalm can be dodged, hunger may prove more effective. It has been reported and not denied, that another duty for the U.S. Air Force is spraying rice crops in Vietcong areas. The villagers are not actually intended to starve, but to move to places under the control of Air Marshal Ky, where they will be fed by American bounty and photographed as refugees from Communist tyranny. The proportion of the population ruled by the Air Marshal, now barely 50 per cent, may be increased by this cynical operation—but not, perhaps, the number of convinced devotees of this brand of democracy.

We have learned one thing since Guernica, however. That atrocity strengthened Basque resistance to Franco : Coventry and the

London Blitz strengthened British defiance of Hitler ; and it is now admitted that Allied raids on Germany strengthened German willingness to fight to the bitter end. The North Vietnamese Prime Minister, in his recent interview with James Cameron, accepted the prospect of further bombing—including the bombing of cities, now to be feared—with some complacency. No informed person believes that it will contribute to winning the war.

In fact its purposes are wholly those of political manoeuvre and propaganda. It is intended to sustain the myth that the war is an aggression and not a civil conflict, and that the Vietcong are mere emissaries of Ho Chi Minh. It is designed to soothe the increasing frustrations of the American people and to disguise the truth that no end to the campaign on the ground is in sight. And it covers the President from political attacks on the part of the reckless advocates of all-out war, while really conceding their case.

Apart from the cruelties inflicted on human beings, the tragedy of the bombing is that it defers the hopes of peace. Thus it negatives what might otherwise be achieved by submitting the Vietnam issue to the Security Council. This journal has been and remains critical of the inflexible attitude of North Vietnam towards negotiation. It is still true, nevertheless, that the main obstacle to peace is the American refusal to recognise the nature of the war or to renounce the 'aggression' myth. The reluctance to talk with the Liberation Front, and the willingness to be blackmailed by the Ky Junta—men opposed to peace on any terms—are two sides of this coin. The bombing is a symbol of blind reliance on endless war for lack of better ideas. It is the dusty answer to the plea which Senator McGovern made during

the pause : 'We have been patient for five years with those who offered a military solution...Now let us be equally patient in the effort to find a peaceful solution.'

Vietnam thus remains the grit in the machine that could otherwise be working toward an easing of the cold war. The bombs make their impact on the disarmament talks at Geneva, on international relations at every level, on the prospects of such ventures as Mr. Wilson's coming visit to Moscow. Only a willingness to make this visit futile and to jettison Britain's possible role as a peacemaker can explain the prompt and servile statement in which the Foreign Office supported the renewed bombing. Past Foreign Secretaries with aspirations to British independence would have found that statement as inept as principal members of the Labour Party will find it shameful."

#### THE 1966 BRITISH ELECTIONS

Comments in the British press would appear to present a cross section of views on the prospects of another Labour victory to power—which according to the various and varying estimates of the usual pollsters seems to be well assured—and its possible impact on the future of Britain in Europe and the world :

A supreme empiricist, actively hated by most Tories, Labour Party's Wilson permits himself to believe in a policy that is conducive to building up close cooperation with the U.S.—a trans-atlantic policy which seems to be deliberately evasive about Europe.

"Instinctively", says Henry Brandon in the 'Sunday Times,' "Wilson feels more at home in the United States than on the continent ; an American musical is more to his taste than a play by Jean Paul Sartre."

To help this Wilson, "The U. S. Federal

Reserve", comments Anthony Vice in the 'Business News', "played a key role in rescuing the pound from its first serious bout of pre-election pressure. The New York Federal Reserve, which hands the U.S. Treasury's foreign exchange deals, placed a series of buying orders when the pound fell to a new low point of 2.7925.

"This is the first time that the Federal Reserve has aided sterling since we paid off our outstanding debts in February and our Swap was 'reconstituted' at £ 258 million. Mr. Charles Coombs, who runs U.S. foreign exchange deals, placed a number of buying orders for sterling with New York banks - a close parallel to the Federal's aid plan last September."

The 'Sunday Times' in its issue of March 13, 1966, writes editorially under the caption Europe and the Election :

"In Politics there is no knowing what will make an election issue. Sometimes quite trivial events by the chance of timing assume an exaggerated electoral importance. On other occasions really important issues fail to attract public attention and fall into the background, and this is particularly true of issues of foreign affairs. At this stage the question of British entry to the Common Market is having very little influence on the election—it is doubtful whether it will decide a single seat. Nevertheless it is the most important issue for the future of Britain ; it is even more important than the economic crisis, since our economic future is unlikely to be assured outside Europe.

"The Sunday Times' has consistently advocated British entry to Europe because, we believe that this is, as it were, a right marriage."

Quite naturally 'The Sunday Times' finds in Labour victory a closer cooperation with the United States, and hence opines : "A new Labour Government, with a five year term, might well miss the next, perhaps the last, opportunity for Britain to join the Common Market, and certainly could not be trusted actively to pursue a European policy." Nay, it asserts "Britain as part of Europe makes sense in the present development of the world : nothing else offers the same influence and opportunity."

But 'The Observer's' March 6 editorial runs under the caption 'Consumer Politics' :

"The candidates will exaggerate, wheedle and sometimes lie. This may be an alarming experience for those who take the ritual element in electioneering too seriously."

And what one sees today ? The Tory and the Labour Parties are competing with each other having each one's emotional make-up and prejudices in matters of approaching the problems of the consumers—"of goods, like cars, and of services, like education." Hence, 'The Observer' assumes a humbler role under the circumstances : "What we shall try to do is to spell out the issues which we believe really matter and to examine the policies and personalities of the parties as impartially as possible."

To conclude one can refer to the John Gale Poll : "Silver hair : I'm not bored with the election. I think no one should be bored by it. I think the Labour Party should stay in power. Give them a chance to prove themselves. Last time they were slung out before they could hardly do anything. Who put them in ? The Servicemen. Who pushed them out ? The servicemen."

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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FOUNDED BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### Rabindra Smarani

That is the name given by the West Bengal Government to their newly built Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Theatre. People say it is a unique example of the creative art of the P.W.D. In its architectural decorations and external colour scheme it is striking in the extreme. There have been protests from many knowledgeable and important persons against the aesthetic shock tactics followed by the architect and the decorator. There were others, claiming rare emotional sensibility, who certified the effort of the designers as 'a thing of beauty' which should immortalise Rabindranath. We therefore went to see the theatre and were impressed by its proportions and general structural pattern. But we were not inspired by the architectural and decorative peculiarities that the artists in charge affected in order to create an effect on the public mind. Memorials and great public buildings should be cast in a mould that has stood the test of time. The experimental vagaries of the latest and the most modern creators of shapes and colours are seldom of any lasting value. Such novelties should be avoided when the general public and succeeding generations of men and women would be the recipients of the 'joy for ever' that the art effort would evoke.

Rabindranath was the creator of great

literature, music and art. His thoughts and his ideals in all fields of human life have been a source of inspiration to the nations of the world. A memorial theatre named after this superman should never have been allowed to be used for the projection of common types of affectations. Rabindranath was vast and profound in his soul. His grandeur and his depth of emotion cannot be symbolised by showy and colourful excesses of the sign painter's art. The West Bengal Government could have secured the services of competent men to design this theatre. The men they commissioned to carry out this nationally important work failed to produce the effect of serene magnificence that was Rabindranath Tagore. The Chief Minister of West Bengal and his able Cabinet colleagues have a responsibility to the people of Bengal which includes the conservation of the purity of standards and ideals. They have, however, failed to conserve our established standards and ideals in the field of civilisation, culture, arts and crafts in many cases, in spite of the control they exercise over text books, radio programmes, press propaganda and public works of various kinds. This has happened because of their easy acceptance of the opinions and suggestions of favourite time servers. Until and unless the ministers give up their practice of encouraging and sponsoring in-

competent persons, the good name of the Government will inevitably suffer. We do not know how the Government can rectify the unseemly facade of Rabindra Smarani.

They must do this to retrieve the fair name of Bengal where Rabindranath was born. The Rabindra Smarani does not in any manner appear to symbolise Bengal, the land which the Poet loved. Cubism, impressionism or surrealist extravaganzas do not rouse any visions of **Sonar Bangla** or **Vasundhara**. Nor do such examples of striking commercial art express the aesthetic or philosophical genius of Rabindranath Tagore.

### Centenary of Gokhale

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was a superb example of self-denying patriotism. A man of rare intellectual and practical ability he could have amassed a vast fortune, become the ruler of millions or carried out great projects successfully, if his mind got interested in such achievements. But his heart went out to the ignorant and poverty-stricken masses of India and he worked hard all his life to make their lot happier. He and his friends lived a rigidly austere life on a few rupees a month and the service rendered by them was incalculably great in so far as it set a standard for social, educational and economic reform for the whole of India during the years when the nation was going forward to achieve its newer and greater objectives. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was one of those handful of men who put India on the path of progress without making any commotion or creating upheavals. He belonged to a class of nation builders who had quality, ability, sincerity, unflinching devotion to duty and great courage. These men were not careerist politicians; rather, they sacrificed their careers for the good of suffering humanity. That class of men fulfilled their destiny by a selfless attachment to a noble cause. Their example is not emulated by the politicians

of to-day. But they have given us the standards by which we judge human greatness. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was great by virtue of his noble actions and spirit of service.

### Ramananda Centenary

The centenary year of the birth of Ramananda Chatterjee ends in May 1966. He was a nation-builder who worked for the nation's honour, ethical standing, health, wealth and progress through the various journals that he edited and published during a period of more than fifty years. In his time he commanded the attention of all important people of India and of the India-conscious sections of humanity in other lands. He was a fighter for freedom and he helped to shake the foundations of imperialism in his own way and with his own weapons. His contributions to our struggle for independence were admitted in those days by all Indian leaders.

### Nandalal Bose

The death of Nandalal Bose removes a giant from the world of art. He drew inspiration from the classical art of India as found in her temples, viharas, stupas and gumpas. He also proved his eclectic genius by his revivalistic work in the Moghul, Rajput, Persian or the South-East Asian and Far Eastern styles. He had the rare ability to absorb the emotions of the ancient masters and to bring out with his own brush what he felt and visualised in form and colour when his mind picked up the aesthetic rhythm of the past. Ajanta, Bagh, Sigiriya, Ellora, Elephanta, Mahabalipuram, Boro Bodur, Sanchi, Nalanda, all assumed a new life and richness of expression when Nandalal depicted scenes and incidents from the Puranas and the Jatakas. Rabindranath Tagore found in Nandalal an artist of rare ability and made him the head of the Kalabhavan at Santiniketan when it was set up. It may

he said that in the work of reviving the art inspiration of the classical period Nandalal Bose was unique. He spent a long time in his youth in copying the Ajanta frescoes, and his mastery of the technique of the artists of the cave paintings was so perfect that he could not only reproduce entire panels and walls faultlessly, but also compose new art patterns and forms in the style of the old masters. He painted many pictures in miniature and when he visited Japan the artists of that country reproduced many of his miniatures in numerous colours by the hand-made wood cut process of which the Japanese are masters. Nandalal Bose's representations of various subjects in the Japanese, Chinese or Persian styles proved his great ability to enter into the spirit of the art conventions of other lands.

During the period of its development the revivalistic school of Indian art of which Abanindranath Tagore was the main prop, made use of the genius of Nandalal Bose whenever classical styles, techniques and conventions were required to be re-expressed in new compositions. His mastery of these was supreme. The numerous artists who worked as his pupils at Santiniketan acquired from him something which made their art expression continuous with the aesthetic emotions of the artists of Pre-Muslim India. He also excelled in the use of Moghul-Rajput styles of miniature painting. After the death of Abanindranath and Gaganendranath, Nandalal was the last of the glorious trio of the period of rebirth of Indian Art. They were our strongest connecting links with the glory that was India. They had that intensive love and emotion for and that undaunted will to acquire full knowledge of the technique, style and conventions developed by the masters of the classical and mediaeval periods of Indian art. Nandalal Bose was a great craftsman who could have adopted any style of

painting of any country or period. But he was no seeker after publicity or popularity. He was, in his mind and soul, steeped in that great current of aesthetic feeling which began to flow strongly in the fourth century B.C. and continued to remain forcefully in flood with its powerful tributaries for over two thousand years. There are no great courts, princes or priestly bodies now to keep things in motion with any strength. Great thinkers, philosophers or inspired leaders of society who realise what constitutes true glory for the nation, are becoming rare and almost extinct. Those who are utter automatons are progressively replacing the truly wise. This is a sign of the age of automatic machinery. Art and press button type of progress are not compatible and capable of clashless co-existence. For these reasons Nandalal Bose retired from any active participation in modern public life. He found peace and happiness in Ashram life in Santiniketan and he found satisfaction in teaching a few sincere and emotionally true pupils, rather than seek upstart fame in the cities of India and other countries. He could have been a widely advertised hero in the world of art; but he preferred his spiritually stable seclusion.

His other interests were in literature, music, dance and good living. Those who have known Nandalal Bose will remember him as a perfect gentleman who disciplined his thoughts and emotions in the manner of the sages of India. His devotion to art had the purity and intensity of religious faith. India with her seething pettinesses has almost forgotten to show reverence to her really great men. But that can never create newer values for our judgment of true greatness. The memory of Nandalal Bose will remain for ever luminous.

### **The Government and the People**

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's appeal to the people of India to cooperate with the



Government brings home to us the fact that the people and the Government or the Governments, are separate entities which require to be drawn closer together to achieve certain economic ends which are democratic and socialistic. A student of politics and political organisations would think that in a democracy which worked for socialistic purposes, the government should be, by its very nature, a creation of the peoples' will and, therefore, very closely linked up with the peoples' wishes and desires. But, in India, apparently, various political parties come between the people and the Government and, also the Government servants, have their own ways of achieving their own objectives, which unfortunately assume the size of vested interests quite frequently; and so the people and the Government are estranged. The political parties do their best to act as shadow governments and thereby make the estrangement worse. In fact, the government in a democratic and socialistic country should not have any separate structure or pattern of wishes and aspirations from what the majority of the people have. But in a country with a long history of imperialistic rule, the government cannot easily shake off its didactic ways and the habit of issuing orders; so that even when democracy and socialism take deep roots in the land, the government continues to function as an autocracy. The only difference that one notices is in the greater importance that political party leaders assume in influencing decisions made by government, and, thus, form a new cadre of privileged persons.

It is therefore quite obvious that if the Prime Minister of India desires a more intensive collaboration between the people of India and the numerous governmental organisations which issue orders, permits, licences and so forth, she must then arrange to curb the activities of various persons and groups which interfere with the smooth working of democracy and socialism. The forces of democracy

demand that the peoples' representatives should carry out the will of the voters and not the dictates of the agents of political parties. This can never be achieved in full; but in our country this is not achieved at all, and the Prime Minister may try to remove the go-betweens who stand between the people and the government. Socialism requires that the interests of the people at large should not be made to yield to other interests. In our pattern of socialism, the peoples' interests are only an abstract creed which the high priests of government recite in order to give a cover to their real intentions.

### A Daring and Great Swimmer

The crossing of that narrow part of the Indian Ocean which separates Ceylon from India, has been one of the greatest incidents in the epic Ramayana composed by the sage poet Valmiki. The Rakshasha or demon kingdom of the Ten-headed King Ravana thrived in Sinhala or Ceylon and that bit of turbulent sea acted as its bastion. But Hanumana jumped across it to survey the enemy's territory. After this Ramachandra arranged to throw a bridge across and his great army invaded Ceylon. But no one ever swam across that sea, now called the Palk Strait, before or after the day of the Ramayana. Mihir Sen, a young Barrister from Calcutta, who is the first Indian to swim across the English Channel, undertook this near impossible task of crossing the Palk Strait by non stop swimming very recently and completed it successfully. His great feat of swimming is also a great piece of exploration and a daring adventure in so far as the Palk Strait has many unknown perils. Sharks, black poisonous snakes and shark eating Barracuda infest the waters of this sea, which has unknown currents, rocks and little gales of wind that blow suddenly from every point of the compass. Ships avoid this sea as far as they can and smaller craft venture into it

warily and with trepidation. Mihir Sen swam strongly and well but he was drawn off course by strong currents many times as it was high tide of a fullmoon day and he had to be in the water for twenty-six hours suffering from heat and exposure before he landed on the shore of India. His protection crew, provided by the Indian Navy, who travelled in boats, had to shoot snakes to save his life and to chase off sharks and other denizens of the Palk Strait to make his swimming less perilous. His swimming therefore was as adventurous as walking through a long stretch of beast ridden jungle or wading through snake infested swamps, over and above being a very difficult physical feat of tenacity and endurance. All glory to Mihir Sen the first man to swim the Palk Strait!

### Food And Population

There must be a clear and precise connection between the sum total of food supplies and the population of a country. Unless one understands how much food a person consumes on an average every year one can never say anything accurately about national food requirements. In India in the cities we are told that the average man or woman requires 2 kgs of cereals per head per week. Children, we are told, require about half of that. Anybody who cooks rice or makes chapatis for household consumption would immediately say that these figures are not at all correct. The average man or woman must get about 16 ozs. of rice or atta per day to satisfy the food requirement of a grown up person. Children above the age group 0—5 may need very nearly the same quantity of cereals. How much milk, fish, meat, eggs, vegetables, fruits, oils and fats etc. etc. are required over and above the basic cereals is anybody's guess. The quanta are entirely dependent upon the purchasing power of the consumers. National per capita income being on an average below the bare minimum of

subsistence level, we may assume that the food requirements of the average Indian are satisfied almost entirely by the consumption of cereals. Scraps of other things are eaten as flavouring only. That being so and the fact that 75/80 million tons of foodgrains are not considered enough for a population of 450 million persons, although 75 millions can be divided among 450 million persons at one pound per head per day without any shortage in 365 days; one would take it that the people of India do require 16 ozs. cereals or more per day to eat and live. Then, why have our governments assumed that our food requirements are about four and half pounds per week and not seven pounds? Do they not know that this assumption is the root cause of all black market transactions? They should also realise that if the black market did not exist procurement of foodgrains should become cheaper and easier. It would not then be necessary for our governments to attempt to buy foodgrains from the cultivators more or less by force and at below market prices. Government should change their policy by increasing the ration-quanta of foodgrains by 50% and by buying foodgrains at a price that will be considered profitable by the cultivators. The existing policy of half-starvation rations and low price commandeering of theoretical surplus stocks from cultivators cannot ever work satisfactorily. In Great Britain after the Second World War, they rationed bread, butter, meat, milk, sugar, chocolate, clothes, eggs, oranges, cooking fats etc. and the quanta supplied were sufficient in a clearly realistic manner. There was no black market and no haggling over prices paid for local products.

We have said before this that if proper prices were offered to the cultivators for the cereals that they grew there would have been no difficulty in procuring food grains within the country. If also the rationing had been planned to give a quantum of

cereals to people which satisfied their food requirement and proper arrangements had been made to procure the necessary quanta of cereals at a fair price. the black market would not have flourished in the rationed areas. Even now with all kinds of plans for growing more food, if realities of the fields of food growing and food consumption continued to be ignored, and autocratic assumptions and unenlightened guess work determined supplies and prices, there would be ample scope for upsetting the food carts all over the country by persons who suffered from lack of proper food supplies and from expropriation of stocks at snatch away prices. While, therefore, people planned for the future, facts should be properly ascertained, so that the Government did not fail to achieve its objectives in spite of all efforts and expenses.

### Jungle Law and Civilisation

**Matsanyaya** or fish-law is the right of the big fellows to eat up the small ones. The sanskrit word is also synonymous with autocracy, might-is-right and jungle law. The Chinese are believers in matsanyaya and the Pakistanis, though neither so big nor so strong, also try to emulate their big brother. The leaders of Pakistan also suffer from a banditry and marauding complex which, they think, is a hang-over from their "ancestors" the Moghuls. Why the Pakistanis only try to revive the spirit of Aurangzeb and not of Akbar is a question which they will not answer. They also do not try to seek inspiration from Jehangir or Shahjahan in so far as those great Moghuls were great builders and patrons of art. The idea that Timur was only a super bandit and therefore, Pakistan should engage in Timur-like acts of unprovoked aggression against neighbouring states, is also Pakistani. That Timur built great cities too and encouraged intellectual activities perhaps would not appeal to the false Timurs of To-day. We cannot say

that we Indians have not taken any lessons from the Pakistani worshippers of brute force. There are many Indians now in the big cities of the country who believe that a show of force is the best and most convincing argument.

There are small groups of Indians scattered over the country who are addicted to self-willed acts of violence, miscalled fighting for freedom or for human rights. These small groups are often encouraged by the soft pedalling that our high level political leaders like to indulge in on account of their Gandhi or Nehru complex. That the whole of India is one State and that all the big and small racial, linguistic and communal bodies are only integral parts of a great human complex, that is India; is often forgotten by our leaders. These same leaders and their immediate fore-runners injured the solidarity of India by creating racial-linguistic states during the early years of independence. Today they are going further by subdividing these states and even by receiving rebels in audience, as if they were ambassadors of independent sovereign states. There is a queer mixture of ethics, sentimental idealism and statecraft in these peculiar meetings between heads of governments and persons guilty of crimes against the State. Whether they are so-called "leftist" agitators or persons who have declared "war" on India, they are, strictly speaking, law breakers of the worst type. The State should not give special hearings to these people.

### Pan-Islamism in 1966

Mahomedanism as a religious organisation is comparable with Christianity. There have been and can be religious wars and strife within the fold as there can be Crusades and Zihads between "believers" and "non-believers." As a matter of fact, some years ago there were mass killings in Lahore when Mahomedans of two separate sub-communities fought. In the beginning

large numbers of a minority-cult of Mahomedans were killed by majority orthodox groups; and then the Pakistan Government troops shot down the attackers by the thousand. The total death roll was very high and ran into tens of thousands. In Arabia, for long centuries, Mahomedans have fought one another and one may easily say that of all the Mahomedans who have lost their lives in battles, the majority died of injuries inflicted by fellow Mahomedans. It would therefore be incorrect to assume that there is a great brotherhood of Mahomedans which can develop into a powerful political body as visualised by dreamers of Pan-Islamism. The King of Saudi Arabia, therefore, will not achieve much by seeking the friendship of Ayub Khan or of Chinese Muslims. There are Russian Muslims too and between them and the Chinese Muslims the Red Star shines brighter than the Islamic crescent. As things are, the followers of Mahomedanism in Arabia are in a weak position, with all the Communist Muslims of adjoining areas. Pakistan is sold to two groups of non-believers some of whom are Christians and others are non-religious. In the circumstances the hopes of building up a great Pan-Islamic hegemony are very remote. Nor is it necessary in 1966. In 1947 Pakistan was created by Christians supported by a majority group of Hindus. When, after the First World War, Arabia was recast after the destruction of the Turkish Empire, the political projects were carried out by Christians too. If any people have rendered assistance to Mahomedan groups in the near eastern, Malayasian and other regions, one has to admit that they have never been Muslims. In the circumstances religious separatism can only injure Muslims everywhere in the world. As India has several million Mahomedans, we have a right to say what is good for these fellow Indians. And we say Pan-Islamism is a totally useless idea and highly injurious to Musalmans.

### State Control of Thoughts and Feelings

Intellectually and culturally, governments of different nations of modern times have seldom succeeded in providing inspiration to the people. They have tried to nationalise art, literature, drama and music in totalitarian states, but their success has been limited by the cultural eminence attained by the ruling men and women from time to time. Politically important persons are very rarely prominent in the intellectual, artistic or literary spheres. So that, when governments try to take a hand in matters cultural, they do not get any useful results. The Governmental departments may even destroy the very roots of culture or proper education by heavy handed interference or by favouritism of a wrong kind. We therefore view with apprehension all attempts made by the central or state government departments in India, to revive the glory of India in the field of civilisation and culture. Government control of art and culture has already cast a shadow by means of radio broadcasts. In other spheres where official hands have touched things, there have been much damage done and little compensatory growth or development. The state should therefore restrict itself to administration, defence, public works, communications, medical aid to the people, social security, posts, and telecommunications and similar services. They should leave the mind and the soul of the people free. In olden days, when we had the golden ages of civilisation in many lands, the kings and the aristocrats were the patrons of true wisdom, learning and the arts. They were, themselves, quite often, highly cultured persons who could discriminate and choose rightly for the progress of civilisation. To-day in democracies of various sorts, the leaders of the people are of a different type. One cannot entrust them with a nation's civilisation, so to speak. Those who cannot catch thieves or

run trains on time can hardly be expected to detect imposters in the intellectual-cultural sphere. So imposture thrives and true merit dries up when political leaders take charge of cultural institutions.

### Need of Nourishing Food

We have discussed the food requirements of the people of India at length from time to time and have shown how the cereals supplied through rationing are insufficient. If we go into further details of dietetics we shall find that India's food supplies are unbalanced, lacking in qualities giving full nourishment and short in calory content. If therefore the Government go after production of more food they should arrange to fill the nation's needs for food in a scientific manner and not by following the simple rules of elementary arithmetic. This is what they are doing when they talk of producing 125 million tons of cereals by 1971 A.D. or some such date. For feeding the people of India mainly on cereals is hardly a scientifically tenable dietetic arrangement. A proper diet should have balanced quantities of carbohydrates, proteins, fats, salts, vitamins etc. and not merely pots full of boiled rice or quantities of chapatis. These give very little protein and are mainly sources of carbohydrates only.

If therefore large areas of virgin soil are brought under cultivation in India through irrigation, tractor ploughing and artificial manuring, a good deal of such efforts should be devoted to the production of fodder in order to increase the supply of milk and milk products as well as meat through a high pressure program of cattle breeding, sheep and goat farming; along with poultry farming and fish culture. The relative unsatisfied demand for poultry,

eggs, meat, milk and fish can be gauged by comparing the prices of these things as prevailing in 1939 and now. In most cases the prices have gone up by six to ten times; that is, in excess of the general rise in the prices of all consumer goods. In the circumstances the production of milk, eggs, meat, fish etc., should be doubled or trebled in ten years, so that the people of India can eat and grow strong and not remain undernourished and emaciated as they are now. Much land that is unsuitable for growing paddy or wheat can grow clover or alfalfa and thus help in the breeding of cattle and other live stock. Chicken, duck, fish etc. can be produced in larger numbers by developing ponds and reservoirs as well as by aiding villagers to carry on poultry farming. The main idea is a change of outlook in those who discuss and arrange food for the millions of under-fed and ill nourished Indians. Many of the plain living and high thinking V.I.P.s of India have no practical knowledge of or ideas relating to the physical growth and development of the human body. It is nevertheless a fact that economic, military and intellectual development of the country depends largely on the quality of the bodies that the people of the country possess. It is therefore very necessary to supplement the cereal diet of Indians by proteins, fats etc., in an adequate manner. That the feverish haste with which more cereals are being grown will not satisfy the dietetic needs of India, is quite obvious and an established fact of science. So, we would bring it to the notice of the powers that be that India should get more milk, milk products, fats, meat, poultry, eggs, fish etc. along with increased quantities of rice and atta. A properly nourished and physically fit race of humans cannot be developed by eating cereals only in enormous quantities.

## CRISIS OF CIVILIZATION

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Today I complete eighty years of my life. As I look back on the vast stretch of years that lie behind me and see in clear perspective the history of my early development, I am struck by the change that has taken place both in my own attitude and in the psychology of my countrymen--a change that carries within it a cause of profound tragedy.

Our direct contact with the larger world of men was linked up with the contemporary history of the English people whom we came to know in those early days. It was mainly through their mighty literature that we formed our ideas with regard to these newcomers to our Indian shores. In those days the type of learning that was served out to us was neither plentiful nor diverse, nor was the spirit of scientific enquiry very much in evidence. Thus their scope being strictly limited, the educated of those days had recourse to English language and literature. Their days and nights were eloquent with the stately declamations of Burke, with Macaulay's long rolling sentences; discussion centred upon Shakespeare's drama and Byron's poetry and above all upon the large-hearted liberalism of the nineteenth century English politics.

At the time though tentative attempts were being made to gain our national independence, at heart we had not lost faith in the generosity of the English race. This belief was so firmly rooted in the sentiments of our leaders as to lead them to hope that the victor would of his own grace pave the path of freedom for the vanquished. This belief was based upon the fact that England at the time provided a shelter to all those who had to flee from persecution in their own country. Political martyrs who had suffered for the honour of their people were accorded unreserved welcome at the hands of the English. I had been impressed by this evidence of liberal humanity in the character of the English and thus I was led to set them on the pedestal of my highest pride. About this time, while as a boy in England, I

had the opportunity of listening to the speeches of John Bright both in and outside Parliament. The large-hearted radical liberalism of those speeches; overflowing all narrow national bounds; had made so deep an impression on my mind that something of it lingers even today, even in these days of graceless disillusionment.

Certainly that spirit of abject dependence upon the charity of our rulers was no matter for pride. What was remarkable, however, was the wholehearted way in which we gave our recognition to human greatness even when it revealed itself in the foreigners. The best and noblest gifts of humanity cannot be the monopoly of a particular race or country; its scope may not be limited nor may it be regarded as the miser's hoard buried underground. That is why English literature which nourished our minds in the past, does even now convey its deep resonance to the recesses of our heart.

It is difficult to find a suitable Bengali equivalent for the English word 'Civilization'. That phase of civilization with which we were familiar in this country has been called by Manu, '*Sadachar*' (lit. proper conduct), that is the conduct prescribed by the tradition of the race. Narrow in themselves these time-honoured social conventions originated and held good in a circumscribed geographical area, in that strip of land, *Brahmavarta* by name, bound on either side by the rivers *Saraswati* and *Drishadvati*. That is how a pharisaic formalism gradually got the upper hand of free thought and the ideal of 'proper conduct' which Manu found established in *Brahmavarta* steadily degenerated into socialized tyranny.

During my boyhood days the attitude of the cultured and educated section of Bengal, matured on English learning, was charged with a feeling of revolt against these rigid regulations of society. A perusal of what Rajnarain Bose has written describing the ways of the educated gentry of those days will amply bear out

what I have said just now. In place of these set codes of conduct we accepted the ideal of 'civilization' as represented by the English term.

In our own family this change of spirit was welcomed for the sake of its sheer rational and moral force and its influence was felt in every sphere of our life. Born in that atmosphere which was moreover coloured by our intuitive bias for literature, I had naturally set the English on the throne of my heart. Thus passed the first chapters of my life. Then came the parting of ways, accompanied with a painful feeling of disillusion, when I began increasingly to discover how easily those who accepted the highest truths of civilization disowned them with impunity whenever questions of national self-interest were involved.

There came a time when perforce I had to snatch myself away from the mere appreciation of literature. As I emerged into the stark light of bare facts, the sight of the dire poverty of the Indian masses rent my heart. Rudely shaken out of my dreams, I began to realise that perhaps in no other modern state had there been such hopeless dearth of the most elementary needs of existence. And yet it was this country whose resources had fed for so long the wealth and magnificence of the British people. While I was lost in the contemplation of the great world of civilization, I could never have remotely imagined that the great ideals of humanity would end in such ruthless travesty. But today stares me in the face a glaring example of it in the utter and contemptuous indifference of a so-called civilized race to the well-being of crores of Indian people.

That mastery over the machine, by which the British have consolidated their sovereignty over their vast empire, has been kept a sealed book, to which due access has been denied to this helpless country. And all the time before our very eyes Japan has been transforming herself into a mighty and prosperous nation. I have seen with my own eyes the admirable use to which Japan has put in her own country the fruits of this progress. I have also been privileged to witness, while in Moscow, the unsparing energy with which Russia has tried to fight disease and illiteracy, and has succeeded in steadily liquidating ignorance and poverty, wiping off the humiliation from the face of a

vast continent. Her civilization is free from all invidious distinction between one class and another, between one sect and another. The rapid and astounding progress achieved by her made me happy and jealous at the same time. One aspect of the Soviet administration which particularly pleased me was that it provided no scope for unseemly conflict of religious difference nor set one community against another by unbalanced distribution of political favours. That I consider a truly civilized administration which impartially serves the common interests of the people.

While other imperialist powers sacrifice the welfare of the subject races to their own national greed, in the U.S.S.R. I found a genuine attempt being made to harmonise the interests of the various nationalities that are scattered over its vast area. I saw peoples and tribes who only the other day were nomadic savages being encouraged, and indeed trained, to freely avail themselves of the benefits of civilization. Enormous sums are being spent on their education to expedite the process. When I see elsewhere some two hundred nationalities—which only a few years ago were at vastly different stages of development—marching ahead in peaceful progress and amity, and when I look about my own country and see a very highly evolved and intellectual people drifting into the disorder of barbarism. I cannot help contrasting the two systems of governments, one based on cooperation, the other on exploitation, which have made such contrary conditions possible.

I have also seen Iran, newly awakened to a sense of national self-sufficiency attempting to fulfil her own destiny, freed from the deadly grinding stones of the two European powers. During my recent visit to that country I discovered to my delight that Zoroastrians who once suffered from fanatical hatred of the major community and whose rights had been curtailed by the ruling power, were now free from this age-long repression, and that civilized life had begun its career over the happy land. It is significant that Iran's good fortune dates from the day when she finally disentangled herself from the meshes of European diplomacy. With all my heart I wish Iran well.

Turning to the neighbouring Kingdom of Afghanistan I find that though there is much

room for improvement in the field of education and social development, yet she is fortunate in that she can look forward to unending progress; for, none of the European powers, boastful of their civilization; has yet succeeded in overwhelming and crushing her possibilities.

Thus while these other countries were marching ahead, India, smothered under the dead weight of British administration, lay static in her utter helplessness. Another great and ancient civilization for whose recent tragic history the British cannot disclaim responsibility is China. To serve their own national profit the British first doped her people with opium and then appropriated a portion of her territory. As the world was about to forget the memory of this outrage, we were painfully surprised by another event. While Japan was quietly devouring North China her act of wanton aggression was ignored as a minor incident by the veterans of British diplomacy. We have also witnessed from this distance how actively the British statesmen acquiesced in the destruction of the Spanish Republic.

On the other hand, we also noted with admiration how a band of valiant Englishmen laid down their lives for Spain. Even though the English had not aroused themselves sufficiently to their sense of responsibility towards China in the Far East, in their own immediate neighbourhood they did not hesitate to sacrifice themselves to the cause of freedom. Such acts of heroism reminded me over again of the true English spirit to which in those early days I had given my full faith, and made me wonder how imperialist greed could bring about so ugly a transformation in the character of so great a race.

Such is the tragic tale of the gradual loss of my faith in the claims of the European nations to civilization. In India our misfortune of being governed by a foreign race is daily driven home to us not only in the callous neglect of such minimum necessities of life as adequate provision for food, clothing, educational and medical facilities for the people, but in an even unhappier form in the way the people have been divided among themselves. The pity of it is that the blame is laid at the door of our own society. So frightful a culmination of the history of our people could never have been possible, but for the encouragement it

has received from secret influences emanating from high places.

One cannot believe that Indians are in any way inferior to the Japanese in intellectual capacity. The most effective difference is that whereas India lies at the mercy of the British, Japan has been spared the shadow of alien domination. We know what we have been deprived of. That which was truly best in their own civilization, the upholding of the dignity of human relationship, has no place in the British administration of this country. If in its place they have established, with baton in hand, a reign of 'law and order', in other words a policeman's rule, such mockery of civilization can claim no respect from us. It is the mission of civilization to bring unity among people and establish peace and harmony. But in unfortunate India the social fabric is being rent into shreds by unseemly outbursts of hooliganism daily growing in intensity, right under the very aegis of 'law and order'. In India so long as no personal injury is inflicted upon any member of the ruling race this barbarism seems to be assured of perpetuity, making us ashamed to live under such an administration.

And yet my good fortune has often brought me into close contact with really large-hearted Englishmen. Without the slightest hesitation I may say that the nobility of their character was without parallel—in no country or community have I come across such greatness of soul. Such examples would not allow me wholly to lose faith in the race which produced them. I had the rare blessing of having Andrews—a real Englishman, a real Christian and a true man—for a very close friend. Today in the perspective of death his unselfish and courageous magnanimity shines all the brighter. The whole of India remains indebted to him for innumerable acts of love and devotion. But personally speaking, I am especially beholden to him because he helped me to retain in my old age that feeling of respect for the English race which in the past I was about to lose completely. I count such Englishmen as Andrews not only as my personal and intimate friends but as friends of the whole human race. To have known them has been to me a treasured privilege. It is my belief that such Englishmen will save British honour from shipwreck. At any rate if I had not known them, my despair at the prospect of western civilization would be unrelieved.



In the meanwhile the demon of barbarity has given up all pretence and has emerged with unconcealed fangs, ready to tear up humanity in an orgy of devastation. From one end of the world to the other the poisonous fumes of hatred darken the atmosphere. The spirit of violence which perhaps lay dormant in the psychology of the West has at last roused itself and desecrates the spirit of Man.

The wheels of Fate will some day compel the English to give up their Indian empire. But what kind of India will they leave behind, what stark misery? When the stream of their centuries' administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth they will leave behind them! I had at one time believed that the springs of civilization would issue out of the heart of Europe. But today when I am about to quit the world that faith has gone bankrupt altogether.

As I look around I see the crumbling ruins

of a proud civilization strewn like a vast heap of futility. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in Man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history after the cataclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Perhaps that dawn will come from this horizon, from the East where the Sun rises. A day will come when the spirit of unvanquished Man will retrace his path of conquest, despite all barriers, to win back his lost human heritage.

Today we witness the perils which attend on the insolence of might; one day the full truth of what the sages have proclaimed shall be borne out:

"By unrighteousness man prospers, gains what appears desirable, conquers enemies, but perishes at the root."

(*The Modern Review* for May, 1911)

On the 8th of May next falls the day of the 105th birthday anniversary of the deathless spirit of the World Poet. We felt we could offer no more heartfelt homage to the Universal Man that Poet Tagore has been, than to reproduce his greatest testament to the future of humanity his agonised cry *Crisis of Civilization*. Unfortunately, the clearing of the atmosphere after the "cataclysm" of the last world war which he so ardently looked forward to, does not appear to have been achieved and the atmosphere seems to have been growing increasingly oppressive with violence and hatred between nations and races. The British have no doubt relinquished their empire over India in the meanwhile but the people of India do not appear to have found in this change in their national status that freedom from their age-long slavery of the soul for which their martyrs, had shed their heart's blood. The *Crisis* still continues unabated. We feel this is just the time and the Poet's birthday anniversary just the occasion when a further study of this, virtually the Poet's last testament, may be amply rewarding.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

# RABINDRANATH TAGORE

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

There is no single word which can absolutely describe the myriad-minded Rabindranath Tagore of seemingly multiple but really one and undivided peerless personality. Poet, artist, sage, seer, thinker, philosopher, knower and lover of man and the universe, loving servant of humanity – his passing has evoked paeans of praise from countless men and women in the motherland and abroad, irrespective of creed, colour, caste, class, community and political party. All differences and discordant notes have been hushed in the realised presence of this great unifier of spirit. There was, and there is, no one loved and adored by more persons in the land he lived in and abroad than he the beauty of whose inner being was fittingly matched but not surpassed by the beauty of his person. He was, and is king of our hearts.

On the twenty-fifth of Baisakh of the Bengali year, corresponding to the eighth of May, 1941, Rabindranath Tagore completed eighty years of his life. He breathed his last on the 7th of August, 1941. Lives of eighty years long, though not common, are not extremely rare either. But it is not the length of a life but its quality that really matters. We read in the Yogo-Vasishtha :

*Taravapi hi jivanti, jivanti mrigapakshinah,  
Sa jivanti mano yasya mananena hi jivanti,*

“Plants also live, and birds and beasts live;  
But he lives (truly) whose mind lives by  
thinking.”

Rabindranath Tagore's life was eminently such a life of thought and of action in accordance in his thought.

He loved his land and its people as well as other lands and their peoples. The death of such a person would have been considered a calamity at any time but at the present crisis in the world's history his death in the full possession of his intellectual powers is an irreparable and immeasurable loss to all mankind. ....

I have all along looked upon him as an earnest 'Sadhak'. He was not, however, an ascetic, though earlier in life he practised some austerities – nor is he, of course, a lover of luxury. His ideal of life is different. 'Deliverance is not for me in renunciation,' he has said in one of his poems.

Deliverance is not for me in renunciation.  
I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand  
bonds of delight.

Thou ever pourest for me the fresh  
draught of thy wine of various colours and  
fragrance filling the earthen vessel to the brim.

My world will light its hundred different  
lamps with thy flames and place them before  
the altar of thy temple.

No. I will never shut the doors of my  
senses. The delights of sight and hearing and  
touch will bear thy delight.

Yes, all my illusions will burn into  
illumination of joy and all my desires ripen  
into fruits of love. (*Gitanjali*).

The *Modern Review* for September, 1941

## **GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE**

K. N.

The nineteenth and the first two decades of the following century have been both the most eventful and the most fruitful period in the history of the modern age in India. Beginning with Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who has been so aptly described by Rabindranath Tagore as the "first great pathmaker of the modern century in India", a brilliant galaxy of men—and women too—followed in the wake of the former's footsteps, and whose combined efforts, in their aggregate, had helped to transport India from the dark unreason of a priest-ridden mediaevalism to the thresholds of a new age effulgent with the supremacy of the human reason as the ultimate determinant of all social and moral values.

And this, as Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal says, was the true meaning of progress in human history. With prophetic vision characteristic of the wide catholicity of his views and the invincible logic of his reasoning faculties, Ram Mohun realised that if India were to be rescued from the static immobility of her sacerdotal traditionalism, she must be introduced to the more progressive and dynamic life of a wider world and fought for and achieved the introduction of English education. Subsequent events in the history of this unhappy country have incontestably proved how prophetic and realistic this vision had been. It was principally through India's acquaintance with European social philosophy and political ideals gained through the medium of the English language that the earlier aspirations towards a universal and integrated Indian nationhood first dawned upon the newly educated communities in this country and the whole of educated India was brought together upon a common platform.

It was mainly through India's increasingly closer acquaintance with the history, culture and progressive civilization of the West gained through the English language, that the country produced a brilliant galaxy

of leaders whose leadership of men and society was founded on the bedrock of their wide-flung intellectual attainments and progressive social idealism than on any other traditional authority and whose achievements over a wide field of human activity have been one of the most distinctive features of the nineteenth century history of India. It was, veritably, a renaissance, a rebirth of the country from her age-long subservience to traditionalism into a pristine clime of freedom for the human reason and closely approximated, in more senses than one, to the period of 'Illumination' in France which preceded the great French Revolution.

It is a significant fact of history that the earlier generation of India's intellectual leaders formulated their political doctrines upon a genuine admiration of nineteenth century British liberalism and the political and social institutions that reflected this liberalism.

It was in this climate of hope and endeavour that Gopal Krishna Gokhale was born a hundred years ago in the obscure village of Kotluk in the Ratnagiri District in Bombay Presidency, the traditional home of the Chitpavan Brahmins and the nursery of Maharashtra's patriots. His early years were overcast by both tragedy and poverty,—Gokhale lost his father when he was only 13 years of age and, but for the generosity of his elder brother, would have been obliged to give up his studies. His scholastic career did not appear to have been anything out of the ordinary and his intellectual powers were only to be unfolded much later. During his early educational career a measure of uncertainty as regards his ultimate objectives would seem to be evident; he was known to have toyed, for a while, with the idea of sitting for the ICS and, later, joined the Engineering College in Bombay for a short few weeks. He also attended law

classes for some time and might have eventually ended up as an advocate or a judge but for a step which he took in January 1885 while he was only 19 years of age and which was considered almost insane by his family, of joining the New English School in Poona—an institution founded and run by a band of young patriots who called themselves Indian Jesuits—as a teacher on the very paltry remuneration of Rs. 35 per mensem. It were by the example of such young leaders as Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Gopal Ganesh Agarkar that Gokhale was said to have been led to this decision and when the Deccan Education Society was founded next year—Gokhale was just 20 at the time—he joined as a life member and began to teach at the Fergusson College, Poona.

His talents which had already begun to unfold themselves in the meanwhile could not, however, keep him confined to the class room, painstaking and popular as he was as a teacher. He had caught the eye of the great Mahadev Govinda Ranade and when he was barely 24, he joined the Sarvajanik Sabha, the premier political association of Western India, as its Secretary and the Editor of its Quarterly Journal. His apprenticeship with the Sarvajanik Sabha under Ranade's tutelage which continued for thirteen long years until Ranade had passed away, helped to endow him with a masterly grasp of the current issues of Indian economics and politics and established him in the confidence and respect of the top Congress leadership of those days. It also inevitably drew him into occasional and, sometimes, even very bitter controversies like those over the Age of Consent Bill in 1891 and the Poona session of the Indian National Congress in 1895. In 1897 he was sent to London, mainly at the instance of Ranade to appear before the Royal Commission where with his solid core of mastery over details, his brilliant presentation of the Indian case, his sense of proportion,

quick wit and fearless loyalty to principles, he made a great and lasting impression.

Gokhale, ever a believer in constitutional methods, entered the Bombay Legislative Council 1899 and the Imperial Legislative Council in 1901. Here it was that he could show off his talents to the best advantage and his first speech in the Imperial Council in March, 1902 on the Budget immediately marked him out as the most outstanding member of the House and came to be known, by popular approbation, as the leader of the Opposition. This was the more significant when one realises that in a House with a permanent majority of British Officials and their nominees, presided over by the Viceroy, the supreme head of the Executive, and with only about half a dozen non-official Indian members, mostly titled personages or those dependent upon the favours of Government, there were hardly any of the ingredients of which the Opposition is made in a parliamentary democracy. It is, perhaps, even more significant, that during the latter years of Curzon's Viceroyalty, Gokhale's charm and persuasive eloquence even enabled him to carry most of his Indian colleagues in the House with him and against the Government. Curzon, whose policies as Viceroy of India Gokhale had always assailed most strongly, paid such a high tribute to him when he told the House of Lords in 1915 that he had "never met a man of any nationality more gifted with parliamentary capacities. Mr. Gokhale would have obtained a position of distinction in any Parliament in the world."

In December, 1903, Gokhale was elected Joint General Secretary of the Indian National Congress at its Madras session and, two years later, when he was only 39 years old, he had the unique distinction of being nominated the youngest President of the Indian National Congress at its Benares session. Gokhale's emergence, thus, as a national leader in 1905 coincided with the beginnings of a crisis in the Indian National Congress which eventually led to

the tragic schism in the Congress leadership at Surat in 1907. It also coincided with the return to power of the British Liberal Party and the appointment of John Morley as the Secretary of State for India. During the next three years, when the proposals for constitutional reforms in India remained on the anvil, Gokhale visited London several times and explained the Indian point of view to the Secretary of State. But on the final shape that the Minto-Morley reforms assumed Gokhale's influence could not have been as great as it was supposed to have been at the time. It is, however, possible that but for Gokhale's passionate endeavours in and outside the Council Chamber, the wheels of constitutional reforms might have come to a dead stop with the conflicting pressures that were then brought to bear upon Morley; the resistance of the India Office, the doubts and fears of a Conservative Viceroy and the dilatory and obstructive tactics of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and last, but not the least, Morley's own liberal instincts.

From 1910 onwards Gokhale continued to make his best efforts to work the Morley-Minto reforms as best as they could be in spite of the low ebb to which political life had been reduced by a variety of causes. He worked for the abolition of the indenture system in Natal, to provide both moral and financial support to Mahatmaji in his work for the Indian Community in S. Africa, for the extension of elementary education in the country and a variety of other public causes. In 1912 he was appointed a member of the Islington Commission on public services and visited S. Africa later in the year. In the final phase of the Indian struggle in S. Africa, Gokhale was acknowledged to have been Gandhi's most respected adviser as well as of Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy. His incessant labours for a wide variety of public causes combined with the toll that chronic diabetes usually takes of a man's health, ultimately broke down his constitution and on

February 19, 1915, at the comparatively early age of just about 49, Gokhale passed away to the great Beyond.

One of the greatest achievements of Gokhale in the political field must be regarded the inspiration which led him to the founding of the Servants of India Society. During the first two decades of its history, the Indian National Congress was able to get only a very few full-time workers. It occurred to Gokhale that in a country where thousands turn their backs upon all kinds of personal ambition and material comfort and seek salvation of soul through renunciation, it should not be impossible to find recruits for an order of political **sanyasis**. When he wrote his preamble to the Servants of India Society, he said that "politics should be spiritualized." An agnostic in his earlier years, Gokhale, surely, was not laying down a metaphysical proposition but was merely seeking to apply the spirit of religion, its spirit of devotion and renunciation, to a secular purpose. The crowning success of his endeavours in this field is reflected by the examples of not a few national leaders and statesman of outstanding repute, a V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, a Hriday Nath Kunzru, R. P. Paranjpye, N. M. Joshi and others, who have reflected many excellences in contemporary public life but what, perhaps, is far more important than these excellences, a fact which would appear to have a great relevance in current political life in India, an unfailing standard of character which has remained unrivalled in contemporary public life. Many of the problems that Gokhale grappled with in his own time may have lost their interest in the context of current conditions, but his rational, secular and scientific approach to Indian politics and economics, his faith in constitutional democracy and his complete freedom from any kind of social obscurantism would appear to have acquired a new and fresh significance in the context of contemporary politics during the post-Independence era.

## WALT WHITMAN The National Bard of America

ZULFIKAR

Walt Whitman is the most widely read and the most deeply discussed poet of America. His first book of poems, '*Leaves of Grass*', created a commotion in the literary world.

'Rage, ridicule, and remonstrance deluged the book'. So bold, so unconventional and so unabashed it was, that it shocked most of the critics. One called the book a 'Slop-bucket', while another, to express his disgust, used the word 'Odoriferous'. The *Boston Intelligence* described the poet as a 'lunatic, raving in a pitiable delirium'. Even twenty years after its publication, the book was banned in the Boston area for obscenity. Mark Van Doren, not long ago, considered it relaxed, flabby, uncertain of itself and a bore. Yet, this book was hailed by no less a person than America's greatest savant of that time, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Whitman's position in American classics of world literature, has now been universally accepted, after a long battle extending over a century.

In the development of modern poetry, perhaps no contemporary poet wielded so great an influence as Whitman did. About his international recognition, Abe Capek, the renowned Czech writer and critic says, 'Democratic poets in France, Germany, Spain, Latin America, Soviet Union; China; India; Czechoslovakia and Turkey; writing in diverse language and national tradition, have heralded Whitman as a forerunner, or reflected his influence in their work'.

### II

Whitman's feeling was deep and intense, his outlook was revolutionary and his attitude defying. What he felt, he expressed without reserve and without caring for others' sentiments and that is why he was so savagely condemned

by the literary conservatives, political die-hards and orthodox churchmen. He was violently against Slavery in America. This is manifest in some of his poems, like *Boston Ballad*, *Blood Money*, *The House Of Friends* &c. The most profound experience of the poet's life is the American Civil War,—that historical battle which raged between the right-thinking Americans of the northern states, who deprecated human bondage, and the colour-prejudiced Southerners, headed by prosperous farmowners and capitalist employers of the negro slaves, and in the poems, written during this period of civil war,—known as the *DRUM-TAP* poems, his poetic style attained its full bloom of maturity and in them, we see the flowering of the lyrical humanist Whitman.

Whitman also composed a number of poems, in memory of President Lincoln, in which he offered the mourning nation's tribute to America's greatest son, who died a martyr to his noble ideal,—the abolition of slavery.

One of the pieces of this group of poems is well known and is simply unforgettable for its sad and tender melody,—

—O Captain! My Captain! our fearful trip is done,

The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is won.

The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,

... ..

O Captain! My Captain! rise up and hear the bells;

Rise up,—for you the flag is flung, for you the bugle trills,

... ..

For you they call, the swaying mass, the eager faces turning,

... ..

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still.....

Whitman was a true American and passionately loved his country. His patriotic fervour has been expressed poignantly in the hymnic lines :

Our measureless wealth, it is for thee,  
dear Mother !  
We own it all....indissoluble in thee;  
...our chant...is for thee, the soul in  
thee---  
electric, spiritual !  
Our farms, inventions. crops, we own  
in thee ! Cities  
and States in thee ! Our freedom all in  
thee !  
Our very lives in thee !

### III

Whitman, a cosmopolite, believed in the doctrine of universal brotherhood. His '*SALUT AU MONDE*', in which he writes :

'Within me the latitude widens, longitude  
lengthens  
... ..  
Curiously the north and south turn the  
axis ends.  
Within me is the longest day, the sun  
wheels in slanting rings.....

and in which he gives a long list of cities and tribes, inhabiting different parts of our globe, with whom he feels himself kindred, sounds a note of this great love of humanity.

Whitman was a poet and at the same time a liberal political thinker.

In '*EUROPE*' he expresses his belief in the undying fire of patriotism. The martyr dies, but the fire of his soul does not die out. It catches posterity. There is also a prophetic warning to the tyrant, hoping to win by sheer brute force :

Those martyrs that hung from gibbets,  
those hearts pierced by grey lead.....  
Cold and motionless as they seem, live  
elsewhere with undying vitality.  
They live in other young men, O Kings !  
They live in brothers again, ready to defy  
you—

... ..

Not a grave of these slaughtered ones,  
But is growing the seed of freedom,  
in its turn to bear seed.....  
Not a disembodied spirit can the weapons  
of tyrants let lose,  
But it stalks invisibly over the earth  
whispering,.....cautioning.....

### IV

Although Whitman's lines to the '*Sun-Set—Breeze*' and his Carol to Death, appearing in '*When Lilacs Last In The Door-Yard Bloom 'D*', testify to his superbly poetic skill. He seldom revelled in subtle poetic fancy and embellished diction. He did not wander in an ethereal dreamworld and like an escapist, shut himself up in the ivory tower. He strode on *terra firma* and shrunk not from the need to face the grim realities.

A significant remark of the poet himself, may be quoted in this connection,—

"The trouble is that our writers are too literary—too damned literary. There has grown up—Swinburne, I think an apostle of it—the doctrine (You heard of it ? It is dinned everywhere) 'art for art's sake'. Let a man really accept that—let that really be his ruling thought—and he is lost".

Whitman's principal faults are his unblushing frankness and prolixity. His loquaciousness is sometimes boring. Nevertheless, his lengthy poems are very often surcharged with such emotional fury as to carry the reader off his feet, with their terrific blast.

The dominant quality of Whitman's writing is its vitality. He is never shy and least ashamed to be vulgar or offensive, to give vent to his feelings. This absolute candour has imparted an unusual vigour and a wild flavour to his poetry.

Poems like '*Song Of Myself*' or '*I Sing The Body Electric*' contain much of indecency. An expression like—"Scent of the armpit aroma is finer than prayer"—is certainly extremely obnoxious, but in the context of the theme, it loses all its coarseness and vulgarity, for the poet sees the Divine in Man.

Whitman has written some of the finest lines, as also some of the clumsiest. Ezra Pound, who was struck by the poetic genius and artistry of

Whitman, did not refrain from calling him 'an exceedingly nauseating Pill'. But when one considers the strength and depth the poet brought to American and world literature, one is apt to pass over the grosser aspects of his poems.

Maxwell Geismer, the American literary historian, has rightly observed that in Whitman's verse we must learn to accept the ridiculous as well as the sublime and cherish the note of absurdity as a mark of genius. 'Only the great', says Geismer, 'can afford to be ludicrous and to share the laughter on which experience floats'.

## V

In the latter days of his life, Whitman was down with a paralytic stroke. The years of invalidism, although weakened his sensuous feeling and elemental drive, did not abate his love for life, his optimism and his internationalism. On the other hand, it induced in him a trend of metaphysical thinking and abstract outlook. He was opposed to Christian dogmatism, but was never an atheist. He believed in the spirit of nature, behind all living things and the cosmic forces, and his spiritual yearning for the 'immense and interminable',—the essence of universal virtue and beauty, has ardently been expressed in one of his earlier poems 'TO YOU' in which he writes,—

'These immense meadows, these interminable rivers you are immense and interminable as they. These furies, elements, storms; motions of Nature; throes of apparent dissolution, you or he or she who are master or mistress over them.....

In his *'Passage To India'*, which he wrote a few years before his attack of paralysis, and in the opinion of A.W. Allen, which is the absolute 'summit of his poetic life', he is more philosophic than religious. He was not guided by blind faith, but by a transcendental feeling, a cosmic thought that links up human consciousness to the spirit of the universe. This is evident from the excerpt subjoined, which is so magnificently poetic :

—We two take ship, O soul,  
Joyous we two launch out on trackless  
seas,  
... ..

Caroling free, singing our song of God.

... ..  
Sailing these seas or on the hills, or  
walking in the night,  
Thoughts, silent thoughts, of time and  
space and Death,

Like waters flowing,  
Bear me indeed as through the regions  
infinite,  
Whose air I breathe, whose ripples I  
hear, have me all over,  
Bathe me O God in thee, mounting  
to thee,  
I and my soul to range and range of thee.  
O Thou transcendent,

... ..  
Light of the light, shedding forth  
universes, thou centre of them,  
Thou mightier centre of the truth, the  
good, the loving,

... ..  
Thou pulse—thou motive of the stars,  
suns, systems  
That, circling, move in order, safe,  
harmonious,  
Athwart the shapeless vastness of space,  
How should I think, how breathe a  
single breath, how  
speak, if, out of myself  
I could not launch, to those superior

## VI

Though basically a realist, a revolutionary, he had trends in other directions as well.

In fact, idealism, romanticism, realism; and mysticism all contend with each other in his work. We may say Whitman's writings epitomize the vast Yankee land, with its varied topography and climate, its complex ethnic pattern and the diverse tastes, temperaments and avocations of its people.

In Whitman we find an expanse and openness that remind us of the wide wild prairies, under a clear boundless sky. Sometimes, he is harsh and relentless, like the arid waste land of Arizona, strewn with boulders and spotted with prickly cactus. Sometimes he is mighty and aloof, like a lofty snow-peak of the Rockies. We could hear in his poems the loud neigh of the wild bay,



romping on the immense grassy plain of Colorado, the clatter of the wood-cutter's axe from the depth of the lonely forest, the gay song of the Mississippi bargeman, as his boat drifts down with cargo and the creaking of the trekker's wagon on the wild west, out on a perilous quest of gold.

The resoluteness of the Nordic race, the impetuosity of the Latin people, the romanticism of the Slav, the vitality of the Negro, have all crept into his work, but there could be no synthesis or harmonious blending, just as in the period he wrote his poems, the ethnic interaction in this new continent had not settled down to a state of rest resulting in a complete fusion.

Here, we may recall what Whitman wrote about the theme of his book, *'Leaves of Grass'*. It deals with, says he,

'the broadest average of humanity and its identity in the now ripening Nineteenth Century and especially in their countless examples and

practical occupations in the United States to-day. .... Think of United States today. The facts of these thirty-eight or forty empires solder'd in one—sixty or seventy millions of equals, with their lives, their passions, their future .... seething multitudes around us, of which we are inseparable parts.

'My Book and I,—what a period we have presumed to span! these thirty years from 1830 to '80— and America in them! Proud, proud indeed we may be, if we have call'd enough of that period in its own spirit to worthily waft a few live breaths of it to the future'.

Thus, Whitman wrote of the lives and passions, pains and sufferings, of the hopes and aspirations,—in a word of the social consciousness of the new nation,—the teeming nation of nations, on the other side of the Atlantic, whose superiority was already beginning to show itself.

### The Indian Chemical Society

"Chemistry is a branch of science which has a fundamental and leading bearing on problems of industrial, agricultural and biological processes. If India is to realise her dream of taking her proper place in the scientific and industrial progress of the world she must devote more attention to the growth of a spirit of research in the country. She must not remain satisfied with simply supplying skilled labour but must also have the power to initiate ever new and more and more effective processes through inventions and discoveries".

Ramananda Chatterjee

The Modern Review, April, 1925.

# COORDINATION : THE KEY TO ORGANIZATIONAL ENGINEERING

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In all organizational pursuits, the development of a unified vision and a focus is essential for an effective operation. All social systems, no matter what their origin, purpose or goal, depend on the unity of perception and function in their behaviour-patterns. If the diversified actions of the individuals or the sub-systems within the group begin to disintegrate the common bond, the focus of coordinated objective fades away. Then sets in the disruption of communication, the dissolution of organizational bonds, and, finally, the annihilation of all logical action-patterns within the group. Therefore, it is the faculty of integration or coordination which sustains the group-norm and contributes to the dynamic growth of the organization.<sup>1</sup>

Coordination has been defined as "the orderly arrangement of group effort to provide unity of action in pursuit of a common purpose".<sup>2</sup> It has also been termed as "the balancing; harmonizing; and integrating of activities....the fitting-together of the efforts of individuals in order to attain a goal".<sup>3</sup> A third approach to the study of coordination is seen in the definition which states: "The term coordination is applied to this process of timing

the specialized activities in an industrial enterprise to efficiently reunite the sub-divided work."<sup>4</sup> Finally, we find another writer defining coordinating as "the design of the structure by which the units can best operate together" and as "a system of communication whereby stimuli from the outside are received and transmitted throughout the association to the proper place for the desired response".<sup>5</sup>

These definitions of coordination reflect the gradually increasing dimensions of the coordination-process. The transition from the functional aspect of a group-arrangement to the final sophisticated concept of a communication-system is a big development. This testifies to the fact that coordination has received an increasing amount of scholarly enquiry in the literature of social sciences and management. It also shows that the concept of coordination is being perceived by management as an essential accompaniment of its organizational structure. In other words, coordination is not just another function of management but an integral part of the entire administrative process. The remarks of Koontz and O'Donnell on this score are significant:<sup>6</sup>

Many analysts of managership separate coordination as an essential function of the manager. It seems more accurate, however, to regard it as the essence of managership, for the achievement of harmony of individual effort toward the

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1. Although separate bibliographies do not exist on coordination as such, yet the reader may find a wealth of interrelated citations in, Warner, W. Lloyd and Norman H. Martin (Editors), *Industrial Man : Businessmen and Business Organizations*, New York : Harper and Brothers, 1959; pp. 559-576.

2. Mooney; James D. and Alan C. Reiley., *Principles of Organization*., New York : Harper and Brothers, 1939, p. 5, also quoted in Niles, Mary Cushing., *The Essence of Management*, New York : Harper and Brothers; (First American Edition), 1953.. pp. 18-19.

3. McLarney, William J., *Management Training—Cases and Principles ; Homewood*, Illinois : Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1959, p. 9.

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4. Alford, L.P. and H. Russell Beatty., *Principles of Industrial Management*., New York : The Ronald Press Company, 1951, p. 133.

5. Livingston, Robert Teviot., *The Engineering of Organization and Management*., New York : McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949, p. 48.

6. Koontz, Harold and Cyril O'Donnell, *Principles of Management—An Analysis of managerial Functions*, New York : McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959; p. 38.

accomplishment of group goals is the purpose of management.

A slightly modified belief of Newman & Logan is in order too :<sup>7</sup>

Coordination is not a distinct and separate step in administration. Rather, it is a condition which can be achieved largely through techniques of administration.

Judged in the context of this discussion, Mary Parker Follett's emphasis upon coordination and integrative unity emerges as the zenith of her organizational philosophy.<sup>8</sup> The body of her thought which directly concerns itself with coordination is relatively greater than on any other theme.<sup>9</sup> She has made the study of coordination the focus of her efforts. Unlike other functional themes in her writing, she did not seek to extend her theory of coordination in each of her successive books or speeches. She had arrived at a substantial concept of coordination in her earliest published work on political economy and psychology and she held this conviction with scholarly enthusiasm in her later publications.

#### *The Conceptual View of Coordination*

In this section of our study, we will make an effort to isolate and discuss the more significant

7. Newman, William H. and James P. Logan., *Business Policies and Management*, Cincinnati, Ohio : South-Western Publishing Company, 1959, p. 712.

8. Follett's views on organizational philosophy have a triangular structure based on power, conflict and control, each leading up to the element of coordination, in its own social-process oriented manner. For an analysis of this structural approach see, Sethi : Narendra K. "Mary Parker Follett—Pioneer in Management Theory"; *Journal of the Academy of Management*.

9. It appears that all through her writings, in their political, economical, sociological, psychological, and managerial perspectives, she is positively aware of the inner idea of coordination which runs everywhere. Perhaps, her conception of human organization identifies coordination with whatever is essential in our life. Hence, this over-zealous emphasis on coordination in her books,

of her thoughts in the basic framework of coordination. Following are the concepts of her theory of coordination which have been described here : the idea of functional unity, of confronting interests; of inter-penetration, of progressive adjustment, of emergent synthesis; of specialization; and of collective will. These various sub-systems of her integrated perspective on coordination have been isolated here in order to study her entire management-thought in its salient aspects.

#### *The Idea of Functional Unity*

Follett's idea of functional unity emerges from the distinction she draws between "unity" and "conformity"<sup>10</sup> and between "unifying" and "unification".<sup>11</sup> There is not just a semantic difference between these pairs of generic terms. There is a conceptual as well as a functional difference between them. Unity presupposes variety and in a process of unity, differences are not annihilated or absorbed but integrated. As she points out, "unification means sterilization ; unifying means a perpetual generating".<sup>12</sup> In the ideas of association and group behaviour, the harmony that emanates from conformity or from unification tends to stiffen the organization and also sterilize the creativeness therein. Unity and unifying processes take into consideration both the patterns of behaviour set by agreement and by difference. Hence, these integrative processes succeed in establishing a functional unity among both the individual and the group needs. Commenting on the creative aspect of such a unity, Follett says, "Imitation is for the shirkers, likemindedness for the comfort lovers, unifying for the creators."<sup>13</sup>

In her view, the establishment of a functional unity presupposes the existence of a group as

10. Follett Mary Parker, *The New State—Group Organization : The Solution of Popular Government*. New York : Longmans Green and Company, 1923, p. 39. (Hitherto cited as *The New State*).

11. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 286. Cf. also, Follett, Mary Parker, *Creative Experience*. New York : Longmans Green and Company; 1924, p. 14. (Hitherto cited as *Creative Experience*).

13. *The New States, Op. Cit.*, p. 38.

distinguished from a crowd.<sup>14</sup> The group "is an articulated whole" and the crowd "is an undifferentiated mass".<sup>15</sup> Further, a crowd may reflect total unison and conformity but it is the group alone which can claim harmony. As such, there can be no coordination or integration in a mass or a crowd even though their existence may have been prompted by a hysteric devotion and allegiance to a common goal.

Follett applies the idea of this group-principle and coordination to specific business conditions too. She says:<sup>16</sup>

The growing recognition of the group principle in the business world is particularly interesting to us. The present development of business methods shows us that the old argument about cooperation and competition is not fruitful. Cooperation and competition are being taken up into a larger synthesis. We are just entering on an era of collective living.

Here she identifies the modern business organization, at least in its most effective stages, with the idea of group harmony and coordination of a collective will. In her judgment, this represents a community idea—where the varying interests in the business organization can be integrated together to create a new functional entity. Depending more on the idea of interpenetration than on mere suggestion or consent, this newly emergent functional unity in business structures would result at least in a threefold benefit to the whole society: (1) the people involved would get what they want; (2) the

entire situation would develop and move further; and finally, (3) the very process would signify community values.<sup>17</sup>

### *The Idea of Confronting Interests*

Stressing the importance of the continuity of experience in organizations, Follett stresses the need to recognize differing interests and aspirations of the people in order to integrate them in a harmonious manner. She thinks that "when differing interests meet, they need not oppose but only confront each other".<sup>18</sup> Difference does not always imply a basic opposition in values; it only signifies the existence of a confronting value structure. In this context, there is hardly any point in mere reconciliation or in compromise. They are both passive agents of public opinion and they only succeed in postponing the final decision. On the other hand, it is also incorrect to assume that the truth lies somewhere between the two pressing groups.<sup>19</sup> Follett suggests that there can be the following four possible ways of dealing with confronting interests but it is only the last-named namely, integration, which is truly effective. These are:<sup>20</sup>

1. Voluntary submission of one side
2. Struggle and the victory of one side over the other
3. Conference, and, finally,
4. Integration

When opposing or confronting interests are coordinated through the organic mechanism of an integrative process, human association

14. See especially, *Ibid.*; pp. 19-23 (The Group and the New Psychology) and *Ibid.*, pp. 24-32 (The Group Process—The Collective Idea).

15. *Ibid.*, p. 87. The fact that Follett was sharpening her theory in terms of specific business illustrations and applications quite early in her writing career can be seen from the following quotation: "The members of a group are reciprocally conditioning forces none of which acts as it would act if any one member were different or absent. You can often see this in a board of directors: if one director leaves the room, every man becomes slightly different", *Ibid.*, p. 31.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

17. Metcalf, Henry C. and Urwick, L. (Editors), *Dynamic Administration: the Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1912, p. 215. (Hitherto cited as *Dynamic Administration*).

18. *Creative Experience*, Op. Cit., p. 156.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 156. There is a similar concept in Indian political economy which suggests the following four ways to achieve one's goal in a situation replete with confronting interests. The ways are *Saam*: *Daam*: *Dand*; and *Bhed*.

achieves a stronger bond and a more creative urge to bring "the fulness of life to all"<sup>21</sup> emerges from within. It does not mean either meek submission or docile compromise; it means the birth of a new total environment, bigger and greater than before, where confronting desires and interests remain but in an integrated management consciousness.

But one should not believe that integration is an easy process and that it can be safely administered in all cases by all people. It is not a simple administrative technique but an advanced tool of human engineering. It is "the principle of human intercourse scientifically lived".<sup>22</sup> It requires a high order of intelligence, perception and discrimination; it calls for a new orientation to life; it needs a strongly cultivated faculty of communication; and, it emphasizes the need for a well-rounded training programme.<sup>23</sup> Thus, Follett clearly surmises the significance of a proper understanding of the tool of integration before one desires to apply it in any administrative function.

#### *The Idea of Inter-Penetration*

In Follett's perspective, coordination emerges as an intrinsic quality of the process, dependent on the inter-relatedness and the inter-penetration of the components. It cannot be enforced by any outside body.<sup>24</sup> It originates from within, without any outer motivation or force. This aspect of coordination introduces the idea of "the process of auto-governed activity";<sup>25</sup> which she applied to the functional processes of integration.

21. *The New State.. Op. Cit..* p. 353.

22. *Creative Experience., Op. Cit.;* 156.

23. *Dynamic Administration.. Op. Cit..* p. 45-48.

24. *Ibid..* p. 300.

25. *Ibid..* p. 300. In a corresponding lecture given in England at a later date, she changes her vocabulary to call coordination "a process of *auto-controlled activity*". (Italics are mine). See, Urwick, L. (Editor), *Freedom and Coordination—Lectures in Business Organization*, London: Management Publications over-  
books<sup>st</sup> Limited, 1949, p. 82. (Hitherto cited as *lom and Coordination*).

This concept of inter-penetration emphasizes two essential themes. One is that this inter-penetration occurs not so much in the realm of ideas or wills as in the sphere of activities.<sup>26</sup> Secondly, this inter-penetration exposes the bankruptcy of the traditional distinction between the subject and the object. In this context, when both are inter-penetrating the other, the coordinated activity transforms the subject into a subject with some part of the object and the object into an object with some part of the subject. She says, "I never react to you but to you-plus-me; or to be more accurate, it is I-plus-you reacting to you-plus-me".<sup>27</sup> Here, when Follett speaks about this addition to the personality or to the mental horizons of each of the entities involved in the process of inter-penetration or that of coordination, she is adding a new understanding to the theory of response and human relationships. It is seldom thought that both the sender and the receiver of a message are continuously adding a part of the other's personality in their own structures and thus they are continuously sending an increased part of each other to their respective sources. This process continues till infinity and both the elements are so inter-penetrated with each other that the resultant entity is a new unit itself. The importance of this inter-penetrative process in a business structure where divergent economic units participate is of interest to management. Not only that, the same phenomenon can be seen in almost all walks of life.

#### *The Idea of Progressive Adjustment*

Coordination, in Follett's conception, implies an adjustment between the values of the people and the environment; but the process of adjustment must be characterized by a progressiveness and a creativity. This adjustment should not mean passive satisfaction but an urge to create a new relationship between the people.<sup>28</sup> As this new relation-structure emerges, the component parts of the entity undergo a dynamic

26. *Creative Experience., Op. Cit.;* 150.

27. *Ibid..* p. 62.

28. *Creative Experience., Op. Cit.,* 128.

experience. She examines the validity of this idea in a business organization and comments:<sup>29</sup>

This should always be our rule : progressive adjustment, not mere adjustment. Instead of "adjusting" the competition for markets among nations, we ought to get more markets by developing backward countries. Instead of "adjusting" the demands for the division of the products of the industry, it is better when we can through scientific management increase production.

Here she is emphasizing the need for a progressive concept of adjustment in management which can manifest itself in increased productivity and increased aid to under-developed countries. This orientation towards adjustment can help management in shedding its complacency and also in making it realize the significance of productivity. Accordingly, this idea of progressive adjustment remains not just another hypothetical proposition but a matter of direct practical use.

Follett observes that this system of progressive adjustment calls for a change in both the situation and in the people acting in it.<sup>30</sup> There is no validity in saying that the individual is adjusted to the society without also saying the reverse.<sup>31</sup> Since this adjustment requires a reciprocal interaction, both the units must undergo corresponding change in their orientation towards each other and also towards the entire situation. This will need conviction and courage to accept the newly emerged value-structure ; it will tend to disrupt the homeostasis of the organization ; it will also be a disturbing process in the behaviour-patterns of the people. But, all told, it will push the organization and its component parts nearer to their goals and will create a progressive system of communication between them based on the subtle dimension of adjustment. The significance of this approach is also seen in a strict business set-up when Follett declares : "one test of business administration should be : is the organization such that both

employers and employees, or co-managers, co-directors, are stimulated to a reciprocal activity which will give more than mere adjustment ; more than an equilibrium ?"<sup>32</sup>

In this approach, progressive adjustment does not seek the subjugation or submission of any component part of the total structure. Nobody adjusts to anything else ; they only seek adjustment on a conceptual level where no part or component of the unity may be left aside or alienated. In this frame of reference, the variables will *belong* even though they have been re-oriented in the progressive adjustment pattern. None of the sub-systems or isolated parts loses its focal personality or distinguishing patterns : the emphasis is kept not on the *will* of the people but on the *life* and the activity of the people. As such, the question of domination or being foreign to the structure should not arise. She emphasizes these ideas vividly when she says :<sup>33</sup>

Resistance implies the opposition of nature, suggests, "I am but a pilgrim here ; Heaven is my home," gives you a pretty forlorn idea of a self that has strayed out of its orbit. The philosophy involved in "progressive integration" gives us a soul at home and it gives us the crescent self.

It appears that this concept of progressive adjustment gives us an awareness of the psychological implications behind the process of co-ordination which are quite useful in shaping the managerial focus.

### *The Idea of the Emergent Synthesis*

Follett remarks in one of her papers that every social process is characterized by the following three aspects : (1) the inter-acting aspect ; (2) the unifying aspect and (3) the emerging aspect.<sup>34</sup> They are not necessarily three isolated parts or steps in the social process entity. They are three aspects of one simultaneous process. Perhaps, they are three ways of looking at the process of human organization. The first, inter-

29. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

30. *Dynamic Administration.*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 49.

31. *Creative Experience.*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 128.

32. *Dynamic Administration.*; *Op. Cit.*; 49

33. *Creative Experience.*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 132.

34. *Dynamic Administration.*, *Op. Cit.*; 198 (The sub-section here is entitled "*The Emergence of the Synthesis*").

acting aspect may be the outlook from the participant's view ; the second, unifying aspect, may well be the outlook from the judge's view ; and the third, the emerging aspect, may be the outlook for the coordinator's or the synthesizer's view. In this perspective, the social process appears as an activity which interacts, unifies and creates at the same time. In other words, its triangular base consists of action, unity and synthesis. We have already briefly noted the first two aspects of the process ; here, we will make an effort to explore the third aspect, namely, the emergent aspect.

Follett believes that synthesis or this emergence is a faculty of "interactive accumulation".<sup>35</sup> What does she actually mean by this term ? She notices that "in every situation our own activity is part of the cause of our activity. We respond to stimuli which we have helped to make".<sup>36</sup> In other words ; our behaviour in relation to others is as much conditioned by the outer stimuli as by our own because it is our stimuli, too, which has developed the stimuli of the others. In psychological terms, her thesis is that, "*functional relating is the continuing process of self-creating coherence*".<sup>37</sup> In this analysis, her emphasis on the synthesis arising out of interactive accumulation would mean an awareness of the social process in terms of its obligation to the individual and to the system. Also, the emergent synthesis would refer to a process and not to a product.<sup>38</sup>

The synthesis that emerges from the inter-relationship between the people is to be understood as a process and not a product. There would be no point in searching for tangible evidence of this synthesis by looking for it in a specific product-entity. The synthesis would be evident in the very process. It will have to be seen and examined in the interrelatedness of the entire process ; as such it would reveal its salient points in the functioning of the whole organic process and not through any product.

It should be made clear that Follett's concept

of this synthesis does not refer to the outcome of the activity. This synthesis does not represent the final verdict about that particular action. As she said earlier, synthesis is not the final step in the social process. Therefore, one should not think that the social process must end in synthesis. On the other hand, synthesis is the faculty of social process that permeates all its functions and actions. If one were to seek synthesis in the organization, one would seek it in vain if one were to search for it at a static moment at the end of the process. The synthesis must, by necessity, be reflected *throughout* the life-cycle of the process and must never be restricted to any one final time-period.

### *The Idea of Specialization*

Follett also discusses the problem of coordination arising from the inter-dependence of the organization caused by specialized knowledge.<sup>39</sup> She observes that "the President and the Specialist *meet in order to integrate*".<sup>40</sup> It is often held that the executive has the wisdom and the expert the knowledge to perform a task. It implies that their respective understanding of the task differs in its basic premise : the executive has the reality-centered perception, and the expert, the theory-centred judgment. Follett claims that such a line of sharp differentiation cannot be drawn between their understanding. They both have wisdom as well as knowledge but they both have different kinds of knowledge and experience.<sup>41</sup> Thus, while agreeing that both the expert and the executive have knowledge as well as experience, she maintains that both of them have different *kinds* of knowledge and experience to perform the task. She states that the resultant problem is "to find a way by which the specialist's kind of knowledge and the executive's kind of knowledge can be joined".<sup>42</sup> She believes that such a coordination is possible only when the opinion of the expert does not coerce and

35. *Ibid.*, p. 198-199.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 194 ; Cf. also *Creative Experience, Op. Cit.*, p. 67.

37. *Dynamic Administration, Op. Cit.*, p. 200 (Italics are in the original).

38. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

39. For an analysis of this point, see especially, Thompson, Victor A., *Modern Organization*, New York : Alfred A. Knopf ; 1961 ; pp. 48 : 181-189

40. *Dynamic Administration, Op. Cit.*, p. 257. (Italics are supplied).

41. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

yet enters integrally into the situation.<sup>43</sup> Her thinking is that the executive's decision should not rest primarily on the opinion of the expert without the executive himself having made the expert's opinion a part of his integral thinking-process. She suggests a triangular integration process by which such a coordination between the expert and the executive can be possible. It is: (1) an understanding of integration as a method of settling differences; (2) a system of cross-functioning and (3) a sense of collective responsibility.<sup>44</sup>

Coordination arising from the complex communication-structure of specialization causes problems in the effective utilization of authority in the organization. The question arises about the relative participation of the executive and the expert in the task of authority-formation within the group. Follett observes that the present organic conditions of such organizations admit only the existence of a vertical authority and the notion of a horizontal authority is still not quite accepted. The flow of authority is from the top down and there is no cross-functioning on a horizontal plane.<sup>45</sup> She believes that a business organization cannot succeed in its operations by depending solely on vertical authority without realizing the significance of a horizontal structure of authority as well.<sup>46</sup>

It appears that through a coordinated cross-functioning between the expert and the executive, the organization would develop along the horizontal lines of authority, though, of course, it would not mean that the executive would abdicate his rights and decision-making processes in favor of the expert.

#### *The Idea of Collective Will*

Follett's idea of the collective will, as examined in the framework of coordination, indicates a point of departure from the tradition-

ally held doctrines of collective will and interest. This point of departure is best understood in a business perspective when she writes:<sup>47</sup>

In a meeting of the superintendents of departments, each should consider not merely what is good for his department, but the good of the business as viewed from his department. Please notice the last phrase: I do not say that he should consider what is good for the whole business and end my sentence there, as is so often done. I say what is good for the whole *as seen from his department*. We do want sides in this sense.

Follett seems to indicate here that each component part of a business unit must be able to comprehend the entire business unit but from its own point of view, without submerging its own individuality and its own subjective perception. The total situation which she had stressed earlier is in no way a contradiction in terms to what she presents here. It should be understood that the solitary business function or a single business department within a large organizational set-up either assumes a far too detached point-of-view or totally submerges itself as an inconsequential part of a large entity. Follett's collective vision forbids both these dangerous possibilities: on the other hand, she suggests that the single unit or the single functional department of a unit should be able to develop an integrated approach toward the entire business operation but at the same time such an integrated approach towards the big set-up must never ignore the existence of the single function's own performance. Thus, she advocates a subtle blending of both the objective and the subjective notions of business departments and their inter-departmental relationships. She advocates the establishment of the objective approach in the emphasis on the integrated perspective toward the whole business. She also advocates the cause of the subjective view in terms of maintaining the individuality of the department. This view opens up further avenues of inter-departmental relationships and their overall implications for management.

The sociological dimensions of this approach

43. *Freedom and Coordination*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 70.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 64 and also, *Dynamic Administration*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 158.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 159. Cf., Thompson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 187.. "Under advanced specialization, co-operativeness must depend upon recognized and accepted mutual inter-dependence".

47. *Dynamic Administration*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 17.



are also examined by Follett in *The New State*. Commenting on the significance of collective will and collective activity, she stresses that "Individuality is the capacity for union. I am an individual not as far as I am apart from, but as far as I am a part of other men".<sup>48</sup> Here, the same emphasis is put on the retention, as well as the extension of individuality. In this view, both the individual and the process combine together in an integral manner to create a new collective will which would coordinate them both and still maintain their own respective identities.

Commenting on this process, she states that "coordination must begin at the bottom, not at the top".<sup>49</sup> This statement also departs substantially from the usual view of business administration and especial coordination. People usually depict coordination as a routinized activity flowing from the top; they think that to synchronize and integrate an organization, commands must be imposed from above. For example, Livingston comments that coordination "is the system of *balances and checks*".<sup>50</sup> And, Alford and Beatty say that "A leader, in order to get the desired action, must coordinate the acts of his co-workers *through orders or commands*".<sup>51</sup> Niles believes that, "The responsibility for coordination rests particularly upon top and middle management."<sup>52</sup> All these theories seem to imply that coordination, as a function of management, can be achieved by providing for a system of restraints and checks and that this function stems from the management's authority over the system. Follett does not endorse this viewpoint. In her judgment, coordination is *within* the process and it develops from the lowest level in the organization to the highest, and not from the highest to the lowest. This outlook on coordination and community-will adds another new step in our perception of human organization.

48. *The New State.* *Op. Cit.*, p. 62.

49. *Dynamic Administration.*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 222.

50. Livingston., *Op. Cit.*, p. 169. (Italics are supplied).

51. Alford and Beatty., *Op. Cit.*, p. 116. (Italics are supplied).

52. Niles., *Op. Cit.*, p. 323.

In this section of our study, we have examined some of the major principles of coordination, advocated by Follett in her various papers, speeches, and books. We have also analyzed these theories in the conceptual view of coordination, from a managerial viewpoint and traced their validity in specific business illustrations. These ideas, namely, the idea of functional unity, of confronting interests, or inter-penetration, of progressive adjustment, of the emergent synthesis, of specialization and of collective-will, give ample evidence of the experimental and innovistic judgment of Follett and show the points of departure where she left the beaten track of traditional thinkers in these areas.

#### *Follett's Principles of Organization*

At one point in her business writing Follett had mentioned some fundamental principles of organization which permeated all her ideas on coordination.<sup>53</sup> These are not specific theories as such but they are the essential framework in which her previously cited theories should be developed and analyzed. These principles hold true in the above specified theoretical models of coordination and as such they present another example of the universalistic philosophy behind her thinking. These are as follows:<sup>54</sup>

53. *Dynamic Administration.*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 297. CF. *Freedom and Coordination.*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 78. In this paper which antedated the one on *Dynamic Administration*, she changed the order of these four principles. In this paper (*Freedom and Coordination*) the order is as follow:

1. Coordination as the reciprocal relating of all the factors in a situation;
2. Coordination by direct contact of the responsible people concerned;
3. Coordination in the early stages; and,
4. Coordination as a continuing process.

54. *Dynamic Administration.*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 297. CF. its order of four principles with the order cited in the previous footnote. The fourth or the last of these four principles occupies the same fourth place in both of these classified lists, but the first three have changed their places.

1. Coordination by direct contact of the responsible people concerned.
2. Coordination in the early stages.
3. Coordination as the reciprocal relating of all the factors in a situation, and
4. Coordination as a continuing process.

It appears in our social process judgment that these four principles of organization or coordination are not four *kinds* of coordination but are four *degrees* of coordination. Follett did not visualize any substantial or conceptual differences between these four principles. They are essentially pointing toward a growing process of coordination in an organization and thus they represent the *growth* of coordination and not varying kinds thereof.

The first degree of coordination, as suggested by Follett occurs through the direct contact of the people responsible for a particular task. The emphasis here is on the directness of the contact and hence on the proximity of the people to the assignment. It may be achieved through direct communication, conferences, committees and other such face-to-face operations.

The second degree of coordination, as the process continues forward, lies in the establishment of the proper integrative vision in the earliest stages of the process. Here, the emphasis on coordination is kept in the proper time-sequence. The need for positive and creative thinking in the earliest stages of the process is maintained. The responsible people have to initiate and maintain an integral order in the entire process and that order should be achieved not later in the primary stages.

The third stage in coordination is perhaps the most important stage in her perspective. She emphasizes the cross-functioning of the people involved in the process and stresses the inter-related continuity of the component factors. In this stage of coordination, once the directness of contact has been established and the long range vision attained, all the component parts of the organizational system must achieve an inner correlation. This is a major step and requires a dedicated management and an equally dedicated personnel to achieve the proper objective.

Finally, in the fourth degree of coordination, the continuity of the coordinated organism

is stressed. The process should be able to perpetuate itself and release its self-actuating energies in the future. This degree of coordination would set the frame for the futurity of the organization and in doing so would introduce the element of progressive growth.

These four *degree of coordination* or, as Follett says, these four *principles of organization*, constitute an integrated critique of what Follett enunciated as the ideas behind a living human organism. They combine her various specific ideas in a growth-sequence; they impart a well-rounded perspective to her analysis of community life; they, in fact, present a functional summary of the various factors, elements and degrees of group-coordination which she spelled out at length in almost all her writings.

#### *Essential Themes*

We can now isolate the major hypotheses Follett developed in relation to the process of coordination. They have already been analyzed and examined critically in the other sections of this study. Here, we will enumerate them so that her essential theories of coordination can be focused in one single glance. Her major hypotheses are:

- (1) Coordination refers to unity and unifying, not to conformity and unification.
- (2) The establishment of a functional unity presupposes the existence of a group, not of a crowd.
- (3) Opposing or confronting interests should not be resolved through compromise; they should be integrated.
- (4) The tool of integration in the process of coordination requires great dexterity and intelligence in its use.
- (5) Coordination is the intrinsic quality of the process; it cannot be imposed from outside.
- (6) In a coordinated process, the values coordinated do assimilate some part of one another.
- (7) Coordination emerges as an inter-penetrative process of organization.
- (8) Mere adjustment does not lead to coordination; but progressive adjustment does.

- (9) In coordination, nobody adjusts to any-inter-relatedness.
- (10) Every social process can be looked at in a three-fold perspective, namely, the inter-acting one ; the unifying one ; and the emerging one.
- (11) Synthesis, arising from coordination, is reflected in the process and not in any product.
- (12) Both the expert and the executive have knowledge and experience but of different *kinds*.
- (13) In a coordinated business structure, the flow of authority is not restricted to a vertical plane only ; it moves along a horizontal plane also.
- (14) Coordination in a business organization does not mean the subjugation of a single functional unit ; the single functional unit must see the entirety of the operation but only through its own view.
- (15) Coordination begins at the bottom ; it does not begin at the top of the structure.
- (16) The growth-sequence of coordination reflects itself in
  - (1) direct contact ;
  - (2) early awareness of the future vision ;
  - (3) reciprocal relationship ; and finally,
  - (4) in the self-perpetuating mechanism of the entire process.

These sixteen hypotheses from Follett's analysis of coordination point out the salient points behind her philosophy of organization. They cover a wide variety of subjects ranging from political history and economy to sociology and

anthropology ; they reflect subtlety of imagination and erudition and, as such, represent the most developed of Follett's entire thinking process. She has carried forward her views on various functions of organization and thus has been able to present a stimulating analysis of coordination which to her, and perhaps to us also, is the very core of organization.

### *Conclusion*

Follett's thesis on coordination is central to all her thinking and runs through all her writings. Coordination appeared to her as the apex of human organization ; for it was through coordination that a group can create, sustain and develop its energy. Even leadership, power and control may fail to establish an effective working organism in a group, but coordination is that all-pervading concept of human integration which can transform an enterprise into a dynamic and moving organization. Follett's ideas on coordination open some new insights into the realm of human interaction, group behavior, value-system and communication-patterns. But she remains an independent thinker in all these areas and often succeeds in challenging the commonly held doctrines on these complex subjects. She was probably influenced by J. S. Haldane, Sherington, Holt, Kempf<sup>55</sup> and other leading philosophers of her day, especially while developing her overall judgment on the question of integration. But she still retains enough pioneering spirit and experimental intellect to explore more advanced aspects of coordination.

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55. *Creative Experience*, Op. Cit., p. 114.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF GERMAN VIS-A-VIS SANSKRIT

Dr. H. G. BISWAS

When going through eminent and well-known American writer and tourist Mark Twain's well-known work—"A Tramp Abroad—", I came across a chapter "The Awful German Language". This attracted my pointed attention and served as a nucleus for the present article. Twain's writings reveal that he was fairly acquainted with the German language; hence his critical views on the awfulness of the language deserve consideration of those who have interest in the German language.

The inimitable lucid language in which his statements are garbed will lose much of their beauty if I am to quote stray lines from that memorable text. Hence I reproduce below the relevant excerpt of it which, though long, yet I am sure, will not fail to prolong and sustain genuine reader interest in the subject under discussion.

"There is no other language which is so slipshod and systemless, and so slippery and elusive to the grasp. One is washed about in it in the most helpless way and when at last he thinks he has captured a rule which offers firm ground to take a rest on amid the general rage and turmoil of the ten parts of speech, he turns over the page and reads, 'Let the pupil make careful note of the following exceptions.' He runs the eye down and finds that there are more exceptions to the rule than the instances of it. So overboard he goes again, to hunt for another 'Ararat' and finds another quicksand. Such has been and continues to be my experience. Every time

I think I have got one of these four confusing 'cases' when I am master of it, a seemingly insignificant preposition intrudes itself into my sentence, clothed with an awful unsuspected power, and crumbles the ground from under me.

"An average sentence in a German newspaper is a sublime and impressive curiosity; it occupies quarter of a column; it contains all the ten parts of speech not in regular order but mixed, it is built mainly of compound words; it treats of 14 or 15 different subjects, each enclosed in a parenthesis of its own, finally all the parentheses and reparentheses are massed together between a couple of kind-parentheses, one of which is placed in the first line of the majestic sentence and the other in the middle of the last line of it after which comes the verb, and you find out for the first time what the man has been talking about, and after the verb—merely by way of ornament, as far as I can make out, the writer shovels in—'haben sind gewasin, gehabt haben, gurarden sein' or words to that effect and the monument is finished. The Germans have another kind of parenthesis, which they make by splitting a verb in two and putting half of it at the beginning of an exciting chapter and the other half at the end of it. These things are called separable verbs. The German Grammar is blistered all over with separable verbs.

"Personal pronouns and adjectives are a nuisance in this language. For instance the

same word Sie means 'you', it means 'she', it means 'her', it means 'they' and it means 'them'. Think of the ragged poverty of the language which has to make one word do the work of five. Now observe the adjectives. When a German gets his hands on an adjective, he declines it and keeps on declining it until the common sense is all declined out of it. It is as bad as Latin. Take for instance.

#### Singular

Nom. mein guter Freund (my good friend)  
 Acc. meinen guten Freund ( " )  
 Dat. meinen guten Freunde (to my good friends)  
 Gen. meines guten Freundes (of my good friend)

"Now let the candidate for the asylum try to memorize those variations, and see how soon he will be elected. One might do well to altogether go without friends in Germany than take all this trouble about them. I have shown what a bother it is to decline a good (male) friend, well this only is a third of the works, for there is a variety of new distortions of the adjective when the object is feminine, and still another when the object is neuter. Now there are more adjectives in this language than there are black cats in Switzerland.

"Let us now come to the gender. Every noun has a gender, and there is no sense or system in the distribution; so the gender of each must be learnt separately and by heart. To do this one has to have a memory like a memorandum book. In German a young lady (Mädchen) and wife (Weib) has no sex, while a turnip has. Think what overwrought reverence that shows for the turnip, and what a callous disrespect for the girl (Mädchen).

See how it looks in print—I translate this from a conversation in one of the best of the German Sunday school books:

Gretchen: Wilhelm, where is the turnip?

Wilhelm: She has gone to the kitchen.

Her colour is very lovely.

Gretchen: where is the accomplished and beautiful English maiden?

From the above the reader can see for himself that the pronoun business is also

#### Plural

meine guten Freunde  
 meine guten Freunde  
 meiner guten Freunden  
 meinen guten Freunde

a very awkward thing for the unaccustomed tongue.

"A tree is male, its buds are female, its leaves are neuter; Horses are sexless, dogs are male, cats are female—tom cats included of course, a person's mouth, neck, bosom, elbows, fingers, nails, feet and body are of the male sex; and his head is male or neuter according to the word selected to signify it; a person's lips, shoulders, breast, hands and toes are of the female sex, and his hair, ears, eyes, chin, legs, knees, heart and conscience have not any sex at all, that is, they are neuter.

"Some German words are so long that they have a perspective. Observe a few examples:

Freundschafts bezeugungen—evidence of friendship.

Unabhängigkeitserklärungen—Independence declaration

Wiedestellungsbestrebungen—Rehabilitation endeavours.

"These things are not words, they are al-

phabetical processions. And they are not ran. When one of these grand mountain ranges goes stretching across the printed page it adorns and ennobles that literacy landscape but at the same time it causes great distress to the new student for it blocks up his way; he cannot crawl under it, or climb over it, or tunnel through it. So he resorts to the dictionary for help, but there is no help there. The dictionary leaves this sort of words out, because these long things are hardly legitimate words, but are rather a combination of words—they are compound words with the hyphen left out."

The above statements of Mark Twain are based no doubt on facts, but he rises to the height of sarcasm and indulges in Himalayan exaggeration when he gives his final verdict in the following terms :

"My philological studies have satisfied me that a gifted person ought to learn English (barring spelling and pronouncing) in 30 hours, French in 30 days, and German in 30 years. It seems manifest then, that the latter tongue ought to be trimmed down and repaired. If it is to remain as it is, it ought to be gently and reverently set aside among the dead languages, for only the dead have time to learn it."

I have quoted so much from Mark Twain not only to amuse our readers with the unique humour but also to bring home to our students the peculiarities of the German language to which they are to apply very special attention when they are bent on learning it. It is an undeniable fact that a working knowledge of German is essential for the pursuit of higher scientific research and higher studies in any branch of knowledge. H. G. Wells has rightly stressed, "By the latter half of the 19th century the German scienti-

fic worker had made German a necessary language for every science student who wished to keep abreast with the latest work in his department."

Considering the supreme significance of the language, therefore when our ambitious students feel genuinely enthused to master it, no difficulty can prevent their onward march particularly as they are far more favourably placed than the Mark Twains and their cousins on the other side of the Atlantic.

Let me now come to the points that go in favour of our Indian students. Most of them have to pass through at least the rudiments of Sanskrit besides their respective mother tongues derived mainly from Sanskrit, consequently retaining most of the characteristics of the parent language.

Mark Twain got unnerved at the sight of only four cases in German, but we have to master as many as seven cases in Sanskrit in three different numbers and genders. And it must be admitted that the variation in the forms of nouns in German is quite negligible compared with that of Sanskrit. Sanskrit adjectives also follow the nouns they qualify in all the various cases, numbers and genders and their declensions must therefore be far more difficult than those of the adjectives in German.

Then again, prepositions in German force the nouns governed by them into one of the three cases—accusative, dative and genitive. In Sanskrit also nouns have to assume particular cases when certain words accompany them. 'Shivaya nomo' may serve as an example. Here the word 'Nomo' forces the word 'Shiva' to the dative case. Numerous are the instances of the like and they are known to most of our students.

Sanskrit is very rich in compound words and one most noticeable feature of our compound words or Samases is that in most cases they mean quite a different thing from those expressed by the individual components forming the new word. Just as Sodium, an inflammable metal combining with a deadly poisonous gas Chlorine gives rise to the most useful of things, namely Sodium chloride, so in Sanskrit the individuality of words are lost when they give birth to a compound word. Pitaubara, and Binapani may be cited as two most common examples of the type. Hence we do feel but very little sympathy for Mark Twain when he fumbles with the German compound words, which after all, retain the meaning of the component units in fact, even when compounded.

Let me now come to the question of genders. No doubt it appears somewhat shocking to an English or American student when a male or female gender is assigned to an inanimate object; but in the orient nothing is new in it and it is a matter of happy coincidence that in most cases the Sanskrit and German genders are the same. Thus we see that the German language does not present peculiarities which are in any way shocking to those who possess even the slightest acquaintance with Sanskrit and to those who speak languages directly derived from it. From this it also follows that it would prove a gross folly on our part if we are to banish Sanskrit from our Multipurpose and Higher Secondary curriculum altogether. A little knowledge of Sanskrit is not only conducive to the easy and thorough mastery of our respective mother tongues, but it is also helpful in creating a mental orientation for the easy grasp of the most useful of modern languages like German.

Of course, the utility and desirability of knowing good English—an essential gateway to all science and culture—as a “must” for learning German effectively and intensively—is above all controversy.

Let me now touch in brief on the most important factor that can break the spell of awfulness of the German language from the minds of our students. By this factor, I mean an efficient teacher aided by modern scientific equipments (i. e. a linguaphone records) and whose head is capacious enough to hold a vast store of subject matters of a diverse range—both literary and scientific, whose heart is capable of feeling acutely the lamentable state of our science and industry and who are fully conscious of the great role that German science and technology can play in fostering the growth and development of industry on modern lines, bringing in its train health and happiness to our teeming millions. Whether the teacher is inspired by such a noble ideal and is able to infuse this spirit into his disciples or not the desired goal cannot lie far ahead.

As mostly the adults come to learn German, the method of teaching should be so fashioned that the things taught may prove highly interesting and extremely useful to the grown-up minds. Even when imparting fundamentals of grammar the illustrations should be furnished out of the chosen German sentences and passages from the works of Goethe, Max Mueller, Shakespeare, Kalidasa, Tagore and Romain Rolland; from Liebig, Kekute, Baeyer; from Dalton, Faraday, Rutherford; from Madam Curie, Bose, Saha and Raman.

In fine I can do no better than to quote a few lines from Mark Twain himself in praise

of the language of which he has been so unsparing in his criticism :

"The capitalization of nouns is a great virtue of the German language. But far before this virtue stands another—that of spelling a word according to the sound of it. After our short lesson in the alphabet, the student can tell how any German word is pronounced without having to ask. The Germans do not seem to be afraid when to repeat a word when it is the right one. This is wise. There are some German words which are singularly and powerfully effective. For instance, those which describe lowly, peaceful and affectionate homelife, those which deal with love, in any and all forms, from mere kindly feeling and honest good-

will towards the passing stranger, clear up to courtship ; those which deal with outdoor Nature in its softest and lowliest aspects— with meadows and forests, and birds and flowers, the fragrance and sunshine of summer, and moonlight of peaceful winter nights ; in a word those which deal with any and all forms of rest, repose and peace ; those also which deal with creatures and marvels of a fairy land, and lastly and chiefly, in those words which express pathos, is the language surpassingly rich and effective. There are German songs which can make a stranger to the language cry. That shows that the sound of the words is correct—it interprets the meaning with truth and with exactness ; and so the ear is informed, and through the ear the heart."

### Tagore on the Moscow Stage

"As Rabindra Nath Tagore's *King of the Dark Chamber* is a symbolical spiritual play in which the king is God and Sudarshana, the Queen, is the human soul, the popularity of the play shows that the Russians have not become rank atheists and materialists as we have been repeatedly told they have, a sufficiently large number of them in any case retain their primeval spiritual instincts to be able to appreciate a play like '*King of the Dark Chamber*'."

Ramananda Chatterjee

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# INVENTORY CONTROL

R. M. LALL

In building a highly industrialised India of our dreams, we are today faced with a two-fold problem of shortage of raw materials and scarcity of funds. In this context, Inventory Control assumes a challenging facet of our production plans. It is ironic that whereas we take meticulous care to resolve every cash transaction, however insignificant in the books, and keep a watchful eye on every paisa of our cash balance; we are insensible enough to allow the inventories to take care of themselves. It seems as if we have neither comprehended the scope of this subject nor have we realised its importance.

It would, therefore, be rewarding to recall that inventory control ensures the supply of the desired quantity and quality of inventories at the right time and place at the minimum rate of investment to accord with the production and sales programmes. Its absence would spell grave consequences to production, sales and profits. In its widest sense, inventory control embraces manufacturing planning and material handling. To be more specific, inventory control covers a number of fundamental activities, such as (a) evolving a material control programme in keeping with sales forecasts, orders and plans of manufacturing operations, (b) purchasing, receiving, inspecting; storing and issuing of inventories, (c) stores record-keeping; (d) simplification and standardisation, and so on.

Inventory control is of added importance to concerns which carry large inventories. There are cases where the cost of inventories exceeds that of investment in fixed assets. Then again, in many cases, materials form a significant percentage of the total manufacturing costs; ranging between 20% and 90%.

Inventory control enforces an efficient system of reception, measurement; inspection and issues of inventories and of inward and outward returns. It holds in check the losses arising from theft, obsolescence, breakage; deterioration, damage, evaporation, excessive scrap, incorrect recording, rejects, and so on. It gua-

rantees proper use of space available for storing inventories and achieves maximum economy and efficiency in the use and operation of stores and storage facilities. Inventory control does away with excessive accumulation of inventories and thereby saves capital for better utilisation elsewhere. It spots out the number and varieties of items which are being needlessly carried and thereby prevents duplication of components and varieties. It affords a sound basis for accounting for incoming inventories and for their use, ascertainment and charge to production units. Above all, it prevents production delays by supplying inventories in right quantities at the required time. It also attempts to keep adequate stock for supply to customers at short notice. It provides up-to-date and complete information as to amount and quantity to the management for control.

It would be proper to highlight here a benefit of inventory control. It is that inventory control attempts to reduce the cost of stock-holding. This cost comprises about 25% of the total value of inventories in the U.S.A. and in India about 10% to 25%. The main components of this cost are cost of investment, cost of storage, handling and transport, depreciation, wages, warehouse expenses, insurance, stores accounting and auditing expenses, obsolescence, etc. A reduction in stock holding costs may and often does result in significant savings. Inventory control secures such savings by undertaking a revealing examination into the question whether the expenses of continued holding of excessive stocks would be more than offset by loss on sales of such inventories at below cost or scrap price.

## *Pre-conditions to Establishment of Inventory Control*

There are certain essential pre-conditions to the establishment of a sound inventory control. Effective control can obtain when there is utmost willing co-operation and co-ordination between

various departments, and procedures and systems are kept upto date. It calls for a complete linking up of financial and costing records. Above all, the control mechanism adopted must ensure the supply of necessary information with speed and accuracy followed by immediate and effective action by the management, whenever warranted.

At this juncture a poser arises as to who should look after inventory control. The issue is controversial and the discussions may be inconclusive. In practice, some factories place inventory control under the charge of purchasing agent or stores purchases officer, while many, under the charge of Treasurer. It is submitted that a better course is to have the control under the budget committee consisting of all departmental heads, which, in turn, should be responsible to the top executive. Since all manufacturing processes and costs depend on the quality and quantity of inventories available, and since inventory control cannot be exercised in isolation of other controls, it is in the fitness of things that this also must vest with the body responsible for the overall control.

### *Elements of Inventory Control*

An inventory control system is essentially a sort of compromise between conflicting interests. This is largely so because the two most important factors that govern the extent to which materials may be kept, are, first, the operational needs which lay stress upon the prompt availability of all materials in abundance to ensure continuity of production and satisfaction of customers' demands under all circumstances, and, second, the financial considerations which call for the minimisation of the investment of working capital and also that of the cost of stock-holding. These two factors run counter to one another, with inventory control striking a balance. Ideally speaking, the best course is to hold no inventories at all, with the requirements being ordered for delivery direct to user departments and the finished products being despatched direct to the customers. Somewhat near-ideal conditions can and do prevail in such industries as automobile assembling industry and process industries. But in other cases even that much is not possible. So the need arises to consider the elements of

inventory control. The elements that should constitute inventory control can be broadly classified under three heads namely; (a) planned determination of inventories, (b) standardisation and identification of items, and (c) physical control over inventories.

### *Planned Determination of Inventories*

In this case, the basic objective is to see that physical quantities are kept as low as possible but in keeping with the operational needs. The target is to have most materials in processes and little in the stores. Any neglect in this behalf may lead to excessive accumulation or shortages of materials culminating in financial uncertainty and adversely affecting profits and sales.

The first preliminary step in this direction is to have a year's sales forecast on a study of past trends, market surveys, customers' orders; and new plans for increasing sales, etc. Normally, the programme is evolved for a year in the first instance and then is modified from time to time, depending on the actual rise or fall in sales. Further, the one year's forecast may be further broken down into shorter periods; say, four weekly periods. While embarking upon such a forecast, precaution must be taken that the overall planning admits of flexibility, modifications and prompt corrective action.

The second step is to fix various limits of inventories not only in totals, but also category-wise and item-wise. Generally, the limits are fixed for (a) Minimum Level, (b) Maximum Level, (c) Ordering Level, and (d) Policy Level. Though these limits are fixed in quantities, yet their financial implications must be borne in mind. The guiding principle should be to see that the maximum possible volume of business is done with the least amount of capital invested per unit of product. In fixing the limits, a large number of factors must be borne in mind, the more important of which are, *one*, the maximum amount of capital which can be invested in inventories at any one time, *two*, the availability of funds to pay for the purchases and meet extra expenses resulting from any subsequent increase in stock limits; *three*, the requirements of the planned programme and the rate of usage; *four*, the extent to which the costs tend to decrease with the increase in the size of

the order, both as regards the purchase price and purchasing cost, *five*, the extent to which costs tend to increase with the increase in the size of the order as regards the storage charges, rent, lighting, heating and inventory carrying charges, interest on investment, insurance, risks of spoilage, etc., *six*, the extent to which deliveries can be adjusted with the rate of consumption for production purposes; *seven*, the time needed for production and assembly and ability to vary output to meet fluctuating conditions by overtime or shift-working, *eight*, benefits which may arise from producing economic quantities as compared with additional cost of temporarily holding excessive stock, *nine*, the necessity to have reserve stocks to meet unforeseen factors; *ten*, the need to keep labour force by building stock during slack periods, *eleven*, the nature of the levels of sales forecast; whether seasonal or regular, or fluctuating or stable; *twelve*, the policy of the management in regard to buffer stocks; *thirteen*, the extent to which inventories are subject to deterioration, obsolescence and other similar losses; *fourteen*, the policy of the management in regard to speculation in inventories, and so on and so forth.

Another step is the preparation of a materials budget for each class of inventory as a part of the master budget. This helps in fixing the quantities to be maintained and more so in checking them in the light of the actual conditions. Further, inventory to sales ratio is also computed. When expressed in terms of volume, it indicates how long the inventories in hand will last at the current rate of sales, and, when expressed in terms of rupees, it reflects how much inventory is needed to produce a rupee. As a result of such analysis, quantities carried can be cut, especially, those of the slow-moving inventories, and, further, the obsolete stocks can be safely disposed of.

#### *Simplification, Standardisation and Identification*

Simplification aims at eliminating needless varieties and consolidating on a few. This aim is largely secured by means of the ABC analysis which is also known as volume-item analysis. This analysis reveals the extent of concentration of sales volume among the different products.

Broadly speaking, this analysis is made by ranking the items according to their sales volume in the first instance and after that, by plotting the cumulative time percentage of the total volume against percentage of items. After that, the varieties retained are subjected to a critical examination to find out what alternative uses can be made thereof, what possible improvements can be effected thereto, and what substitutes are available therefor. All this goes to reduce the labour costs and keeps the inventories to the minimum.

It should be the constant endeavour of industrial managements to introduce standardisation to the maximum extent possible for all inventories, their sizes, shapes, varieties, specifications, components, etc. Attempts may also be made to persuade customers to accept standard products. Good design tends to reduce the number of operations, and simplifies and quickens the process of assembly.

In order to ensure success, standardisation has to be introduced with active help and co-operation of all the connected departments, such as, sales, purchases, engineering, production, control, accounting, etc. A committee may be formed with representatives from all these departments to be presided over preferably by the production control supervisor responsible to the top executive.

The means of identification should be precise, logical and easily intelligible. A coding system may also be adopted particularly where large varieties are handled.

In practice the materials are specified from such sources as common trade names, brand names, manufacturer's specification, trade specifications, government specifications, and so on. The common ways in which specifications are expressed are by use of common symbols, codes, descriptions, dimensions, quality or composition, performance, methods of analysis, etc. In any case, specifications must be clear, concise and definite and as far as possible reflect the characteristics of the inventory items. Standardisation when thus once introduced will avoid constant repetition of long descriptive titles, bring together items of like nature, provide quick and correct means of identification and simplify mechanical recording procedures.

### *Physical Control*

Physical control covers the whole cycle which begins with receipt of raw materials and terminates with despatch of finished products to customers. It affords maximum security, ensures correctness of inventories both in value and quantities, guarantees unfettered flow of inventories through operating cycles, minimises certain losses and wastages and determines quantities periodically or continuously.

In its broadest sense, physical checking covers 'physical inventory', that is, complete physical counting or measuring or weighing of the inventories, and also 'book inventory', that is, listing of what the stores record show. Since the book inventory may be at times virtually represent merely a summary of unchecked records, it should not be adopted unless it is accompanied by a continuous or perpetual inventory plan. Physical checking may be either periodic physical inventory or continuous physical inventory, the latter being preferable.

Every scheme of physical control envisages checking of inventories by actual count at least once a year. It is, however, a better plan to have such counts three or four times a year, with important items being checked every month. Care must be taken to subject all items to physical check almost simultaneously. Physical control also performs certain other specific functions. First, it deals with the reception of deliveries, making arrangements for off-loading, for phased deliveries, for space for unpacking and for accounting for all materials, and for valuable containers and returnable empties. Secondly, it enforces inspection at the point of reception and also in different user departments. Thirdly, it plans a careful lay-out and administration of stores, avoiding accumulation thereof at odd corners.

The system need be carefully planned and carried out in collaboration with various connected departments. Comprehensive standard instructions for each stage should be issued, and more so, strictly followed. The responsibility of various personnel should be clearly defined. Above all, persons manning the scheme should be efficient, honest and well-trained technically. Use of measuring and handling devices should

be made. Suitable security arrangements must be made. Whenever necessary, besides the main stores, a number of stores may be set up throughout the factory to allow for dispersal of inventories. Bins, racks, etc. in use may be so devised as to permit them being adapted to a variety of uses. Shorn of such elements, physical control may be little more than a farce.

Physical control also implies that correct and up-to-date records would be kept of all movements of materials both inwards and outwards and that adequate information would be readily available for purposes of management control and also for ascertaining values for financial and costing purposes. Generally, control accounts are kept, besides the subsidiary books and department or item-wise accounts. However, the basic need is to supply the information to the management in concise form, at regular intervals with speed and accuracy. This is normally achieved by presentation of—(a) periodical statements showing the values of inventories held in main categories as compared with those of other past periods and with those held by other concerns similarly situated; (b) the target figures for each type of inventory to decide on an optimum holding; (c) budget figures expressed both in value and quantities as compared with the actuals, giving explanations for variances; (d) ratios and percentages, such as, stocks to sales, work-in-progress to number of direct operatives or machine tools, storage costs to stores, etc.

### *Inventory Control under Existing Indian Conditions*

I think I would not be held guilty of any grave error of judgment if I say that in India inventory control in its real sense does not obtain and perhaps it cannot obtain in the near future.

Under the present scheme of company law and accounting and audit practices, inventories become a very handy item for the management to lay hand upon with a view to inflating stock values for ulterior motives. Further, the manner in which the Government enforces contracts-plus and grants subsidies and tariff protection (where quantum of expenses is the determining factor),

serves as a disincentive to elimination of losses and wastages and consequently deters adoption of inventory control. For these reasons, it is sometimes a prudent commercial policy for an enterprise not to have any system of inventory control.

Further, I think that even if we want to have inventory control, we cannot have it in full measure because of governmental controls, constantly changing economic policies and labour troubles. Cases are not wanting when, because of the import restrictions three to four months' stock was not found sufficient, where normally only three to four weeks' stock was considered reasonable. In fact, import restrictions, foreign exchange difficulties and rising price levels encourage the industries to hold inventories in excess. Savings on handling and storage charges by reduction of inventories are also more than offset by increasing prices of materials. Even in those cases where supplies are to be had locally it is difficult to obtain materials in time mainly due to transport bottlenecks. For these reasons, we can hardly expect the right type and

quality of materials at the required time. So inventory control remains a far off cry.

Moreover, we have just begun taking lessons in sales forecasting. So, how can we evolve an inventory control system whose structure is founded on such forecasting? Even if we acquire mastery over sales forecasting, I think, it would be of little avail, because the predictions of sales forecasting would not hold good in view of so many vagaries of the policies followed by the controlled economy which is that of India today. The adjustments to be made in predictions would be numerous and frequent, and, in the net result, of little practical application.

Another factor is that we have neither any agencies like American Standards Association, Underwriters' Laboratories, Federal Bureau of Specifications, or Bureau of Standards, which can undertake specification or standardisation of our inventories in India except perhaps the ISI to console ourselves with. Further, we have no Institute to train persons as stock appraisers or valuers nor any good number of persons possessing the requisite qualifications.

## NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ART (1966)

### USAB

THE eleventh National Exhibition of Art was opened in the hall of the Lalit Kala Akademi at Rabindra Bhavan, New Delhi, on the 24th January. Shri M. C. Chagla, Education Minister, at the inauguration ceremony expressed doubts about his sense of appreciation of art, in that recently when he was opening a Children's Drama Festival, a drama critic remarked that Shri Chagla was not an expert or specialist on dramatic art and, hence, he was not expected to give a critical review. He, therefore, felt that art-critics too could say that he was not expected to do justice to art objects as well.

He then said that he would not aim at a static view on art, for art has fluidity in its movements and styles. Unlike those of the artists of Paris who about a century back closed the doors of established galleries to the impressionists, the result of which was that, the latter group held their exhibition in the Gallery of Rejected Paintings, he would advocate an open door system for all styles of art which were good from their standpoints. He believed that pictorial art, like sculpture pieces, music and architecture, was universal, even so an Indian artist following abstract style, has some sense of appreciation of the artistic touches of Indian art or scenes. As impressionists found light, so modern art finds juxtaposition of colour as one of the media of expression of feelings. He added "Yet I do want more painters to follow his tradition; I do not want them to be completely lost."

The Selection and Judging Committee was composed of S/Shri P. Das Gupta, Mohan Samant and M. V. Minajgi.

Out of 1538 entries done by 682 artists, the Selection and Judging Committee selected 169 paintings, 20 sculptures and 38 graphics. The standard of selection of paintings is good, although much more could have been done. In the first place it is observed that two award-winning artists belong to the Akademi. Secondly, sculpture section is comparatively weak this year. In this section not all schools have been encouraged. Thirdly, it is found that at least a

dozen artists hang three works each. Except in rare cases, selection of two each should have been enough for the three works of each artist represent almost the same mannerism. The Selection and Judging Committee could have by such elimination accommodated the works of a few other successful artists and made the show still more representative. To cite an example, three paintings out of several in Bansi Parimau's one-man show revealed that these were rejected by the Akademi. Two of these were rich in colour, well-planned in execution and good enough to look at. These were certainly more expressive in revealing floating shapes in divisions on transparent field and were better than Baburao Sadwelkar's *20th Century Temple* which is a static cubist dull coloured depiction of the machine age civilization. How, in spite of having two better works of one artist in this exhibition, this inferior third was selected, remains unknown! Neither Bimal Das Gupta nor Dilip Das Gupta reveal excellence in all the three paintings they individually hang.

The result was seen in a symposium held by the Akademi on this exhibition. Though the writer would not agree, the discussion in a way condemned the Akademi. It would have been right and proper to suggest methods of improvement rather than condemning the Akademi outright. At its worst, the personnel might be erring. Some doubted why the Akademi could not somehow patronise traditional art styles, particularly when they were publishing books on Pahari and Rajput styles of art! An award for a high creation in the traditional school can go a long way indeed. Abstract art patterns, expressionism, constructivism, synchronism, dadaism have very many examples, but rarely lift us to the height that indigenous art expressions are capable of. Further, our artists, barring a few, in attempting these forms of art contribute nothing new, rather labour as mere camp followers. On the other hand traditional and other indigenous art forms have moorings and require a much harder training when compared to the

ease with which modern art forms are daubed. To delude both artists and visitors a few art-critics especially of an Anglo-Indian contemporary would sneer at traditional art in particular.

This year sculptures are fewer and of low standard as a rule. Here too all art centres are not adequately represented. Shamshad Husain has portrayed a worthy bronze head *Maqbool* that brings before our eyes the philosophic character of artist M. Husain in expressionistic style. Kuldip K. Bhalla has woven a pink plaster mechanical form with radiating and decorated parts in *Musical Orchestra*. P. V. Jankiram has put up three sculpture pieces, all made of copper and brass sheets. His three works are evenly good. Two of these are life size depiction of Christian subjects. He wins an award for *The Woman* which is 4 ft. high metal sheet pressed or hammered to the shape of a nun. The outlines of the body, the gown and other details have been revealed by supple linear partitions. The simple texture here and there gives a pleasant view too. The eyes are drooping as if she is praying. The hood, to show the distinct pleats, has been formed by arranging a number of strips of copper, one over the other and rolling down from head to both the shoulders. *Virgin Mother* is somewhat similar, but is decorated with a Crown and a halo. The face is oval and is more expressive. His third sculpture is a group study having suggestive but partly essential features of a figure with a flute, on the right of which is a multi-hooded snake or cows and on his left are three women with folded hands in *Composition*. This is from Lord Krishna's life story. Jankiram deserves our congratulation for his progressively better works. Through the medium of small pieces of square and triangular white timber A. N. Davierwalla has, on a black board, assembled the form of *Crucifixion*. An unimpressive small abstract shape *Composition* has been woven after ultra-modern jumble by assembling a few machine parts by O. P. Sharma. This medium requires a clear conception and high execution, both of which are not obvious in it. Ajit Chakravarty's *Fallen Hero* has enough of powerful treatment of mass executed in terms of cubes and sharp planes to show a compact shape of a lying human figure in white marble. Sudhir Kumar Rudra Paul's low crimson plaster realistic *Head Study* shows

slightly opened mouth of a nonchalant boy. *The Woman* by S. G. Shrikhande is made of white timber after the heavy Devadasi style of Orissa temples. Sculptures of several artists seen previously are absent.

In graphic works our artists are steadily improving. Jagmohan Chopra's etching *Composition* is abstract in style and has good black and brown effect. In *Bloom* (etching) Shyamal Dutta Roy has pleasantly described yellow and grey patches with marked texture. Somenath Hore's *Philistine* as also *Lotus* are delicate in incisive grades of etching, precise in execution and excellent in expressing an abstract realistic image in one. Rane Prakash Lakshman in his lithograph *Nude* has revealed realistic figure of a heavily built woman in black and white with enough of contrasting tints. Manhar Makwana who won award for his graphics a year or two ago, hangs a wood cut *The City* by using black in patches or in spots with a deep chocolate oval on the top and buff in the middle with black lined triangles. Below, near the base, are yellow buff and black rectangles. It is again the impression of a townscape with marked texture which he usually does.

The graphic section shows a slow but steady progress. The general standard leads us to believe that graphics are having better technical quality and a marked softness in treatment in quite a few. Of course in mannerism, as the general swing is, it moves to abstraction.

Out of the few drawings, J. Sultan Ali in pen and ink draws a large expressionistic compact scene with much of writing on top in Kondapalli. In style though it is expressionistic, the mannerism is after simple folk art with sufficient details and a touch of fantasy. It has the story-telling quality in that it speaks of a burly black head of a peasant who has a calf in his lap and the members of his family are beside him. The peasant loves his bull, a large one in black cubist fashion and there is also a cow. On the top is the symbolic figure of a dragon like snake trying to gulp the Sun to symbolise solar eclipse a bad moment according to superstitious belief; but the peasant says his loving calf is born at that moment. On the whole the drawing describes fantasy on the one hand and the peaceful domestic chore on the other in enough

of decorative and symbolic touches ; this wins an award for Sultan Ali.

In the painting section, which is the largest, we see two paintings on war and both win awards. Bal Chhabda has given a long title—“*Love Thy Neighbour As Thyself—The Lord Did Say That Not The Neighbour*”—(oil) although the first five words are enough to suggest the meaning of the painting. In this large canvas (9 ft. x 5 ft.) we see black, grey and white with touches of red and yellow. Through the abstract expressionistic style he has suggested a few human heads or a body lying and the wheels and caterpillar chains of tanks. The application of black and grey oils reveal excellent effects and power. The break given in red or ochre in dry brush method adds charm ; only a maroon triangular shape appears jarring. *Attrition* again, is an oil painting of large size by K. S. Kulkarni. Here we see a hazy grey foreboding sky and a canal full of blue water, on the left of which are outlines of domes and houses in wide and deep red lines. On the other side also red lined superstructures of buildings are shown, beside which a demon eyed dark machine is up on the furrowed land. It is so expressive in idea yet depict the feeling in surrealist brush.

A few traditional paintings of average merit are there as green patches in the desert of abstraction *Dark Trees* by Haroon Khimani naturally attracts our attention due to its decorative effect by means of black in grades to depict a dense jungle of palm trees. their pointed leaves and trunks as also due to shadows in criss-cross fashion on the white ground. Kumar Gohil Mangalsinhji has done *Mediator* by depicting one woman is talking to Krishana and the other at the end in profile angrily dictating her words. Blue, browns, red in tempera have been used to good purpose to decorate it with flat trees, cows, flowers and white marble houses after the Rajput School of art. *Daughter of the Soil* is a soft dull toned wash painting by Biswanath Mukerjee. This is a miniature type work (25 x 18 cm.) in subdued and uncertain drawing and colour effect. The girl has indefinite expression and slender cylindrical neck which lacks grace. J. B. Patel has endeavoured to modernise an Indian rustic scene in a noteworthy manner. He has painted an indigenous scene

by modulating the shapes with structural harmony, in this water colour painting *From The Fair*. It shows a bullock cart with Indian motifs, over which are seated a man, a woman and a boy, who have been constructed by means of white, red, green, deep blue semi-circular or cubic extensions against the pale background and few huts or domes in green, red and brown at a distance in large divisions.

Folk art attempts are many. J. Sultan Ali has in bright and loud yellows, orange and slight blue oils, given a good account of folk art style in *Festival Bull*. Mere water colour designs in striking red, brown and black are seen in L. D. Deollikar's *In Their Own World*. These embellishments are seen on the costumes of two elongated man and woman and even on the hubble-bubble. It has a touch of neo-Gujarati style. His other water colour painting *World Of His Own* too has similar style in showing black lined yellow figures of a man, a woman and a tiger. It is a dainty painting anyhow. Raghubir Singh, an Orderly of the Akademi, in *Painting* has done an unsophisticated folk art style oil work to show the broad blue outlined Ekalavya shooting arrows around whom in panels are the outlines of temples and arches in grey and blue. Jayapala K. Panicker has used symbols after folk art style to depict a blazing sun a snake, palm of a hand, bunches of leaves in black lines over brown and grey circular patches with texture to describe *Earth*. Laxman Pai in *Two Pictures—Two Phases* puts his floral motifs on a large bright yellow girl after folk art of Goa, around whom are blue, black and green patches to show contrast between knowledge and purity beside foreboding darkness. Close by in another panel, attached to it, are several fearful orange, sienna and red faces of demons after the western mediaeval conception who are darting tormenting arrows to intimidate the girl.

Some paintings are technically provoking, although substantive in approach. Satish Panchal in *Sign Battle Field—II* (oil) has used white *im-pasto* in pebbly undulated fashion on olive green background in apparently careless manner by subtracting non-essential details and has thus composed a riderless charger. Up above another tiny similar composition is in a smaller panel. Likewise L. S. Rajput has made out *Composition* by applying thick dry brush black strokes



on a slate colour background to bring out a sitting dog. Touches of pink and ochre remove the dull effect. These separated patches give the sense of the woolly coat of the dog.

Debahrata Mukerji has created a pleasing canvas in *Once Upon A Time-I* by adopting abstract surrealist approach. It is traditional in soul and surrealist in body in that he has applied thin patches of brown, red, green, mauve oils over which in extreme fine and supple black lines he has drawn traditional figures of deities after Ajanta fresco style. The pigments seemingly express their moods.

Gram Powell, whose works have been seen in one-man shows, has done a colourful painting—*Landscape With Cave*—by applying spilling patches after meta image in red, violet, green, blue and other mixed hues. His treatment in applying texture is also pleasing. The background is in refined brown to yellow and on the left is a black mossy opening to reveal the cave.

*Horoscope of A Maharaja* by P. Mansaram is a deliberately courageous college work which has an old torn piece of horoscope fixed in the middle and on both sides daring red, blue, sienna, yellow, violet, green, brown and other pigments have been daubed to reveal the many phases of the life of the Maharaja. Though his chromatic arrangement is near abstraction, the total effect is emotional. The only snag is that the long piece of the horoscope in the middle could have been shortened as mere suggestion to leave the rest to imagination.

Beside this painting K. C. Panicker's two large paintings entitled *Words and Symbols*—(a) and (b), which have dull transparent grey or sienna over brown background and enough of writings and symbols after folk art patterns, are just dull and stereotyped.

Adoption of neo-realist style by means of pointillism, constructivism and impressionism in enough of blue and green oils to detail a nocturnal scene is the keynote of *A Travel in Space* by Chaitanya Patel.

Bhabesh Sanyal who had his art education round about the twenties, has done two attractive paintings in oils. *The Red Sign* reminds us of Mondrian's square form which he did

under the influence of mathematical purity and architectural beauty. In this abstract painting he has placed a straight perpendicular mauve rectangle to occupy one-fifths of the canvas. The rest is black. On the left top he has placed two small overlapping black and mauve squares and on the black background he has drawn a large red square with texture. The two main pigments are partitioned by a straight red line and few shorter lines to intersect the upright line. To balance a very small red square and a bigger mauve square are at the bottom right. The other *King of Diamond* has a bearded king on the one quarter portion of the canvas having mauve and the rest three-quarters have larger grey and smaller black squares. Both belong to the grammar of art, as it were.

Anant Anekar's *Blue Painting* is a well-planned transparent oil painting after synchronism. It has overall deep blue graded intensity to show a jungle at night. A few flicks of green give the impression of wafting leaves of trees.

We see a simple child art pattern having the commercial touch in Prabhakar Barwe's college work *Yontra-I*. It has yellow, red, brown and a childish face.

Nand K. Katyal has demonstrated constructivist style in creating a rough standing hard looking human figure of about six feet by means of juxtaposed red, grey, green, black, sienna and blue cubes and divisions in *Painting*. In quality he has blended harmonious pigments in this figure.

An example of creation after abstract realism is seen in Mohan Samant's oil work *Antique Frames*. Here we find all that the artist has contributed is a few serpentine raised ribbed partitions in red, blue, green and grey and between these he has pasted two sheets of an illustrated journal.

Prakash Karmakar has painted *The Passion Gropes* (oil) with a romantic approach. Whether in the expression of feeling or in technique, he has given a good account of his artistic skill. It has a supple featured yellowish brown profile of a half-seated lounging woman with stretched arms and legs. She has a large eye after the folk art pattern. Her eye and stretched hands show a sense of restlessness. She is shown entangled in a web of feelings. Around her are black, green, sienna and yellow

to express the moods. A host of women are advancing towards her with startling ideas. This wins an award.

We see another award winning oil painting *Opus—41* by Surya Prakash. It is after pure form style and deserves little commendation. It has a mass of toned down black squares. There are a few cubes and rectangles at the bottom and the left side is in slightly lighter cubes and rectangles. The entire painting lacks balance and sense of creative energy.

Surrealistic paintings are rare. In *Solitude*, an oil painting by Miss T. K. Padmini, is seen the yellow face of a woman around whom are deep blue and red cubes to give effect of a dreamland. Bikash Bhattacharjee has adopted a borrowed idea of surrealism in the *Citied Soul On Stage* by painting a cluster of men in skeletons bunched together in green, red, violet and brown up in the sky over dull grey houses of a modern city.

This year too we see very limited number of action paintings. R. S. Bisht weaves two harmoniously painted well spaced canvases in oil with slight decoration of action painting manner in black dripping lines. No. 1 has fine spacious patches of green applied from the top to bottom and No. 3 is in slight pink with similar dripping lines and colour. A very large oil work (213 × 133 cm) by P. Khemraj is *Mystery Of Paris* in purely action painting style. The background is black on which white pigment interspersed blue, red, yellow, green and other lines in streaks and scratches are seen. It may be anything like the ariel view of the city. But this is more or less a way to express the automatic effect of colour<sup>2</sup> harmony where the artist is not aware of his creation before he has finished. So Jackson Pollock said that he knew what he had done after he had finished his action painting.

Divisionist style in applied form is seen in the award winning oil painting *Kaza Village* by Dalip Kumar Das Gupta. It describes a house in Ladakh in well applied yellow ochre, buff, black shades, red and browns with artistic touch and vitality. His *Dhonglang* (K. Monastery) is of course much better in the depiction of an imposing structure and vibrating colour sense.

*Kashmir Farms* by D. Devraj has excellent golden patches around which are red, blue, grey divisions as if seen from a higher site. Nand Mittra has composed a realistic ghat scene entitled *Varanasi* (Oil) through divisionist style and spacious colour arrangement. It has bluish water; red, deep blue; grey houses, brown ghats and the like. He has controlled space in colourful and simple style.

*Shiva II* is an exposition of power by means of simple use of shades of grey after neo-realism. In this oil painting Balkrishna Patel has deployed kinetic arrangement by suspending a dark round balloon shape mass in which is contained a deeper square—all exploding with dripping fire. The grey sky and slightly lighter tones suggest the nuclear bomb explosion.

Cubism had its heyday, but is now on the ebbing side. This structural break up was the direct offspring of impressionism; but artists want more blood than the formal shapes have scope to yield. *Imagination Of Space* is a cubist oil work which Mohan Sharma has done with the precision of a draughtsman. In it yellow, pink, grey, green and orange geometrical figures have been shown shooting out against a dull black to brown sky. In *Marshy Land* (Oil) D. A. Pawar has described a patch of brown to light green stagnant water over which shady black lined reeds and water plants touch one another in a maze to give the total cubist shape.

Anitabha Sen Gupta in *Composition* (oil) has used fauvistic colour. It is partly green and mauve broken by blue background over which are olive green rectangles a bit of emerald green or maroon. The approach is divisionist. *Enamelled Palace* by Paritosh Sen has the display of lighter toned pigments after divisionist space on the top in the way of decoration. Below two women are sitting. The maroon, brown yellow and broad patches in other low toned hues bring it very near a fauvistic painting. In colour arrangement, contents and spacing it speak of maturity.

Totally impressionistic painting are rare. Those which are hung have mixed mannerisms. Baburao Sadwelkar has composed *Zero Hour* (oil) which shows a nightly scene. The upper part is in low maroon and has a dim moon, the middle is suffused with grey to black, where we see a red disc intersected by white or black up-

right patches with texture. Touches of yellow and green are there to give relief. It has powerful arrangement of pigments to show an example of abstract impressionistic canvas.

A good sprinkling of expressionistic canvases are there, even though some have mixed techniques. Well, admixture of styles or subtraction of many typical essentials have changed the facets of expressionism. It is a tendency which has reigned in every era. Van Gogh, Degas, Jamini Roy, Gogonendra Nath Tagore and host of others were recognised as epoch-making masters for their extra-realism by ushering in a change in the trodden paths. Thus C. J. Anthony Doss has exposed in *Man From Jerusalem* the figure of a fantastic hairy grim man under a bright blue moon. The background has low toned brown, blue and green superscribed with black arches and structures. We see a prehistoric man in grey tempera on one side and a woman of the same colour, in between whom are a block of stone in deeper tint and a dog after folk art style, both of which separate the figures. In this painting *Separation* P. Krishnamurthy has used pastel too to have tonal effect. Now we see two oil paintings of real expressionistic school. The artist Mrinal Kanti Bardhan is following this trend for about a decade and is a powerful colourist for that matter. Bold use of sienna in grades with texture is seen in the total shape of a human figure after abstract expressionism. A bright moon, a heavy background and a few white divisionist splashes make the canvas *Agony and Ecstasy* an entiring work. He wins an award for this commendable canvas. His other work *Silent Woe* is super in treatment of marble like limbs of a sorrowing downcast woman. Around the figure are contrasting grades of sienna and red. It must be said that this artist is showing almost similar canvases for years. It is always an upright pessimistic human figure and abundance of sienna or dull grey around. Ram Singh Bawa by his simplified yet vigorously expressed expressionistic sculpturesque oil painting *Distressed* has won an award. It has thin application of light grey in the background to show a man, in dark black with highlights, is sitting by resting his worried head on the right palm and the left hand is supported across his knees. Sandy texture is there on his body and so too in the partly cloudy moon

up above. It is the total figure that creates the grimness

A few Dada art attempts are there. Piraji Sagara has been contributing this style of work for the last few years. But one thing is certain that compared to his chaotic composition of the past, his present attempts are having less disorderly trend. At least in this year's *Homage To Heritage* and *Lost Legends Under The Sun* we find better decorations than what we saw in his previous work—'Homage to Kafka'. In the present work he has painted red, black and yellow pigments on large planks. Then there are tin plates or iron plates, copper pieces of oblong, semicircular shapes on them to show the Sun and the Moon. The shafts of rays have been expressed by flattened nails all round and lastly there are brass floral designs taken out of old doors and fixed on it, may be, to represent stars. If nothing, at least due to the strange features they attract our attention. Then comes *Jeram*—I by Jeram Patel. It is another step forward in creating an absurd form of aesthetic. But then what Huelsenbeck<sup>3</sup> felt in 1917 about war ravages and discord and hence created Dada art or disorder in the values of orderly art; our artists are feeling now. They are deforming to reform art culture. Jeram Patel is putting up this type of works for the last few years, hence we must consider the charm, if any, that he has created by means of a piece of plywood, which has charred texture a few round borings on one side and a series of holes on the right bottom in 'V' shape.

*The Devil And The Flesh* (oil) is whimsically imaginative in expressing fantasy. In this Ambades has painted blue and pink circular designs or a bit of decorative abstract shapes, quaint brutal faces and raw flesh. Vimal Kumar too has composed a successful oil painting in *Vishfot And Vinash* by showing greenish black shades as background with circular blue lines. From the left side a rolling curly red fire ball's movement has been shown in swirling red lines which explodes and traces its path and then remains stationary in the middle of the canvas. It is so fanciful and so vivid in description that it is able to create a sensation in the mind.

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3 *A Concise History of Modern Painting* by Herbert Read.

Sushil Vatsa's oil work *When Light Dawns* takes us to a fearful situation due to strange nuclear and oblong shapes in mere black and white.

The term abstract art, like the nomenclature Modern Art, has little significance at present, for abstract style has forced out to numerous mannerisms. It has become a way to express oneself in revolting manner at times. It can be substantive, traditional, realistic by chance or design; and so it can be expressionistic or surrealist. In fact this style is now being grafted to many established ways of expression. As abstract canvases may very well reveal merely pell-mell but resonant hues or expose spacing and balance, so can it adopt the accent of supermatism, cubism and the like. At times abstract canvases take to realism, that is to say, a few large green, yellow and blue patches may look like a distant corn field or a waterscape or a panoramic view of the sea shore. Abstract art does not permit us to reflect long on the model or object, for it is done on account of a sudden stimulus in personal manner. The difficulty<sup>4</sup> with us is that we try to associate abstract canvases with known or recognised objects. Let us take an example of an artist's seeing a busy city street at night. After seeing speeding red, blue, green, amber flashy shafts of light and the dark surrounding, he registers his experience on the canvas in those pigments and a few lines. Here even though his creation is personal, it may, for argument's sake, be called substantive.

Jayant Vaidya has composed a powerful oil painting *Graphis* by using a deep black rough curly patch which is partly encircling a deep red semicircular mass of colour and is itself being engulfed by the red. In between these two pigments there is a white patch which steps their advance. If we imagine black and red as two belligerent forces and white as the neutral; we get the sense of disharmony and the universal truth. Suhan Quadri has done a realistic abstract oil painting—*Emancipation*—in which half the canvas in white and the rest has rough small divisions or brush strokes in brown, grey, yellow as if to show vegetation on a stagnant transparent water. Ramnik Bhavsar

in *Painting—VII* has used coagulated dull grey background, on the top right of which is a wavy wrinkled space. Then there are large rectangular white shapes done with spatula; and brown, red and black patches around. A few larger semicircular or rectangular space in different tones are there to add calligraphic effect. Ambadas wins an award by painting *Hot Wind Blows Inside Me* (oil). This has crimson background and undulated texture in brown and black. Enough of serpentine designs or a rough facial feature with driplets and calligraphic design are there to show anger and wrath. Sukanta Basu has shown pure abstract style in resonant green, yellows, browns, black and grey oil patches to control space and also to register chromatic display in reasoned manner in *Composition*. There are a considerable number of abstract canvases, good many of which show that some artists have the right temperament to wield their brush to create worthy canvases.

Portraits are very limited in number. D. G. Sangwai in oil has created *Huma* that reveals a simple looking fair girl in violet blouse and a maroon saree who is thinking of the past. The treatment in the background is flat and little separated from the head. Paritosh Sen has experimented with tonal values of pigments by drawing the profiles of a woman in broken cubes in grey, red, orange, green and other hues, keeping the background totally black in *Figure Against A Black Background*. We see a characterful, daring man in *Nanasaheb* (oil) by A. S. Deo. It has light green tunic, a powerful head, and the brown face has been done by swift flicks of brush.

Realistic paintings are also limited in number. M. S. Joshi in his usual style has painted *Warm Evening* in water colour. It shows damp and hazy atmosphere or clouds through which sun light is pouring on a cluster of boats resting partly on sand and partly on the grey water. Joshi's water colour paintings are always good. Bimal Prasad Jain has painted *Jumping Well* (oil) to narrate every detail of the steps of a large well, its high walls in proper shades, the patch of water in shining dull grey and up above ripe yellow corn field with suggestions of distant tree line. A few women in suggestive red; yellow and green dress are on the steps of the well. The work is

4. *The Challenge of Modern Art* by Allen Leepa.

immature. An attractive jet black monochromic water colour painting is *An Old Palace*. In it Prabhakar Seetharam Kadam shows the vividness of light and shade. It has sweeping criss-cross strokes to show black walls and shady corners of houses beside a lane. The flashy effect of light coming through openings of the walls and the lane speaks of the effect of judiciously toning down the black. This is a commendable composition. *Onam* by R. K. Malwankar has bright silver grey background with subdued lines to show movement of water. Over it several racing boats are speeding with standing oarsmen in dark brown atop. Finger-prints have been used to decorate the boats and the men.

Whether we like it or not, change is the tendency, for that which is static is dead. We must not forget that in the field of poetry

there had been appreciable change. Readers accustomed to enjoy Victorian poems just stumble on surrealist and dada poems. It is true to the literature of various Indian languages too. So change creeps in.

Nevertheless, experiments on different mannerisms of art are not reprehensible; rather they are forward steps. Some of the modern styles of art are without ego and just universal; but art too must, apart from being international, register the aspirations and cultural facets of different regions of the world or it will reveal a dull uniformity. So our artists might divert their energies to establish new schools of visual art on the basis of art of the soil. That would be something original. Yet it is obvious that our artists are doing well in following the subtle nuances of the ever changing schools of the West.

### Crime and Its Causes and Remedies

"It would be foolish to suggest that there should not be unremitting efforts made for the prevention, detection and punishment of crime. But it is not statesmanship, but its opposite, to think that that object can be gained merely by increasing police expenditure. Some crimes there are which are due to economic causes, and perhaps these form the majority. Some there are which are due to insanitary conditions and conditions which stand in the way of decent and moral living. Some are due to bad social customs and arrangements. Some are due to the facilities created for obtaining drink and drugs. Some are due to animal propensities and the forces of immorality not being curbed or eradicated by proper education, culture, recreation, etc. Some are due to political and politico-economical causes."

Ramananda Chatterjee

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## THE MIDDLE EAST, OIL AND GREAT POWERS

AMAR RAHA

The Palmyrene Civilization, an interesting blend of Greek, Syrian and Parthian (Iranian) elements, indicates the cultural heights which the Arabians of the desert are capable of attaining when the proper opportunities are there. The ways of life and the independent character of the Arabian people have formed a theme of praise and admiration. Here hospitality, fortitude and enthusiasm, and manliness are considered to be the supreme virtues of the people, and the Arabians highly prize and value their liberty. Herodotus said: "the whole of Arabia exhales a most delicate fragrance."

The saying: "Seek ye learning though it be in China" led these people to enrich themselves with the teachings and cultures of other lands. Thus, the researches of Aristotle, Galen and Ptolemy influenced these people to an extent that in law, theology, philology, medicine etc. they have contributed original thinking. And, from India Siddhanta (Arabic, Sindhind), in about 771 A D, introduced astronomy, mathematics and the decimal system; and the Belles-lettres of Persia--rendition from Panchatantra--influenced no less the culture of these people, and "Jundi Shapur" which was noted for its academy of medicine and philosophy, was founded about 555 by the great Anusharwan. The cumulative effect of all these produced a galaxy of outstanding personalities like Yuhanna Ibn Masawayh, who wrote a first treatise on ophthalmology, Ibn-Sina (Avicenna), the physician, philoso-

pher, philologist and poet and in whom "Arab Science culminates and is, one might say, incarnated", and Umar al Khayyam, known as a Persian poet generally, the noted mathematician and astronomer. And, one can note that in al-Khayyam's calender there is an error of one day in 5000 years, whereas in the Georgian calender one day in 3330 years.

Today, when the peoples of the world are crying for peace and demanding of the nations to renounce all aggressive designs and urging upon them to observe international law, when science is being used generally not for the welfare of mankind but for its destruction, one recalls to mind the first international treaty, signed in 1272 B. C. by Hittite and Egypt, the terms of which stipulated, amongst others, renunciation of all projects of conquests, as well as the reply of Hunayn ibn-Ishq (809--73 A D.), a private physician to the then Caliph, to the query as to what prevented him from preparing a deadly poison: "Two things: my religion and my profession. My religion decrees that we should do good even to our enemies...And my profession is dedicated to the benefit of humanity and limited to its relief and cure."

But to its misfortune, this region, once a trade route between Europe and the Far East and with an important number of manufactures--metal work, leather, and textiles--attracted the Europeans, who as crusaders came over to this region with sword in hand, as, on balance, the East had more to offer than the

West in the way of material and cultural amenities. These Christians came to this area with the notion that they were far superior to its people, but Usamah described them as "animals possessing the virtues of courage and fighting, but nothing else." Then, days passed and in course of time came the Portuguese, who claimed: "All ships sailing between India and East Africa must be Portuguese, or under their control; all trade must be done by them or by their accredited representatives". These marauders, who pushed aside the Arabs and kicked the natives of Africa and of India out of their way, faced the inevitable when the peoples of East Africa and the Arab World rose in revolt. Between the years 1635—1688 A. D., the northern defences began to crack, and in this struggle for liberation an Indian merchant of Muscat, Ganesta Hamilton describes, played a significant role enabling the Sultan of Muscat to throw out the Portuguese so easily.

This region that embraces roughly eighty million people of various faiths and covers an area of some six and one-half million square kilometers and rich with liquid gold has again become the hunting ground of those who believe in *res feræ naturæ* i.e. the law of the jungle found out by the American Jurists when with the oil find in U. S. A. the question cropped up as to whom the minerals belonged. Because of this liquid gold, that constitutes 25% of the world reserves as per some experts, the believers in *res feræ naturæ* encouraged and nurtured the revolts of the Arabs against the Turks and encouraged all sorts of separatist tendencies in the Arab world. Thus the world witnessed Sir Henry McMahon, the then High Commissioner in Cairo, to conspire with King Hussain of Hejaz against the Ottoman

Empire, the Sykes Picot Agreement of 1917 that was signed by Czarist Russia, England and France arranged to carry out the Ottoman Empire and the Balfour Declaration of Nov. 2, 1917 to placate the jews by offering Palestine, the materialization of which gave homes only to 1,000,000 jews uprooting about an equal number of Arabs (9,00,000) who still remain to be rehabilitated.

In pursuance of the said policy educational institutions like the American University of Beirut have been deliberately and in a planned way utilized by the powers concerned. According to Harry B. Ellis, correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, New York, the aim and teaching of the American University of Beirut, founded under a New York Charter in 1866, "chemicalized against the powers which ruled them, first against the Turks and then against the British and France" and the revolt of the Arabs "against the Turks had been nurtured at least partly in American, British and French schools established under the Ottomans in Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine". Later, time and interests, instead of keeping them together, separated them. It is not strange, then, that "in spite of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and in spite of the spirit of cooperation between the Allies so highly advocated by all concerned, when it came to oil, the dominating principle seemed to have been every one for himself." Days passed and the struggle sharpened. In this struggle England pushed the French out of Syria and Lebanon, and in 1947, handed over the business of bossing over Greece and Turkey to the United States. Things did not stop there. And, at the U. S. Senate hearing on Saudi Arabia, W. S. S. Rodgers, a company spokesman, testified that "American military men were even more disturbed by the British

activity than was the company, they suspected that the British were trying to take concessions away from the Americans"; and because of this Mr. Stetlinius was asked to realise "that the defence of Saudi Arabia is vital to the defence of the the United States" as revealed by the U. S. Senate hearings on Saudi Arabia (21861) in 1948. Observing the trends in this region, John C. Campbell of the Council of Foreign Relations, New York, says: "To carry on in the cold war, in any event, Western Europe and the United States are indispensable to each other" but in "between Britain and the United States, a general identity of policy on defence of the region was marred by competition and rivalry in the oil industry which inevitably had some effect on intergovernmental relations." The net result of this game of jockeying out each other is that American interests today own half of the Kuwait oil, 40% of the Iran oil, and fully own Aramco and Bahrein, leaving Britain, France and all the rest to play the second fiddle. Thus, so to say, these powers chiselled their names in stone on the cliffs of the Tigris river, the bank of which is a living scroll of history.

And as in the past these people who prize and value their liberty fought the invaders of their hearth and home, i.e. from Ramees II to Napoleon and even General Allenby; so, in order to own the liquid gold, the main mineral of this region, and to industrialise the land and to enrich themselves, these people have been trying to assert themselves. These people know that the oil is fleeting and once above the earth is doomed to burn in motors and furnaces and gone when is irreplaceable within any length of time short of a geological area. Naturally, these people desire to

put a stop to this reckless plunder of the area which is depriving them of all the benefits of industrialisation through petrochemicals, i.e. polymerisation, alkylation, isomerisation, etc.

But, to the powers concerned this Arab nationalism in its present form appears to be irrational as it stands against all the unequal treaties imposed upon the region and urges upon the powers concerned not to interfere into the internal affairs of this land. John C. Campbell of the Council of Foreign Relations, New York, very aptly expresses the policy pursued by the powers concerned by saying that "by practical arrangements on such matters as oil revenues, pipelines, and economic development the United States may be able to provide moderate and pro-western leaders some ground on which to stand" because "we are defending resources especially oil, essential to the economy of western Europe. . . .

It is seen that the oil requirements of western Europe in 1956 were 3,000,000 barrels daily amounting to 20% of the total energy, and 82% of this oil came from the Middle East, and the cost per barrel amounts to 35 cents as against a selling price of over \$1.75. And it is interesting to note here that the Standard of California on an investment \$13 million had, in 1954, profits of \$117 million and for the period 1948-1954, got \$645 million in profits for its Asian holdings, and that for the same period could declare dividends to the amount of \$337 million. Similar is the position with Anglo Iranian. The Anglo Iranian recovered its initial investment of \$100 million some 25 to 30 years ago and its gross profits since then had been twenty-five times the original. Any way, to be short, the table below reveals the profits of the oil concerns



(in millian dollars)				
Company	1950	1951	1953	
1. Arabian-American—	115.0	159.9	180.0	
2. Caltex-Bahrein—	50.6	98.4	115.0	
3. Gulf (Kuwait)—	32.0	32.0	76.0	
4. Jersey-Socony—	38.6	43.0	41.0	

The fabulous profits enjoyed by the oil interests have been the subject of bitter criticism. The New Statesman and Nation, in its Feb. 26, 1955, issue said: "Europe is being bled by mercilessly high monopolistic oil prices. It is estimated that if countries other than U.S. were allowed to purchase oil at its real economic price, there would be a saving of \$100 million annually in the 'rest of the world's' dollar expenditure." Even in the U. N.'s Economic Commission for Europe Report published in 1955, the Geneva correspondant of the New York Times wrote: "the State Department complained to ECE that 'there is too much ammunition in it for people interested in finding new sticks for supposedly existing and baleful influence on the European economy in the interests of monopolies'." And, as per Chicago Daily News and Oil Forum, petroleum accounted for 1,239,000,000 of 13 billion spent for Europe economic aid by U. S. Government from April 1948 to April 1952. Hence, it is

not surprising that the oil interests contributed half the sum of 100 millions spent for the Presidential election in 1952, as reported by Frank Edwards, the former AFL radio commentator.

Thus to maintain the hold over this area the powers concerned have resorted to all sorts of intrigues and have placed this region into the orbit of cold war. Observing that the Middle East is already convulsed by national and social conflicts of its own that threaten its interests on the one hand, and, on the other, the rivalries amongst themselves, the powers concerned thought it expedient to resort to the strategem of cold war though there is no military threat. And, in this game they have roped in Pakistan too because "as an Islamic nation of 70 million souls that has preserved some part of its British heritage...it may exert a healthy influence on other Moslem nations. And, for this the U.S. A. alone spent \$2,386 million in Aid Programmes in the Middle East from 1947—1956 plus economic aid "to enable the governments to support a certain level of armed strength."

Of course, John C. Campbell says: "Continuation of cold war has its dangers... It is dangerous game, but we have to play it,..."

## GROW SOIL WHILE GROWING THE CROP

NEPAL ROY

Men of science have great reliance on spectrographic analysis. They are confident that detailed spectrum analysis always reveals every element present in the soil. They are equally confident that it is futile to expect crops to find any element, iodine for instance, in a soil that shows no trace of iodine on spectrographic analysis. Yet, strangely, crops do continue to find this element in soils where its presence seemed doubtful. Agronomists believe that plants which grow out of the earth contain some of the identical chemical elements that are shown by analysis to be an integral part of the earth. But they are not certain that even if spectrographic tests fail to show the presence of a given mineral in the soil, plants growing there will fail to procure what they need of that particular mineral. "About the accumulation of an element in the plant which was not shown to be present in the soil can be answered in the affirmative. The explanation is that a plant can absorb and accumulate elements from the soil where the concentration is so low that a test will not show them to be present." (U.S.A. Govt. Agr. Year Book—1938).

Practically all the soil tests involve only the upper few inches or feet, of a soil. It seems that to think of the zone of soil into which a plant extends its roots as the only source of that plant's total requirement of mineral supply—leaves out of consideration one of the biggest sources from which all plants draw nourishment viz., the subsoil water loaded with minerals that comes to the roots of plants from lower regions of the earth. Such regions extend many feet, often in dry seasons

hundreds of feet, below the deepest extension of the roots of trees, shrubs, grass or other plants. Without this source of nourishment, obviously, no sprig of grass could grow anywhere in the world without continuous rainfall and minerals supplied from external sources.

To think of this capillary water as not bringing plant nutrient minerals with it would be equal to assuming distilled water percolating through the earth mass without becoming saturated with those minerals. This capillary water could be used to better advantage if only we could adopt means to receive it.

From time immemorial millions of acres of land are furnishing a full quota of nourishment to crops, and are still delivering crop the yield of which we would be proud to attain. Nine-tenths of the people on the earth are unable to farm in the way the agronomists suggest. In fact most of the world's population had to get along ever since Adam's time without adding anything to their soils that was not easily available. Obviously, if such a system were not effective in growing ample food crops for untold centuries from the same acreage, the world outside U.S.A., would have been depopulated long before Columbus made his famous discovery.

If we disregard the relatively insignificant quantity of organic matter that exists only at or near the surface of the earth, the mass of this planet is composed wholly of minerals. Indeed, no water is traced below the maximum depth to which it has been able to penetrate the earth minerals—a few miles, perhaps. So all discussions about mineral shortages are in effect deliberate

unwillingness to consider the realities of the situation.

All the minerals that could be dissolved easily by water have probably been long since dissolved by it. Even the most insoluble of minerals will dissolve to some extent in water. The chemists sometimes talk about minerals being found in water in quantities too small for measurement viz., traces which can be measured only in a few ppm (parts per million, 1 lb. in 500 Tons of water). Yet a number of the needed plant nutrient minerals might well be that scant in some of our badly managed soils. Since these tests do not register the presence of all the phosphorous, potassium or other minerals that the soil contains, these minerals which are almost completely insoluble in pure water are in many cases easily dissolved by water containing a small amount of acid. When organic matter decays, it gives off carbon dioxide which in turn coming in contact with moist soil becomes carbonic acid, one of the most active acids that attacks minerals and releases plant nutrients.

It has been proved scientifically that 'soil' is the result of the interaction amongst micro-organisms,—plants and animals on one hand, and bedrock and atmospheric elements on the other. As long as there was no life on earth there were no such bodies as those called 'soils'. Hence each soil has its history: its origin and development.

If the vegetable forms are singled out from the entire gamut of the organic world, it may be said that—"as the soil supports the vegetation", and, vice versa,—as the vegetation so the soil. Thus under natural conditions, on boggy soil bog-plants grow; on podzol soil forest trees and bushes; on turfy podzol and steppe chernozomes grassy meadow and steppe vegetation. The quality of the soil determines the kinds of plants growing on it and the nature of plants determines the quality of the soil underneath. It must be understood that the species and varieties of agricultural plants

differ in their natural demands upon the soil for the soil demands of the various wild species.

Agricultural plants grow meagrely or not at all on acidic podzol soils, while wild ligneous species, e.g., the birch, pine etc.; grow abundantly on such soils.

Agricultural plants require the soil to be tilled, i.e., put into a crumbly condition, whereas wild plants, as in forests or meadows do well without tillage. Who does not know that on rocky mountains, where agricultural plants will not grow, magesic forests are not infrequent sights. In scientific agronomic circles it is held that gaseous nitrogen can be utilized only by leguminous and some other plants which fix atmospheric nitrogen through nodule bacteria. In such event where does fixed nitrogen come from, where does nitrogenous food come from the rocky mountains for tree species having no nodule bacteria? From where the huge quantity of nutrition and water come for the utilisation of Banyan and Indian-rubber trees that grow so luxuriantly on barren walls or old house-tops?

An answer to these and similar questions can be found only in the discovery of the **biological** laws of the soil nutrition of plants. Knowledge of these laws will enable us, by various agrotechnical methods, to create the conditions for the proper nutrition of agricultural plants even on soils of low fertility, thereby converting them into fields of fertile soils.

"The law of diminishing returns",—invented a long time ago, has been disproved by progressive science and advanced practice. The so-called theory of 'taking away and returning back' with its variants, was built up on the premise that plants take food from the soil by means of their roots—it was built up because of the lack of knowledge of the laws of soil development and of the laws of the root-nutrition of plants. Many agronomists cling to this theory because they are ignorant of the biological interconnections, the links in the biological

chain, the metabolic circuit on the basis of in the general biological metabolism, which chemical changes take place in the in inorganic and organic nature. It is usually soil—the transformation of substances that known that physiological, i.e., in a more plants cannot assimilate into substances general sense biological processes, always they can imbibe.

Agronomic science showed that a and physical processes. Biological processes, highly process of rotation was, is and will are inseparable from physical and chemical, be going on in nature—the conversion of processes. But it would be a mistake to compounds of the chemical elements of in- reduce biological laws to chemical or organic bodies into organic bodies, and vice versa. physical ones, or to identify it with them.

Somewhere, sometime, somehow the of biological laws. The biological laws, living being for the first time evolved out governing the procurement of nutrients by of the non-living objects and today any plants from the soil find expression in the particle of a living body may be obtained necessary interconnection between plants from the non-living nature (food) by the (or to be more exact, between their root agency of another living body. To master systems) and a definite complex of part of this natural process—is the trans- surrounding soil conditions. If the complex formation of unassimilable compounds of needed by a particular plant exists the chemical elements of the soil and air into latter normally satisfies its soil nutrition forms assimilable to plants; means to master requirements. Soil, which possesses, in regard the soil nutrition of plants. to both quality and quantity, the entire

No scientist is expected to deny that complex of conditions required by a given animals and plants have much in common plant is regarded as good and fertile soil. in their body-structures and that these Among the conditions that determine common features manifest themselves in the efficacious fertility of the soil there are their chemical and physical processes. However, conditions that make possible the vital ever, science, here the physiology of animal functions, of soil micro-organisms. Without nutrition,—does not consider the nutrition the vital functions of appropriate soil—micro- merely a chemical process although the organisms—the soil is unable to supply physiology of animals includes quite a the food the plant requires. Consequently, number of chemical processes. Moreover, in the absence of such favourable activity, no one ever entertained the thought of the soil becomes a barren substratum for giving animals only water-soluble food. the plant in question.

Herbivorous and omnivorous animals As a result of the diverse influences live on food the bulk of which is not soluble exerted by the products of the vital activity in water. But water-soluble substances are of soil micro-organisms, certain elements of required for building up water-insoluble inorganic and organic nature, which exist body-structures, of animals as well as of in a form unsuitable for plant nutrition, are plants. changed into forms suitable for plant nutrition, and vice versa.

The building up of animal and plant It is authentically established that in bodies from food takes place through a chain of physiological processes, and fallow sections, where the soil has been different food conversions, including the cultivated but not planted, the micro-conversion of water-insoluble chemical substances into water-soluble ones. Consequently, the nutrition of animal and plant organisms is a physiological process, a link quantity and quality. The complexes differ both in

More micro-organisms will be found and atmospheric nitrogen turn into forms near the living root zones than in soils that the plants can take. Transformation of inorganic to organic devoid of living roots. Moreover, a number of species of soil micro-organisms display and vice versa, can be effected only through energetic vital activity near the root zones a long chain of action of biological species but beyond the root zones these species do with one another and their mineral and not exist at all or their vital activity is environment, as well as with the dead greatly reduced. organic matter. This is the cyclic course, the exchange of substances between living and the inert world.

A specific species of nitrogen-bacteria is characteristic for each species of the leguminous family. The same phenomenon has been observed also in many species of other families of herbaceous and arboreal plants, with whose root system specific species of mycorrhizal fungi are connected. In those cases, too, the plants are fed badly and develop poorly in the absence of mycelia on their roots specific for the particular plant species in question. Such plants and the mycorrhizal fungi species for them will not develop normally without each other. Carbohydrates, including cellulose, are essential elements of life and nutriment of a number of useful soil micro-organisms,—part of the product of their vital activity is essential for feeding other micro-organisms. Therefore, when the soil contains, for instance, no carbohydrates, there will be no development of the vital activity of those useful micro-organisms which do not feed directly on cellulose and do not decompose it. Thus, if cellulose is converted into glucose by cellulose bacteria, other bacteria species (Azotobacteria) will turn atmospheric nitrogen by the use of glucose into ammonia and organic nitrogen. Consequently, if the necessary conditions are provided, one may, figuratively speaking, by the use of a complex of microflora, transform cellulose into nitrogenous food for plants.

There are also plants in regard to which neither the characteristic nodule bacteria nor the connected mycorrhizal fungi have yet been brought to light. But in the zone of their root systems soil micro-organisms specific for these plant species have been ascertained.

From the above findings we can surmise that there are natural interconnections between the root systems of all plant species and of soil micro-organism species specific for each plant species or group of related species. In "Soil and Man" (Year book of U.S.A. 1938) it is said: "some nitrogen-fixing bacteria live in symbiotic relationship with plants, collect nitrogen from the air and fix it in a form that can be used by higher plants. Non-symbiotic nitrogen-fixing bacteria fix a still larger amount of atmospheric nitrogen in the soil. Azotobacteria."

The micro-organism species which normally cannot live outside the roots specific for these micro-organisms or without the root excretions of these plants, are also interconnected with other vitally necessary environmental factors of inorganic and organic nature. The same applies of plants even with ready forms of food that course to the root system of plants. It has been ascertained. The latter process can be effected only in experiment with water-insoluble forms of plant-food already ascertained but also with a number of others not yet ascertained, through whose enzymic action unassimilable forms of substances and elements of the organic, mineral late. When the desired conditions exist

these forms of substances are converted by the micro-organisms into food that the plants can assimilate.

It is claimed that perennial grasses enrich soil with organic matter, build up its structure and thereby increase its fertility. On the other hand, annual crops destroy the structure of the soil and exhaust its supply of organic matter and thus lower its fertility. It is therefore generally advised that one should periodically stop the cultivation of annual plants and cultivate perennial leguminous and cereal mixtures instead. The agronomical explanation of this fundamental difference between annual and perennial grasses is that there is a difference in the time of dying-off and the conditions of decomposition of the organic remains of these two groups of plants. Those annual plants that die off at a time when the soil is dry—decompose in aerobic conditions and undergo a quick mineralisation; consequently there is no increase in the supply of organic matter and humus in the soil, while the perennial grasses die off at a time when the soil is moist and their remains decompose in anaerobic conditions and thus bring about an accumulation of organic matter and humus in the soil.

The question arises: What if annual plants should die off at a time when the soil is moist and the decomposition of organic remains proceeds in anaerobic conditions? Why can't they, in this case, build up the soil's structure? Given certain conditions, annual plants by their very properties can enrich the soil with organic matter and humus, and can build up the structure of the soil and, thus, increase its effective fertility.

All perennial and annual plants have one common characteristic—the ability to deposit in the soil more organic matter than is necessary to provide the plants themselves with nutritive substances. Proof of this is the formation of the soil itself. Black earth with a content of organic

matter amounting to 400 tons per acre was formed from marl (which contains no organic matter) by the vital activity of plants and micro-organisms.

Plants distribute their roots in various layers, in the surface soil as well as in the subsoil, sometimes to a depth of more than a metre. Such distribution of the roots in various layers of the soil is not accidental and the behaviour depends on the kind of food the plants needs. Different roots lying at varying depths absorb different kinds of food. Micro-organisms in soil are also likewise found in various layers: aerobic micro-organisms are predominant in the upper layers,—anaerobic micro-organisms in the lower strata.

Limited access of air to unploughed soil creates conditions for an anaerobic decomposition of the organic matter and the formation of active humus, which builds up a crumbled soil structure.

Inasmuch as annual ploughing with inversion of the furrow slice brings about a sharp change in the conditions of the life of micro-organisms through intensification of the aerobic processes that destroy the structure of the soil and decrease its fertility, so it (annual ploughing) can be called an attempt on our part to change or abolish the law of nature. The soil's fertility is reduced and its structure is destroyed not by annual plants but by annual ploughing with inversion of the topsoil.

Two simultaneous mutually counteracting processes take place in the soil during the life of annual and perennial plants: destruction on one hand and formation of organic matter and soil structure on the other. The predominance of any of these two processes depends on what conditions are created by agro-technical measures to influence the soil.

When perennial grasses grow under natural conditions, they produce great amounts of organic matter in the form of root and stubble-remains and improve the

structure of the soil. But when we cultivate annual plants we plough the soil deeply, throwing the upper layers under and bringing the lower layers to the surface. The result is that annual plants, growing every year in a deeply loosened soil, are unable to form the soil particles into various sizes with their roots and create a structure similar to the one formed by the root system of perennial grasses. Structural particles form only in compact soil; they acquire their solidity through the decomposition of roots in anaerobic conditions; the best conditions being created in compact soil. Therefore, in order to have root-remains of annual plants decomposed in anaerobic conditions, it is essential to see that they exist in compact soil. The obvious conclusion is that the soil must not be ploughed deeply every year for each crop, but that it should be cultivated on the surface with disc-harrows.

Soil cultivated with disc-harrows easily absorbs rain water and effectively prevents it from evaporating uselessly. Furthermore, an aerobic decomposition of organic matter (preparation of mineral food) takes place in the layer thus loosened.

In fields growing annual field crops, the process of structure-building continues to prevail over that of structure-destruction until the moment when these crops begin to die-off. The bulk of the vital roots, distributed in the upper stratum of the soil, apparently brings about such an intensive development of the root microflora that the oxygen coming from the air is completely absorbed and a peculiar screen is created which does not let the oxygen pass into the bottom layers of the soil.

When the vital activity of the roots weakens and finally ceases, the action of the screen is likewise discontinued, and condition becomes favourable for the penetration of oxygen into the deep-lying strata of the soil. An aerobic process commences and proceeds at the same time and the structural particles are destroyed.

Taking this into account, the stubble

must be harrowed immediately after the crop is harvested in order to prevent oxygen from penetrating into the lower strata of the surface soil and create conditions for the anaerobic process by intensifying the aerobic process in the upper stratum of the soil. The process of structure building can be aerobic process in the upper stratum of the soil and changing the water, air and temperature regimen, thereby creating conditions for a progressive rise of the soil fertility and the crop yield.

Plants get the most favourable food regimen when they are sown on soil tilled with disc-harrows. Even when there is little rain-fall, the water in the soil dissolves nutritive substances as it encounters them on its way and brings them to the roots in the shape of ready-to-be-consumed food that had been formed during the aerobic decomposition of organic matter in the surface soil. Furthermore, capillary water is evidently richer in dissolved nutritive substances, for, as it rises to the surface it passes through layers with increasing quantities of dissolved nutritive substances.

Quantity of nitrates formed under crops sown in harrowed (disc) stubble was found to be much higher than that in those sown on ploughed soil.

Simultaneously with the process of transforming un-assimilable nitrogen into an assimilable form a fermentative process (enzymic action) converting un-assimilable forms of phosphorous, potassium and other elements into assimilable compounds go on in the soil. Now-a-days a whole series of other bacterial fertilisers (besides the nitro-bactors of the legumes) is known, e.g. azotobactrine, phosphorobactrine, silicobactrine and a complex bacterial fertilizer (AMB.). Biochemical activity of numerous interconnected species of micro-organisms (bacteria, fungi, actinomyces etc.) is due to the ferments they elaborate (enzymes etc.).

If immediately before the sowing, organic

matter rich in cellulose (peat, straw, or strawy manure etc.) is introduced by itself without phosphorous or lime, the crop will experience a shortage of nitrogen. It is well-known what it means to plough a lot of straw not too deep into the soil just before the sowing. This will not yield a normal crop,—as so-called de-nitrification will take place. In decomposing the straw the cellulose-bacteria eat up the nitrogen nutrient. It is this that constitutes the process of depleting the soil of the nitrogenous food to be assimilated by the crop. If on the other hand, lime and phosphorous are applied together with these very organic substances (cellulose), the cellulose-bacteria will attack the cellulose and take up the nitrogen of the soil. The cellulose is assimilated, the enzymes convert the cellulose into sugar and sugar appears in the soil. So the soil now has phosphorous, which was introduced, has lime, and has sugar. And once the soil contains phosphorous, lime, sugar and air,—energetic vital activity will develop on the part of the bacteria of other species which fix nitrogen from the air—the azotobacteria. With the aid of glucose, phosphorous, and lime these bacteria change the nitrogen of the air into ammonia and its salts.

So it is very important to fertilize the newly opened or very strawy land with a mixture of phosphorous, lime and humus.

The following fertilizer dosages per hectare may serve as a model, their choice depending on the specific conditions and possibilities of the farm: 1.5 to 3 tonnes of organic manure, 100 to 150 kg. of super-phosphate or ground phosphorite; 150 to 200 kg. of limestone or gypsum. The mixture will have to be applied just before sowing, say, 1 to 5 days before the pre-sowing cultivation and must not be introduced into the soil below the depth of the seeds. Application of this fertilizer mixture may be discontinued after 2 or 3 years as the fertility of the soil grows.

If the land has been used for garden for

a long time, the chances are that we will not have to go through the trashy surface stage that is so difficult to cultivate in the beginning. Mixing in the stubbles will be a comparatively easy process.

But if we have a badly packed soil, specially if it has never been used as a garden—we may have to work carefully with spade or spading fork to avoid leaving most of the stuff (debris) on the surface or only half-buried—which is worse.

We should not make compost separately and then distribute on the land. Because the same decomposition process occurs when trash is mixed into the surface soil of the land and those gaseous losses that seem inevitable in the compost heap will thus be avoided. Moreover, cellulose which is so necessary for the growth of the various micro-organisms will be provided if the debris is mixed with the soil.

If the land is now growing sod, it should be worked without ploughing,—except as a last resort. Deep sods are ploughed without harm provided the ploughing is shallow enough to avoid disturbing the subsoil, which is notably lighter in colour than the root-filled dunes above. If this land is kept as a garden, the land need never again be ploughed. The garden may be prepared without harm by any disc or cultivator type tool.

The recognition of the validity of abundance of organic matter mixed right into the soil surface instead of leaving it sandwiched between the inner subsoil and the equally inert top-layer of soil—may lead to a new chapter in soil and crop relations.

Moulboard ploughing with the inversion of the soil is the shortest way to produce poverty of soil. It wastes in leaching from the plough-sole more plant nutrients than the owner of the soil can buy in fertilizers—except when he is helped along by price supports for his crops or by other dodges.

When farmers bury at the plough-sole the sods, straws and stalks or whatever



trash there is on the ground, they create a perfect condition for the soluble stuff from that trash to be leached out. What is necessary in good farming is some way to catch those leachings and save them for use in growing the next crop. They contain not only the nitrogen, phosphorous and potassium but every other element that was used as food material by the plants that were ploughed in. By Lysimeter tests it has been found that more plant food minerals are lost by leaching than are harvested in crops or grazed off by animals, i.e., farmers lose more minerals by leaching than they use.

There is five times as much soil lying above a 10" ploughsole as above a point only 2" below the surface. This means about five times as much pressure constantly weighing down on whatever has been ploughed in. Gradually this pressure flattens stems, leaves, straws etc., thus decreasing their volume so that they cannot hold as much water. This flattening effect is far less in the upper layers, so that each bit of stalk, straw, weed-stem, leaf or other debris that are not compressed can hold just that much water.

The catching and holding water is one way of preventing the loss of dissolved minerals. This water must also be held within the root zones of the soil if the roots of crops are to benefit from these dissolved minerals—thus building up year by year greater mineral stores within the soil.

Just the opposite happens when soil has been ploughed with a mouldboard plough. There, practically every vestige of organic matter lies at the depth of the ploughsole. This depth is much too far for the first roots of most farm crops to reach. During the period before crop roots can reach the ploughsole layer, water from rains or irrigation may course down through the soil and carry away these minerals as leachings,

—they are lost so far as helping the crops is concerned.

To have the advantage of having all decay-products released right where crop roots will be searching for them, is to release them in the upper few inches of the soil instead of 8 or 10" inches below the surface. The corrosive effect of the organic acids released by the decay will etch away additional plant nutrient minerals from the rock dust of which the soil is made up. These, too, will be right where they are being sought,—not several inches too deep to be recovered before being washed out by water tickling down through the soil.

Since in unploughed land there is no organic layer several inches deep in the soil to stop the rise of water to the root zones, all water rising by capillary will continue until it is absorbed by organic fragments in or near the soil surface. Minerals carried by this water will also be available to crop roots.

If a farmer regularly ploughed in the straws or others organic debris he would soon learn that a complete layer of organic matter would be between the subsoil and the top-soil. This would be a perfect barrier to prevent deep water from rising above that organic layer. In accordance with physical laws, the organic matter would steal water from the overlying mass of mineral matter and the mineral matter could never reverse that process. If the soil above the organic matter were wet, the organic layer would soon absorb most of the water and in this process it would be helped by gravity. If, on the other hand, the subsoil, below the organic layer were wet, the organic layer would (unless already saturated with water) absorb water from below until it became saturated. The result of these processes would be to keep the organic layer always at or near the saturation point, and any excess water would always be found just below the organic layer in the mineral soil. Absolutely none could be carried upward from the organic

layer. All water movement above that organic layer would have to be toward it,—because organic matter has more affinity for water than a mineral mass has. This inability of water to move upward from an organic layer explain why ploughing in of great quantities of organic matter is necessarily almost a complete waste of its substance.

The mixing in of similar quantities of organic matter by discing or other methods leaves no separating layer between top-soil and sub-soil. And, since there is no interfering layer to prevent upward movement of water by capillarity, the upper inches of a soil into which great quantities of organic matter have been mixed will be well supplied with moisture for a maximum period of time between rains. This water will be loaded with the decay products of the organic matter mixed in and will therefore, produce healthy growth in the plants by which it is absorbed.

Conditions favouring decay are practically perfect beneath the surface of the soil, so that decomposition must be occurring continuously when temperature and moisture are within suitable limits.

One can irrigate of course, for proper moisture, but there are some important objections to irrigation aside from the obvious fact that rainfall is abundant in many parts of our country if the soil can absorb most of the rains. It will be found after a few years of organic gardening that no extra water besides the rains would be necessary.

If the land is handled properly, it will soon become the playground of bumblebees and many other kinds of living things that were not there before. The total weight of the microscopic organisms may be measured in tons,—incredible though that may seem.

The important point is that, the more of such life there is in the soil, the richer that soil is. The one thing a farmer can do to make life easier for soil organisms is to supply them with food every time he has the opportunity, their choice of food is simply anything that will decay. Decay is nothing more than the—"feasting of bacteria and other soil organisms upon organic matter". The liveliness of the soil can be brought about again by the simple process of putting into the soil the food,—organic matter of any kind—essential to large populations of all manner of soil inhabitants. Properly fed, these repatriated organisms will correct adverse soil conditions, thus making normal crops possible again.

Most diseases do seem to disappear completely as the soil improves. But the insects are not so easily disposed of;—though they too become more and more ineffective to the healthy plants. The explanation seems to lie in the complex of growing conditions, including—in addition to soil conditions, the influence of too much or too little heat, light, moisture and wind. Soil conditions can be made as wholesome as possible, leaving to Nature the problems of light, heat, moisture etc.

## **NATIONALIZATION OF EDUCATION IN INDIA**

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Nationalisation or complete control of Education by the State is a topic much talked about these days in India, and for a variety of reasons.

In January 1966, the former Attorney-General of India, Shri M. C. Setalvad, talking on Secularism in his Sardar Patel Memorial lectures, called for large State-control of primary and secondary education because, according to him, many of the religious agencies concerned with education were directing their own set of values towards narrow and communalist views.

In the previous year, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Shri P. C. Sen, had hinted at the possibility of a gradual nationalisation of schools in the State. About the same time the Headmasters of secondary schools in West Bengal held lively but not very conclusive discussions on the nationalisation of secondary schools, their main concern being financial difficulties and also mismanagement prevailing in many secondary schools.

### **State Control of Education**

Everyone in his right senses would readily agree that State Control of education is essential, indeed absolutely necessary, in the context of our present civilisation. The tasks of education have become too complex to be left to the initiative of private individuals or organisations. Without strict control and a minimum of uniformity, the general standards of education demanded by present-day civilisation cannot be maintained and improved.

The tasks of education in the present way of life are many and very exacting. There is first and foremost the need of providing opportunities for all, to provide educational facilities for everyone at the primary and secondary stage, and at the higher level for everyone who is fit for it. Not only this, but the best possible type of education should be made available, and the one most suited to the particular aptitudes of each of the different types of individuals.

However, not only the interests of the individual are to be considered here. The interests of the community, of the whole nation, are equally affected by the system of education prevailing in the country.

Those in charge of planning in India, have realized that education is a most important factor in achieving rapid economic development and technological progress, as also in bringing about a social order based on the values of freedom, social justice and equal opportunity for all. Just as Planning is to be on a national scale and requires essentially to be controlled by the State, so also Education, in view of its direct and intimate relation to economic development and planning, must necessarily be subject to State control.

In India we are witnessing not only a population explosion, but also an education explosion. Since Independence the number of students at the various levels has increased in proportions much larger than those of the population as a whole; and so have the numbers of teachers, schools, colleges and universities. Quantitatively

education has expanded enormously, not so its quality. So much so that the members of the Planning Commission find that the country's educational system has been a very poor investment, when considered in economic terms. This, again, clearly indicates the need for a large degree of control over education by the State, to enable it to take measures to bring about qualitative improvements in proportion with the very real quantitative expansion that is taking place.

Given the vast dimensions of the educational set-up of the country, it is only the State which can provide the finances needed not only to maintain the existing system, but also to expand it further, and, more especially, to improve it and make more effective its vital role in the economic development of the country.

We should also mention the all-important role of the State with regard to the supervision and coordination of the various existing educational services.

All this proves beyond doubt that the State has a great, a preponderant, and ever expanding role to play in the improvement of education in the country.

We are all aware of the conditions of our present civilisation, its complexities, the interrelation of all the various aspects of life, both individual and social. We therefore readily agree that there is need for State control of Education, if it is to achieve its aims regarding the needs of the individual and of society alike.

Having realized this, every sincere and loyal citizen should be willing and anxious to cooperate with the State in helping to provide an educational system which will forcefully lead it on the path of rapid development and progress in all the various spheres of life, both material and spiritual.

### **State Control, not State Monopoly.**

State control, even strict State control of education is essential in particular in a

developing country like India. The vital question is how far should this control extend?

Does it mean such a strict and overall control that it eliminates and excludes all types of private agencies in the field of Education? In other words, does State Control as envisaged and accepted by us, imply totalitarian control, State monopoly of education as it is found in Communist countries, and also in some of the neighbouring countries, such as Burma and Ceylon?

The aim of education is to help each individual person realize his potentialities in and through active membership of society. Man, being a social being, must live and work in society, the city and the nation, but what comes first are the individuals, and not the city or the nation.

Planned education, which is essential in our modern setup, necessarily implies a certain coercion of the individual and the family. But the freedom and other fundamental rights of the individual and of the family must always be safeguarded.

Here now arises the all important question: in the case of totalitarian control, or State monopoly of education, what becomes of the personality of the children, of the family, of the social and religious groups? Is it possible in the case of Totalitarian State control of Education to safeguard the very basic aspects of a genuine and complete education? In particular how are the personality of the individual and his fundamental rights respected and safeguarded under such a regime?

Under totalitarian rule the individual is readily sacrificed for the good, the glory, of the group, of the community.

It is one of the fundamental rights of men, solemnly declared as such by the United Nations Assembly, that the parents have the prior right to choose the education they desire for their children. To enable people to exercise that right, there must

be a possibility of choice. This becomes impossible with State monopoly of education. It would be all the more so in India, where by virtue of the Constitution, the Government is committed to a policy of strict neutrality in all that concerns religion. With State monopoly it would be impossible to have schools inspired and guided by definite religious principles and convictions. How then could the freedom of the individual and of the parents be effectually exercised under such conditions?

It would likewise go against the rights of minority groups, whether religious or linguistic, which are guaranteed by the Constitution. These minorities have the right to run educational institutions in accordance with their own needs and principles, and the State cannot discriminate against them, even in the matter of financial assistance.

#### **State Monopoly kills Private Initiative and Emulation**

Let us now consider the question from another important angle. Education must produce diversity, for nothing is more diverse than human nature. Education is essentially dynamic. Progressive change, variety, experimentation are the constituents of education's life-blood.

New methods and concepts must necessarily be experimented with at first, on a small scale as a sort of pilot-project. Experimentation with new methods requires flexibility, constant adjustment and at times through reorientation, even at short notice. All this can only be done on a restricted scale and in a well organised institution, with a capable and enthusiastic head and staff, not hamstrung by too much control and restrictions from higher authorities.

On the other hand, government, because it depends on the electorate is reluctant to take risks and spend tax money on trying out new significant ideas which may or may not succeed in practice.

Private organisations should, therefore, be encouraged to contribute their share to the progress and development of education. With of course the required degree of control, supervision and co-ordination by the State. Then there would spring into existence different types of education, based on various concepts, principles and ideals. The various systems could learn from each other's experience and benefit by mutual help.

When the Chief Minister of W. Bengal was asked for a message by the Headmasters who met to discuss the question of nationalisation of schools, Shri P. C. Sen seems to have had second thoughts about the statement he had made sometime earlier when advocating the gradual nationalisation of schools. This time to the Headmasters in session discussing this point, he put the query "had there been complete domination of education by Government, could India have got Gandhi's experimentation with education at Wardha, Rabindranath's at Visva-Bharati and Sri Ramakrishna Mission's services in this field? To this it is only just and fair to add all that India owes in the sphere of education to the tireless efforts of various missionary societies, a thing which receives ungrudging acknowledgement from all enlightened Indians to-day. Would it be wise to kill all this private initiative? Would this not result in a deplorable loss to educational improvement and progress in the country?

Incidentally, regarding Gandhi's experimentation with Basic education at Wardha, it should be noted that it did indeed flourish and show its worth during the ten years or so when it was conducted by a private body, the Hindusthani Talimi Sangha. It is only when, after Independence, the system was taken over and so to speak driven by the Central and State Governments that it gradually deteriorated, and it was reluctantly admitted by even its most ardent supporters that it did not work,

the original idea of the Wardha venture having been badly misinterpreted.

Clear and objective thinking has been displayed by the Mudaliar Commission (1953) on this point. In certain States representations were made to the Commission by teachers of privately managed institutions requesting that all schools be taken over by Government. The Commission however declared "We are not ourselves in agreement with this view and cannot, therefore, recommend such a course of action. On the other hand, we feel that private managements have got an important part to play in the scheme of education and that if a number of managements conduct schools in a spirit of emulation calculated to secure greater efficiency and co-ordination, they will be better served. If such schools are run side by side with State schools, in an atmosphere of healthy competition, improvements in teaching and other aspects will be fostered."

#### **State Monopoly Endangers the Moral Training of Pupils**

We have agreed that education is meant to help the individual to realize the full powers of his personality, which will enable him to make his most effective contribution to the social, cultural and economic development of the country. The human person embodying many potentialities, the task of education is to develop those which are worthy and good and to restrain those which are base.

The hardest and highest achievement in education is to guide youngsters to the acceptance of ultimate values and standards, and to inspire in them the will, the courage and self-discipline to adhere to them.

When speaking about the necessity of State control of education, we have stressed the fact that educational planning is a vital part of the overall process of planning

for national development. However, while it is true that the methods of educational planning are to be inspired by those of economic planning, educational policy cannot be limited by the economic approach. Education is so highly important, because it serves a variety of purposes. It is both a means and an end. It serves both material and non-material values. The planning of education becomes a particularly delicate and complex activity when we consider that it affects the very tissue of the life of the individual.

It was rather refreshing to hear quite recently (February 1966) a member of the Planning Commission, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, reminding his audience that it would be wrong to assess the whole value of education in economic terms only. He rightly insisted that education has an important role to play in the economic development of the country. Yet, he added, education is also meant to contribute substantially to the cultural and spiritual progress and development of the people of the country.

This point needs stressing in our present civilisation. People today are so overawed by the phenomenal progress of science and technology, that they are quite ready to apply the same scientific methods of reasoning to every aspect of life. Such methods, with no provision for anything spiritual, readily develop a mentality which is exclusively directed towards procuring the means of living without any reference to the meaning of life itself. This results in the debasing of the very essence of life on the personal, family and social levels.

Education has a unique role to play in the ethical and spiritual training of the child, both as an individual and as a member of society.

Totalitarian governments are only too well aware that education is one of the most effective means to indoctrinate the youth of the country.

One might say that this does not apply

to India, because it is not guided by a totalitarian ideology, and also because by virtue of its Constitution, the State must be strictly secular, i.e. religiously neutral in all its activities.

The very fact that India is a secular State makes one wonder what would become of the youth of India if education were completely monopolised by the State. It would mean that all religious and genuine moral training would have to be totally banned from education at all its stages in India.

The fate of the Sri Prakash Report on Moral Education is quite telling on this point. Even several years after its publication nothing practical has resulted from it, and at the official level it seems as if it were impossible that anything practical will ever emerge from it. There appears to be no possibility of agreement on the very fundamental principles forming the basis of morality, unless these are watered down to such an extent that it becomes a parody and a mere play of empty phrases.

In October 1965, at the instance of the Educational Commission, a Seminar was held on Religious and Moral Education, at which representatives of various religious groups and other experts were asked to advise the Educational Commission on this thorny subject. Every one at the Seminar agreed that children should be taught moral and spiritual values not only at home but also at school and college. Yet when it came to suggesting practical ways of carrying it out, then endless problems and difficulties arose. It is significant that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Shri Gajendragadkar, who inaugurated the Seminar, showed himself very sceptical about everything, especially religious education, quoting the Constitution to his purpose. Most of the participants, at a loss to make concrete practical proposals, suggested that instruction in moral and spiritual values be imparted outside the

school, or at least that it be taught not as a separate subject, but rather diffused over the whole curriculum. This again shows that for the training in moral and religious values the initiative has definitely to come from private agencies.

In the Report on University Education (1948-49) better known as the Radhakrishnan Report, we read: "Many of the institutions run by Christian missions have had a distinguished record of service and India recognises with gratitude the pioneer work done by them from the days of Carey and Duff. Even in the new conditions they will be encouraged to go on with their valuable work and teach the Christian religion to those who desire to learn it. After all, as Dr. Miller said years ago, there is no such thing as a purely secular education."

The Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education (1944) on Post-War Educational Development, better known as the Sargent Report, when considering the question of religious education, states: "The importance which the Board attaches at all stages of education to the training of character has already been stressed. There will probably be general agreement that religion in the widest sense should inspire all education and that a curriculum devoid of an ethical basis will prove barren in the end. The Board certainly envisages that private schools conducted by denominational and other bodies will have their appropriate place in the national system, provided that so far as secular instruction is concerned, they comply with the conditions and reach the standards prescribed in the State schools."

While admitting all this, some people may still feel that in their schools religious agencies are directing their set of values towards narrow and communalist views. Is this not an undue and unfair generalisation? Granted that there may have been, and perhaps still are, some particular cases

where sectarian views are in evidence, is this sufficient to condemn the whole system? Would it not be wiser, and more useful, to urge that the defects and unhealthy practices in the institutions concerned be effectively remedied within a fixed period?

It should be noted that in this matter a much more liberal view now prevails among the Christian churches. A striking illustration of it may be found in the Declaration on Religious Freedom solemnly proclaimed by the Second Vatican Council on the day of its concluding session, 7 December 1965. The very opening lines of this declaration states that "A sense of the dignity of the human person has been impressing itself more and more deeply on the consciousness of contemporary man, and the demand is increasingly made that men should act on their own judgment, enjoying and making use of a responsible freedom, not driven by coercion but motivated by a service of duty." The following passage of the Declaration refers directly to the problem we are concerned with: "The rights of parents are violated, if their children are forced to attend lessons or instructions which are not in agreement with their religious beliefs, or if a single system of education, from which all religious formation is excluded, is imposed upon all." Finally "this Vatican Council urges every one, especially those charged with the education of others, to do their utmost to form men who, on the one hand, will respect the moral order and be obedient to lawful authority, and on the other hand, will be lovers of true freedom—men, in other words, who will come to decisions on their own judgment and in the light of truth, govern their activities with a sense of responsibility, and strive after what is true and right, willing to join with others in co-operative effort."

Such clear and specific directions from the supreme authority of the Catholic

Church regarding the task of education should set at rest all apprehensions and should scotch once and for all that still quite commonly held opinion that church schools are essentially narrow minded and bigoted, and that their main purpose is to be instruments of propaganda. These very wise directions of the Vatican Council regarding religious freedom in matters of education, might with profit be studied and put into practice by other religious organisations running educational institutions in this country.

There is no denying the fact that abuses and even a great deal of mismanagement are prevalent even to-day in a number of privately managed schools. But who would dare to contend that everything is perfect and faultless with the State's educational organisation?

It is to remedy the defects and abuses which vitiate the smooth and efficient working of many educational institutions, that we have advocated a rather strict control of education by the State.

Defects and abuses will always be found in every human institution, but it is a counsel of despair to advocate the abolition of a system, because of the abuses found therein.

Nationalisation of schools, at first sight, appears an easy and satisfactory solution of all the evils that plague educational development and progress in this country.

Those who favour such a course, indeed despair of man's initiative, of his idealism, of his determination to do things well and effectively.

They want to use force and compulsion in place of persuasion, conviction and appeal to higher motives.

They prefer automatism to free and spontaneous activity.

Our aim in education should be to enlist the vitality of many-sided private initiative in conjunction with the guiding spirit of a responsible public authority.



# Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

## *Privilege And Responsibility*

Various people have analysed in various ways the causes of the recent violence in West Bengal over the Government's food policy and the Government have appointed a Commission of Inquiry with what may only be described as a sweeping but wholly non-descript terms of reference to probe into the matter. No one, so far, appears, however, to have looked into the obvious. It should not take a great deal of imagination or even call for any very deep probe into the facts surrounding the incidences under discussion to visualize that the whole thing must have stemmed, fundamentally, from the evils that inevitably flow from and, at the same time, surround an authoritarian system of Government. Various people would, I fear, try to jump down my throat for having dared to describe the present system of government in India, whether at the Centre or in the States as *authoritarian*. They will tell me that India is the biggest parliamentary democracy in the world with the widest basis of popular franchise that any democracy could hope for; that the Government is thus democratically chosen by the people by a free and untrammelled exercise of their universal franchise; that the Government, whether at the federated Centre or at the constituent States level, is responsible to and removable by Parliament and/or the Legislative Assembly, as the case may. How should I dare, in such circumstances, to castigate the Government as being really *authoritarian* in character?

When the Indian Constitution was being forged at the Constituent Assembly (which, by the way, was wholly an ad hoc body based upon a ten-year old Central legislature composed of partly elected representatives on an extremely limited franchise and partly of nominated personages), great trepidation was felt by many

among the more thinking sections of the community both within the Constituent Assembly and outside—it was also rumoured at the time although it has never been possible to obtain official confirmation of the fact, that the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad himself was in the van of these doubters—as regards the wisdom of introducing universal adult franchise at so early a stage in Indian's experiments with parliamentary democracy. Deliberate exercise of the right of franchise requires the possession of certain virtues, such as a minimum level of education and the habit of free decisions etc., without which such wide-flung franchise as was being sought to be incorporated in the Constitution might prove to be a dangerous instrument in the hands of a politically powerful and organised group to maintain itself in power in perpetuity in the future. Ours is a traditional society to which the implications of a modern parliamentary democracy remain, to this day, even after three general elections, largely meaningless and involved. The Congress, as the only really well organized political group in the country, inevitably inherited the reins of office from the former British rulers at the juncture of transference, of power; and the introduction of universal adult franchise with the promulgation of the Constitution has enabled it to come back to Parliament and to the States' Legislative Assemblies in overwhelming majorities so far at every general election. It is this brute and overwhelming majority of the ruling party at the seats of power that has made the Government complacent, arrogant, and, generally; totally impervious to the needs and distresses of the people. In fact it would be wholly true to say that with its stranglehold over the powers of Government during the last 19 years, the Congress party, even at its basic organizational levels at the primary village units, would appear to have lost all touch with the people from

whom, though, it derives all its powers of ruling the destiny of the country.

This arrogance and loss of touch has been demonstrated again and again throughout these last nineteen years in all the major decisions of the Government. Planning, for instance, is an outstanding case in point illustrating this indisputable fact. The Planning Commission, as has often been remarked, both within the country and abroad has grown to be a *super-cabinet* of the Government of India which wields almost unlimited power and is really responsible to none, certainly not directly to Parliament as it should have been. The Planning Commission, on the other hand, is not one of those special bodies or offices beyond the control of Parliament, provided for in the Constitution; like the office of the Auditor & Comptroller General for instance, or that of the Chief Justice of India; it is a creation by a mere resolution, of the Government of India. It has been planning India's economic development and industrial regeneration: for self-sufficiency in agricultural production, especially food grains production; etc.; ever since its inception. It is committed to plan for India's economic growth along lines of socialistic development which will have for one of its objectives the elimination of economic disparities in the community and prevention of increased concentration of economic power within certain limited areas of the national society. The country has been passing through the painful process of planning for the last sixteen years now and, except to the favoured community of beneficiaries of planning, the people in general have only had the pleasure of being its victims. Incomes, in real terms, have not increased despite claimed increases in the gross national product for very nearly 78 per cent of the population and in conformity with the enormous rise in the price level of all consumer goods, especially those in the essential consumables' sector, like food grains, sugar, cloth etc.

The ruling party has been mainly depending upon large lump sum donations from trade and industry to see it through each general election and neither trade nor industry has ever been known in this country (or, for that matter, anywhere in the world) to give anything away without definite expectation of adequate compensation in lieu of its gifts. This has been

deriving from the scarcity that has been prevailing in certain essential consumer commodities which are easily sensitive to speculative pressures and, over the years, the area of this pressure has been widening to include increasing items of consumer goods in essential demand. That is how food grains have come to be in scarce market supplies and to create the condition of acute distress through which the country has been passing over the last three years and which has been materially aggravated by decisions taken and implemented by certain State Governments. Physically, as we have often before demonstrated in these columns, there can be no shortage of food grains in the country. In 1950-51, according to the final and firm estimates of the Planning Commission, the total food cereals production in the country aggregated only 56 million tonnes; in 1955-56 it had increased to 80 million tonnes. Since 1955-56, however, despite increased allocations in Plan outlays in both the Second and the Third Plans, food grains production remained static at around 80 million tonnes a year with a sudden increase in 1964-65 to the all-time high of 88 million tonnes. During the last and the current agricultural seasons, however, production shortfalls have been pretty severe on account of an unprecedented and continuing drought in many parts of the country, especially in areas which are normally known to be surplus agricultural areas. But even so, the peoples' distress, which has been assuming increasingly acute proportions over the last three years, affecting even that rudimentary living level to which they have been normally accustomed, found no more than that measure of response from members of the Government or the ruling party in general than the enunciation of rules and procedures,—ostensibly directed to relieve this distress, but really adding increasingly to its burdens,—which have been a veritable imposition upon them from above.

It was in this atmosphere of the general imperviousness of the ruling coterie to the trials and distress of the people that the Opposition party leaders came to them with messages of hope for future relief if they would join the latter in their protest demonstrations. One cannot believe, in the absence of definite evidence to the contrary, that these Opposition leaders had deliberately set themselves to let

loose a situation of utter lawlessness, arson and vandalism and there is every reason to suppose that they simply had not the organizational strength and the force of personality to handle the demonstrations they had organized so as to keep within well-defined limits of legitimacy; there is also reason to suspect that one of the contributory causes to the violence that erupted eventually was the unimaginative dealings of local administrative authorities. However that may be, these incidents were themselves evidence of the indisputable fact that the Government, formally and democratically elected on the basis of universal adult franchise thought it may be, has absolutely no point of contact with the mind and habits of the people. Those who run the Government are apparently only concerned with the privilege of power and have not been very conscious—at least there has hardly been any evidence of it—of the basic responsibilities and obligations that the privilege of office and power impose upon them. The inevitable result has been that the people have lost all confidence in those who should have been, in more normal circumstances, instruments of comfort and succour to them and who have, therefore, been running to whosoever would hold out hopes of a better deal than they have been accorded so far.

A significant but indisputable fact, now admitted on all hands: that has been emerging in the process is that the majority among the demonstrators who are alleged to have been involved in acts of lawlessness, violence and hooliganism, have mostly been young teen-agers. This is something which should ordinarily have administered a rude and jarring shock to those complacent beings who hold the reins of political and economic power in their hands but who, unfortunately, do not appear to have been at all unduly concerned in the matter. There is nothing unusual or extraordinary in the fact that the young should be more excitable and impatient and, hence, more susceptible to the blandishments of undesirable elements than people of a more mature age. It cannot, however, be regarded as equally natural that the young should indulge in deliberately anti-social activities of the nature with which we have become familiar. And, yet; the fact seems to be indisputable that they have been doing so off and on during the last many

years on occasions of innumerable public demonstrations. The question that it should be so would seem to require the deepest consideration.

There can hardly be any doubt that all this has been stemming from the deep frustrations that the young have been suffering from during all the years since Independence. Before independence our leaders have been used to holding out the assurance that once India became independent of her foreign political subjection, things would immediately improve; opportunities for wider educational coverage, more adequate and suitable employment etc. would be opened up; poverty and deprivation would be eliminated and, generally, hopes for a more fulfilling future would be generated. During the last nineteen years nothing has been achieved in these directions; people are being fed on a constant stream of false hopes while they are being called upon to sacrifice a great deal of what rudimentary amenities of living to which they have been accustomed. The people were quite ready to put up the sacrifice called for and wait for better times to gradually unfold in the future. The manner in which measures for the improvement in the social and economic standards of the people have and are being implemented would appear now to have receded beyond the reach of the next one generation or two. In the meanwhile things have been deteriorating so fast that life has now become completely insupportable. On the other side of the shield, however, there is that fascinating and glamorous picture of the ruling coterie and their friends wallowing in all the luxuries of modern living; of a class of the *nouveau riche*; of a new community of political and industrial bosses enjoying the favours and patronage of the ruling power; of a far wider disparity of incomes and wealth than has ever before been prevalent in the country. The majority of the people and their children have not been and, from current trends, never can hope to be beneficiaries of the so-called progress and advancement sought to be achieved for the national economy. They have virtually been reduced to the status of a community without any future and a terribly burdensome present. It is an elementary lesson of history that men without hope,—especially the young without any future to look forward to,—inevit-

ably comprise the most destructive elements in society.

Our present rulers often talk about sharing the misfortunes of the underprivileged in their so-called bid to build a *socialistic* society. The only practical demonstration they have given of this so-called desire to share the misfortunes of the underprivileged has been by rationing food grains in the areas where rationing has been promulgated; the rulers and the ruled both get identical quantities of cereals which, in the aggregate, yield only about 1000 calories in food values against the 2,800/3,300 calories they need. But the privileged classes to which the rulers belong have command over subsidiary items of diet which fills in the deficiency but to which the underprivileged comprising by far the more overwhelming proportions of the national population have no access. In all other spheres of living instead of any endeavour to sharing, there are distinct signs of the growth of what may only be described as a new *ruling class* in the society. The Constitution of India enjoins that all citizens must have equal opportunities of education, employment etc. But we find two or three different kinds of schools and other educational institutions growing up side by side; there are those specialised kindergarten and similar other highly expensive institutions for the children of the more privileged; side by side there are the wholly inadequate and almost rudimentary free primary schools which can offer coverage to only a very small percentage of the children of the less privileged. Even large public sector industrial townships subsidize (obviously at least partly at public expense) two or three types of more expensive varieties of educational institutions for the benefit of the children of the more privileged, while schooling facilities for the children of the less fortunate, even those hardly worthwhile and rudimentary free primary schools, are invariably and perpetually far short of the minimum requirement. Instances covering other departments of life's activities could be cited almost *ad nauseum* to demonstrate that while the present ruling authorities are ready to do the utmost for the more privileged (including their own people of course) they are almost callously indifferent to the deprivations and frustrations of the less fortunate. In short, they are ready, to the utmost they can, to exploit the privileges

of office for their own and their friends' benefit, but they are not even remotely prepared to shoulder the responsibilities and the obligations in respect of the large majority of the country's population which office imposes upon them.

The question may very well be asked that since ours is a parliamentary democracy, the ruling coterie would, eventually, have to answer to the people. Unfortunately, ours is a parliamentary democracy only in form; for all practical purposes we have been living under a wholly authoritarian *regime* which exploits the forms and formularies of a parliamentary democracy to hold itself perpetually in power, whatever its sins and the chore on this account would seem to have grown overwhelmingly large during the last nineteen years—of either omission and commission. Ours is, basically, still a traditional society used to living under authoritarian control for ages past and it is only education, broad-based modern and adequate, which could, in gradual process, rescue society from its age-long traditionalism and subservience to authoritarianism and awaken it to a consciousness of both its privileges and its positive responsibilities in choosing its own rulers. It is only thus that exercise of the privileges of office can be made to conform to the positive responsibilities and the social obligations that the holding of office imposes upon the rulers of the country.

### *The Jayanti Shipping Company*

The Jayanti Shipping Company, private sector enterprise enjoying unusual privileges by way of very large loans from the Government of India, had once been in the news some years ago when General Kaul who was alleged to have earned a great deal of notoriety by his handling of operations in the NEFA sector during the Sino-Indian armed conflict at the end of 1962 was "allowed to resign" his commission in the Armed Services and joined this company in a highly paid sinecure based at Tokyo. The Company has again been in the news recently when, as a result of certain allegations against its administration, the Government of India had appointed an Inquiry Committee to look into its affairs. It is significant that it is not an inquiry ordered under the Commission of Inquiries Act, and the Inquiry Committee does

not, therefore, hold any powers to compel the Company's administration to cooperate in its investigations. In fact, certain allegations that the Company has been very uncooperative has already been made.

In the meanwhile, the finances of the Company are alleged to have reached a sorry state of involvement, so much so, that unless fresh credits could be injected into its working funds it would be, it has been alleged, compelled to either close down operations or sell some of its ships. The Government of India, by virtue of a Rs. 20 crore loan granted to the Company, hold a mortgage on its shipping property. The Company, pending the Inquiry, was stated to have asked for a further loan amounting to Rs. 4 crores and the Government, while not rejecting the request outright, was naturally reluctant to commit themselves to this additional loan during the pendency of the inquiry. It is now learnt that the Company has now withdrawn its request for a further loan and asked for permission instead, to sell some of its ships. Before a decision on these matters pending with the Government could be disposed of, Dr. Dharam Teja, Chairman of the Company, is reported to have left for London to carry out, it is alleged, negotiations for selling some of his ships there even before the Government of India have accorded him the necessary permission for the purpose.

We are not aware of any further details of the matter than what has appeared in the press. But from reports available it appears that the affairs of the Company are not merely in a highly involved state, but also that the relations of the Government of India with the Company are not wholly clear and free from ambiguities. In the first place, if the Government of India hold a mortgage on the property of the Company by virtue of a Rs. 20 crore loan they have granted to it and which has not been redeemed either in part or as a whole, how can there be any question of the Company being able to legally sell any of its shipping property or even asking for permission to do so? Secondly, since the Government find that there must be some *prima facie* truth in the allegations of irregularities against the Company, how was it that the Govern-

ment of India had omitted to take advantage of the Commission of Inquiries Act to enable necessary investigations to be carried out adequately and wholesomely? Finally, pending receipt of the results of the inquiry ordered and by virtue of their large financial interest in the Company, why have the Government of India been hesitating to, at least temporarily, take over the assets of the Company under their own control to ensure that their investments have no opportunity to go wrong?

These questions the Government of India have not answered vis-a-vis the Jayanti Shipping Company. To the detached observer, among whom we claim to be one, the whole transaction and current attitudes of the Government of India seems to be highly suspicious. There can be no doubt after all the disclosures so far made public, that there have not merely been irregularities in the Company, but also that its finances are in a highly involved state which cannot be straightened out without additional working funds of somewhere around a further Rs. 4 crores. The Government of India are already involved to the extent of Rs. 20 crores. And yet, there is apparent hesitation on the part of the Government of India to deal with the Company with the requisite ruthlessness and expedition which would seem to be necessary if their Rs. 20 crore loan to the Company were not to turn into a bad investment. Who is this Dr. Dharam Teja and who are the particular friends who, it may be supposed, have been looking after his interests in the highest counsels of the Government of India?

### *The Unrealities of Planning*

The annual budget outlay for the first year of the Fourth Plan, that is, for 1966-67, has been pitched at the figure of Rs. 2,081.54 crores. The size of the outlay envisaged in the budget is, thus, a little less than the outlay undertaken in the last year of the Third Plan. The budget accords the highest priority to agriculture; especially to those sectors of agricultural production where schemes of a quick-yielding nature can be projected. The break-down of the budget, as presented to the Lok Sabha, is of the following order :

<i>Resources</i> —Domestic budgetary resources :	Rs. 1,488 crores ;
External assistance :	Rs. 581 crores ;
Uncovered gap ;	Rs. 12 crores.
<i>Area-wise Allocation</i> —States' Plans :	Rs. 926 crores ;
Central Plan :	Rs. 1,155 crores (including those for the Union territories and Nagaland)
<i>Sec'or-wise Allocation</i> —Agriculture & Community Development :	Rs. 332.55 crores
(Centre, States & Union territories :	43.5 crores, 278.65 crores and 10.45 crores respectively)
Irrigation & Power :	Rs. 464.70 crores (54.42 396.25 & 14.17 crores)
Industries & Mining :	Rs. 524.77 crores (Rs. 476.59 crores, 45.72 crores & 2.46 crores)
Transport & Communications :	Rs. 428.43 crores (351.89 crores, 65.17 crores, & 11.37 crores)
Social Services :	Rs. 300.88 crores (Rs. 147.70 crores, 133.49 crores, & 19.69 crores)

While presenting the budget, the Planning Minister observes that the results of the Third Plan have been both "less than adequate" and less than what was originally anticipated. He underlined that while the Third Plan targets had been achieved in financial terms, there will be, what he described as, "significant shortfalls" in the achievement of the physical targets of the Plan, especially so, in the agricultural sector. In plain language this would seem to mean that while investments and outlays have been made to the full extent to conform with the Plan in current demand and the consequent inflation-budget, building up capacity or production potentials or, as in the case of agriculture, actual production yields, have been significantly below the targets envisaged.

In spite of these obvious factors of discouragement, the Planning Commission seems to remain habitually complacent and claims that one should not be unduly and adversely "influenced by current problems" for, according to it, investments in the Third Plan would constitute the "source for substantial additions to "production" during the initial years of the Fourth Plan. Such a view of the matter would seem to wholly disregard the basic premises upon which the entire structure of Planning would, as far, seem to have been founded. Plan estimates of investments and outlays have been drawn up to conform to certain standards of physical increases in the national product and when these investments and outlays fail to produce the anticipated yield in increased national product, they must necessarily be held to have proved correspondingly infructuous and wasteful. This really is what must be held to have, at least in part, contributed to the explosive yield in current demand and the consequent inflationary pressures which, in their turn, are assessed to have attenuated Plan fulfilment in corresponding measures.

In plain words, therefore, planning as so far essayed in this country, must be conceded to have been following an extraordinary course which has been more or less wholly divorced from the basic realistics of the structural foundations of the economy into which the elements of a rapid growth are said to be sought to be injected through planned programmes and priorities of development. What, after all, are the basic structural qualities of the residuary economy upon the foundations of which a superstructure of

rapid growth is intended to be built up? Essentially, the economy is overwhelmingly agrarian at its base although, nevertheless, it has been far short of yielding an agricultural surplus. Even after one and a half decade of what may be characterised as comparatively massive investments in industrial development programmes, very nearly 78 per cent of the national population still continues to belong to what can only be described as agricultural households and continue to depend, directly or indirectly, upon agricultural occupations for their sustenance. On the other hand, agriculture still continues to account for well over one half of the gross national product. Secondly, on account of the overwhelmingly agrarian bias of the economy, capital formation has been both slow and extremely inadequate in size. And, finally, growth of the area of employment has been far too tardy compared to the net annual addition to the national labour force leaving an increasing annual backlog of unemployment and under-employment.

It would seem only natural to expect in view of these especial characteristics of our economy that priorities and processing of Plan investments and implementation should be so framed as to ensure concentration of effort towards the elimination of the essential bottlenecks which would be normally calculated to promote concentric and balanced growth and development in mutually sustaining sectors of the economy. Agriculture should, naturally, obtain first priority in planning such growth and development not merely because it is the most overwhelmingly important sector of the economy, but also because a surplus agriculture is a necessary foundation for rapid and wide-based industrialization. The economic history of all the more advanced economies of the world would demonstrate that the pace of industrialization in those countries received accelerated momentum following, not preceding the laying down of an adequately surplus agriculture. Incentives, correctly assessed and appropriately formulated should, necessarily, be a condition of agricultural growth and although, only very recently, attention of the planning authorities and the Government appear to have been directed towards this need, no adequate basis for providing self-accelerating

incentives do not appear yet to have been adequately conceived and applied. Secondly, in the context of scarce capital formation and increasing areas of unemployment, it is necessary that investments and priorities should be so formulated as to provide for the widest employment coverage per unit of investment; in other words, investment in social overheads and industry should be so regulated as to have a distinct labour-intensive bias to yield the optimum employment potential within available investable resources. Sophisticated processes of industrialization calling for any wide-based use of advanced technology except within specified and comparatively limited areas of investment, would be bound to prove self-defeating as, apparently, they have been proving to be so. After all, employment of advanced technology for purposes of industrialization in an underdeveloped economy with scarce capital resources on the one hand and almost illimitable areas of unemployment to be covered on the other may prove, as Prof. John K. Galbraith once pronounced, almost ruinous for, basically, the use of advanced technology is, primarily, a concession to the twin problems of scarcity of man-power resources and an over-abundance of capital seeking profitable investment; conditions in India are exactly opposite of what would favour extensive use of advanced modern technology.

Except to introduce an element of what is claimed to be a significant emphasis upon allocation of comparatively higher priorities to agricultural production in the Fourth Plan (especially during its initial year), the Plan does not appear to make any fundamental departure from the structure of the obviously faulty approach in earlier Plans. It would seem to be continually suffering from the same lack of realism in its relations to the basic facts of the economy as ever before. The country is already much too deeply involved in the travails of planning and, as things stand to-day and the extravagant claims of the Planning Commission to the contrary, especially those of its *know-all* Vice-Chairman the manner in which the Fourth Plan is being sought to be implemented, our involvement would be bound, we are afraid, to grow far deeper in the end without any possible compensatory gains.

# Indian Periodicals

## *Some Aspects of Chemical Education in India*

Education, especially education in technology and science has necessarily been assuming increasing importance of late. In the context of this importance to what Dr. W. D. Patwardhan had to say while inaugurating a Summer Institute of College Teaching in Chemistry, and published by *Science and Culture* under the above legend, should be of interest:

The author understood that the main purpose of these Summer Institutes is to assist university teachers to keep abreast of modern development in their subjects, so that the teaching undertaken by them would reflect the progress made in the respective branches of science. That in this seminar adequate attention is to be paid to problems relating not only to the subject matter of course but also to methods of teaching. If the academic science is to keep pace with its development of science, the teaching of science has to be periodically subjected to a review of both contents of course and methods of teaching, particularly if it has to be effective within the limited time spent by a student on a university course.

Modification to teaching of science is more easily said than done. It will be generally agreed that teaching is not done just for teaching's sake. Its objective is to prepare the student's for taking an active and responsible part in the modern technological society. What characteristics should a student then acquire? Is mere collection of a vast amount of information enough? If it is, is it possible? Or, is the student to be prepared to 'do' science? If the final objective to clear it would help considerably in evolving teaching methods to achieve it. The speaker would like to touch some of these points during his talk.

One hears these days of a population explosion or a communications explosion. We can verily call the growth of scientific knowledge in the last 25 years as an explosion of scientific

development. Generally speaking we have seen in this period the development of atomic energy, jet planes, radar, solid state electronics, rocketry and space exploration. Although these are spectacular achievements generally known to the public the achievements in chemistry have also not been of lesser importance. One can speak of development of antibiotics, elucidation of the structure of nucleic acids and proteins, synthesis of quinine and strychnine, development of catalytic processes opening up the vast field of petrochemicals, synthetic fibres, high polymers, synthetic dyestuffs and so on. We can perhaps say that the knowledge accumulated in the last 25 years is more than all that was collected up to this period since scientific investigations began. It also appears that the total amount of scientific publications in the next 10 years will be more than all similar publications to date. There is no indication if and when this exponential growth is likely to slow down.

Considering the growth of chemistry alone, it may be interesting to note that in 1939 the Chemical Abstracts published 9720 columns of abstract material. In 1964, the figure was 33216. In the last annual session of the American Chemical Society, there were 24 different divisions of chemistry, holding separate group discussions. This shows that we have come a long way from the time when we had 4 main divisions of chemistry namely, organic, inorganic, physical and analytical. A very rapid development of new disciplines is taking place in chemistry, where there were once only border lines. Some older disciplines are disappearing also. Colloid chemistry has almost disappeared and qualitative analysis is also likely to disappear in the near future. Even so the net expansion of activity is so much that if a chemist does nothing else but reading, it will take him two years to go through all the chemical papers that have been published in 1964. Keeping abreast of contemporary work this may appear as an impossible task.

There is a paradox in this situation of expanding science. There was a time when a chemist could manage to be familiar with what was happening in other branches of chemistry out-



side his field of speciality. With the explosive growth of the subject and its fragmentation into specialised branches taking place, this is no longer possible. This is not peculiar only to chemistry but the same thing is happening in other disciplines also. The situation is much worse for familiarities with disciplines other than one's own. On the other hand, significant scientific developments and achievements are occurring, not in islands of specialisation, but in the borderline regions of impact of different scientific disciplines. Typical examples are solid state technology and molecular biology. Awareness of developments both within a discipline and in associated disciplines seems to be essential for growth of science. One has to find a way out of this paradox of what is essential being impossible.

In the growth of academic science and application of science in industrial development, one notices some odd features, in this country. During my time, the relative proportion of student securing first and second classes was small and securing a class used to be a coveted distinction. Now one notices that the proportion of first and second class students is very much more, the total of the two at times exceeds those in the pass class. One cannot but help asking whether the present day students are more brilliant or the assessment standards have changed. In any case the question remains why the higher proportion of the higher grade students is not eventually reflected in the quantity and quality of scientific achievements in the country.

In the scientifically advanced countries, the academic and industrial aspects of science have grown side by side—each deriving inspiration from the other and contributing to the forward march of science. In India the phenomenal industrial development that is taking place is apparently not only dissociated from the academic part of science, but is also not very much coordinated with the activities of the respective national laboratories which should be the link between the academic and industrial aspects of science. The academic science in India appears to be unable to have an impact or exert its influence on industrial science as it is growing today.

One possible explanation of these odd features may be that we have not changed very

much from the traditional science education. Perhaps the old curricula have even been diluted with the present conditions of crowding in the teaching institutions with the result that the students are not adequately oriented towards effective practical application of the subjects they study.

In the recruitment of scientists of different disciplines including chemistry the immediate utility of a hired individual has very often no relation to his academic distinctions. In a very large majority of cases the individuals do not have a clear concept of the practical application of the knowledge they have acquired. There is no question regarding the individuals lacking the capacity because within a few months of association with working groups and contact with live problems, the same individuals change beyond recognition. This is not an isolated experience. In my opinion, it indicates the necessity of re-orientation from the traditional method of instruction in theory and practical work. It will therefore not be enough for the teachers merely to keep abreast of the latest developments but it will also be necessary for them to adopt new teaching methods so that the student develops the capability of effective application of chemistry and to adopt it as a profession.

The author thinks some remarks on the special position of chemistry among the natural sciences will not be out of place here. Chemistry is the key-stone of all scientific and technological development. It provides known materials and materials previously unknown and with unusual properties, which permit advances to be made in other scientific fields. It can now be truly said that the real economic strength of a country can be measured by the strength of its chemical industry.

Developments in chemistry are not just useful to humanity. These are vital to the survival of a large part of the human population. It was only in 1898 that Sir William Crookes indicated the prospect of world-wide hunger due to shortage of fertilizers and which, according to him, could be averted only by fixation of atmospheric nitrogen. Chemistry successfully met this challenge and the development of synthetic ammonia process in 1913 has averted this possible catastrophe. The rate of chemical plant growth

can also be seen in the development of the above process. The first BASF plant at Ludwigshafen had a capacity of only 30 tons per day. One ICI plant on steam today produces 1000 tons per day. Ammonia forms 80 per cent of world's products of nitrogen compounds. About 80 per cent of the total ammonia produced is used for chemicals required for agriculture. When we consider that one ton of nitrogen used as fertilizer gives an increase of 18 tons of food-grain output chemistry is seen to be responsible for production of 250 million tons of foodgrain per year for mankind.

Chemistry is an experimental science, and, so, its teaching must also be experimental. The traditional curriculum appears to have a closed pattern. A topic in chemistry is many times taught almost in the same way as a topic in history or philosophy. When a topic has been taught there seems little to be asked, or to be pushed further. The teaching takes the form of supplying answers in the form of information rather than stimulates the asking of meaningful questions. Presentation of a large amount of information to the students is likely to benumb their curiosity. It seems desirable that a topic should be presented not merely as a mass of information but with a conceptual or structural approach which will stimulate questions and encourage students to look for evidence and to seek better interpretation.

Chemistry is basically exploration and adventure. Any course in chemistry which does not maintain some contacts with the frontiers, which does not point out controversies, which does not caution when available evidence for a theory is not entirely conclusive, which does not suggest need for experiments which the students can appreciate, misrepresents the science of chemistry.

In the conditions prevailing in the teaching institutions today the students have only a limited exposure to the materials they are to learn. The most important question is how can this exposure be made to count in their thinking, for the rest of their lives. The only possible answer to this question appears to be, give the students a thorough understanding of the fundamental structure of the subject.

Contact with the frontiers of the subject is essential to give the student a perspective

to make him aware that the subject is live and give him a sense of participation. This contact can be effectively achieved by encouraging use of chemical literature. The students should be encouraged to read original research articles. They can be given experiments where references to original papers may be beneficial. It may also be desirable occasionally to give the students exercises in current topics inadequately covered by textbooks.

The laboratory work at present assigned to the students can also be changed from traditional form which merely helps in developing personal skill and gives familiarity with experimental techniques in an arbitrary manner. In order to stimulate the interest of the student and to ensure that the practical work not only improves the student's manipulative skill but also help him in understanding the structural concept of the subject, it seems necessary that the laboratory work should involve the student in a scientific enquiry which combines experiment and theory in a solution of a specific problem. To the student, the problem must appear genuine and an intellectual challenge. Interpretation must be done by the student from his own data. Similarly analytical work need not be directed merely towards the determination of some arbitrary unknowns. It could be related to some chemical systems to get data essential to interpret the systems. Equilibrium constants, solubility products, composition studies can be derived from students' own data.

The major question is whether the student merely learns what is presented to him in a class and what is demanded of him in assignments or whether some doors are opened to him through which he may go and explore fields beyond the contents of his course. In short, complete coverage of topic is not as important as stimulating independent chemical exploration by the students.

It is quite likely that some of you are already practising new ideas in teaching of chemistry. The author hopes that during the course of this seminar we will also discuss methods of creating awareness in students of the general pattern of the development of chemistry, of stimulating in them an active spirit of inquiry as against a passive absorption of information, of developing a capability in them of effectively practising the knowledge which they acquire.

# Foreign Periodicals

## Leader of India is Under Fire

Celebrated American political columnist J. Anthony Lukas, writing in the *New York Times* of May 1 under the above legend about Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has things to say a lot of which would sound almost fanciful to readers who are familiar with the under-currents of constantly shifting sands of political alignments within the higher counsels of the Indian National Congress which insinuated itself into the seats of power at that juncture of history when the British abdicated their Indian Empire and which has continued to hold on to them throughout these last long eighteen years and longer. Thus, Lukas—

“When Mrs. Indira Gandhi took office as Prime Minister 100 days ago, right-wing politicians here whispered ominously, ‘she’ll be just a mouthpiece for Krishna Menon.’

“V. K. Krishna Menon delivered his first major speech in Parliament since Mrs. Gandhi’s accession, and when he was through, one observer in the galleries said, ‘With friends like that she doesn’t need any enemies.’

“The acid thrusts of the former Defense Minister are as good an index as any of what has happened during Mrs. Gandhi’s first 100 days.

“Her ties with Mr. Menon and to the Congress Party’s left wing, of which he is the major spokesman, were certainly never

as close as the right wing asserted, or as the left liked to believe……”

Indeed, any intimate knowledge of the place of Indira Gandhi in the cleavages and shifting alignments and loyalties within the Party, could not have failed to impress the detached observer that her claim to representing the group on the left of the Party had no more substance than that being her father’s daughter she naturally claims to be identified with the peculiar brand of *socialistic* planning of which the latter was undoubtedly the author. But, like her father before herself, her political alignments have been more closely integrated to the Right of the Party and, generally conformed to the wishes of the ruling caucus popularly known as the *Syndicate*. Indeed, her elevation to the office of the Prime Minister has been by virtue of the choice of the Syndicate, rather than of any forceful sponsorship of the group on the left who put her up for the office more as a way out of the inevitable cleavage of ambitions within the group on the Right. But says Lukas—

“Nevertheless, in the public mind she was identified as a dedicated follower of the brand of socialism implanted in India by her father, the late Jawaharlal Nehru, during his 17 years as Prime Minister.

“If anything, she was thought to be somewhat on her father’s left. Her capacity for

pragmatism was known, but some feared her loyalty to socialism would often prevail.

"So far, it has worked the other way. Her pragmatism has increasingly brought her into conflict with her own party's left wing, which feels she has permitted a dangerous drift from socialism.

"There are signs of change. The Government has granted easy terms to private foreign investors in the fertilizer industry, is thinking of decontrolling several more industries and is ready to liberalize import policy if it gets sufficient foreign aid.

"Whether this represents abandonment of socialism, is for the ideologists to decide, but it is change.

"However, it is not entirely Mrs. Gandhi's doing. Many of the trends now evident had their origin in the last months of prime Minister Lal Bhadur Shastri's life.

"Much of what is happening now is a result of steady pressure from the United States and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which for the last year have been urging for a substantial freeing of the Indian economy and a greater scope for private enterprise.

"The United States pressure, in particular has been highly effective here because the United States provides by far the largest part of foreign exchange needed to finance India's development and keep the wheels of industry turning.

"Call them 'strings,' call them 'conditions' or whatever one likes, India has little choice now but to agree to many of the terms that the United States, through the World Bank, is putting on its aid. For India simply has nowhere else to turn."

This would seem to be outspoken enough and, however Mrs. Gandhi or her Cabinet

colleagues or the redoubtable Asoke Mehta might try to explain it away, that the recently castigated fertilizer deal—some have been outspoken enough to describe this as the 'fertilizer scandal' even from within the Right of the Party—was a part of Mrs. Gandhi's and her Cabinet's readiness to do business with the U. S. A. at any cost, could hardly be in doubt. There has, undoubtedly, been a large measure of pressure building up against the Government's and the Planning Commission's economic policies and priorities in the context of the failures of the Third Plan which were inherent in the manner it was sought to be implemented, and the inevitable victim of these pressures, largely assisted by the attitude of the aid giving, countries notably the U.S. and the not too non-partisan assessments of the World Bank, would have to be the so-called socialistic economy which India under Nehru and his successors had set out to build up. Lukas continues—

"However, it would be a mistake to see the gradual willingness to lift controls and free the economy only as a response to foreign pressure.

"India's third five year plan, which ended last month, was not a success. Some members of the Government and other officials have suggested a rethinking of the economic premises on which India has been operating.

"American pressure has greatly strengthened the hands of those who favor such change. While Mrs. Gandhi was not in the forefront of this group, many of those she listens to are. She appears to have been carried along partly by their advice and partly by the compulsion of circumstances.

"However, this poses a tricky public relations problem for her in this preelection year.

"She cannot acknowledge that she has been acting, at least partly, under pressure from the United States. Thus, in a recent broadcast she chose to meet her critics by denying that she was departing from the 'accepted policy' and insisting that socialism was still the country's objective.

"One of her advisers explained her strategy this way: 'Certainly changes are being made, but public opinion will still not allow us to put it quite that way. We, therefore, cannot make changes unless they can be related to old policies.'

"The risk Mrs. Gandhi runs is that articulate spokesmen for the left, such as Mr. Menon, will continue to point up the

divergences and make it look as if Mrs. Gandhi is not being totally candid.

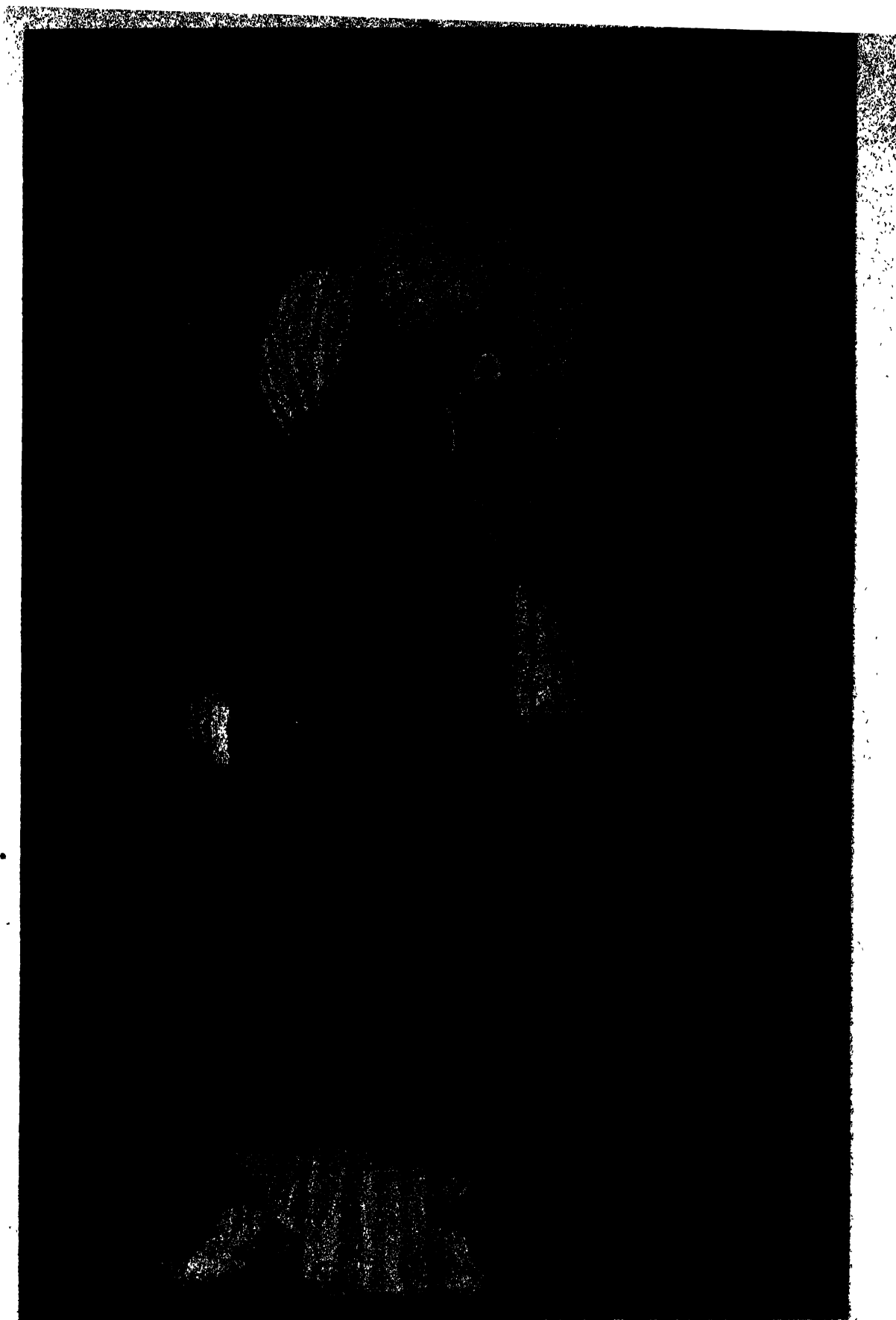
"This attack has not yet hurt the Prime Minister's position and, perhaps, never will. The Leftists in her own party are neither numerous nor well-organized and those outside do not count for much.

"Moreover the Left within the Congress party probably realises that she is closer to its views than any other potential Prime Minister and thus will not want to damage her seriously in a pre-election year. So far, the Left has focussed chiefly on her advisers.

"However, eventually Mrs. Gandhi may feel that she would benefit by taking her case for selective change to the people."

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## NOTES

### The Devalued Rupee

In spite of repeated assurances from authoritative persons that the rupee will not be devalued, India devalued the rupee very recently. The immediate reasons for this deviation from a declared policy are not known but, the Finance Minister has confided to the public, that his action has not been due to any pressure from creditor countries. He has acted in order to safeguard the economic stability of the country and in the hope and belief that a cheaper rupee will help to rehabilitate India, financially and in the sphere of International Trade. We have to accept his words at their face value ; but we could better understand the true dimensions and meaning of the devaluation of the rupee, if we paid closer attention to the facts of the case. The Indian rupee has been, both internally and in its foreign exchange value, a managed currency. It had no fixed relation to any given weight of gold or silver excepting indirectly through its statutory ratio with foreign currencies having such gold value. But such ratios were subject to alteration at any time, to any extent, if the Government of India desired to effect any change in the foreign exchange value. Now that they have made the exchange value of the rupee equal to

Re. 21 : £1 sterling or Rs. 7.50 : \$1 U.S.A. we have to reorientate our minds as far as we have to pay interest on loans or repay the principal of loans raised from foreign countries. We have also to revalue our imports and exports and amend the probabilities of gains or losses in quanta or value in terms of the new rates of exchange. In 1964 (March) India's Total National Debt was Rs. 8597 crores. Out of this the external public debt was Rs. 779.2 crores to the U.S.A., Rs. 220.7 crores to the U.K., Rs. 173.1 crores to West Germany, Rs. 167.7 crores to the U.S.S.R., Rs. 181.8 crores to the International Bank and Rs. 72.4 crores to the IDA. And there were other external debts too. We do not know the amount of the total interest bearing indebtedness of India to foreign countries in March 1966 ; but the total of such debts can be nearly Rs. 2500 crores. The new rates of exchange will make the total over Rs. 3500 crores. The interest and sinking fund can be near about Rs. 350 crores annually. Out of this Rs. 150 crores would be the cost of the new rates of exchange and will have to be earned through greater and increased exports that may become possible by increasing the purchasing power of foreign currencies in India.

Now, what do foreigners buy in India?



Are these purchases likely to increase on account of lower prices? If so, to what extent? Let us examine the list of major items of exports of goods from India. These were as follows in March 1964. (in 1000 rupees)

<i>Item</i>	<i>Rupees (1000)</i>
Fish	50,205
Edible Nuts	2,29,839
Coffee	82,888
Tea	12,31,885
Pepper and Pimento	86,942
Other Spices	71,300
Oil-seed Cake and Meal	3,53,713
Tobacco	2,16,069
Goat skins, undressed	83,811
Groundnuts	38,508
Logs (hardwood)	26,180
Wool (greasy or backwashed)	55,981
Cotton, raw	1,21,079
Cotton mill waste shoddy	47,124
Mica	91,964
Iron Ore and concentrates	3,63,789
Iron and Steel Scrap	49,053
Manganese Ore and Concentrates	82,617
Bones, Ivory, Horn	24,453
Natural Gums, raisins	80,331
Coal	22,433
Groundnut Oil	1,34,459
Castor Oil	48,034
Essential Vegetable Oils	28,051
Leather	2,61,961
Cotton Yarn (unbleached)	42,301
Cotton Yarn (bleached dyed)	23,894
Cotton fabrics (unbleached)	2,21,653
Cotton fabrics (bleached, dyed)	2,74,944
Jute fabrics	10,56,110
Synthetic fabrics	1,05,774
Bags and Sacks	4,79,363
Bed, Table-linen etc.	37,721
Carpets rugs	59,845
Footwear (leather)	26,044

A study of these items will enable the reader to see that almost half the exports are of a type which can be described to have an inelastic demand, i.e., a fall in price will not lead to any

appreciable increase in that demand. In the circumstances if the fall in prices lead to even a doubling of the exports in the case of items having an elastic demand, the total of all exports may go up by about 50 per cent at best. The imports on the other hand may not fall by more than 20 per cent. Assuming that our imports are about 1,100|1,200 crores and our exports about 700|800 crores, we may conclude that, as a result of the devaluation, our exports may go upto about 1,000 crores and our imports come down to 900 crores. If things develop in that manner, our national finances will improve, as far as we are in a deadly foreign exchange crisis. But this in itself cannot change our economic position fundamentally. For the increase in exports will not really increase our national income or standard of living. Rather it may, in its indirect effect, slow down our industrial production, lower high income employment and worsen the quality of all consumer goods. There is also the risk of increased foreign borrowings by our reckless political leaders whose emotions often outstrip their wisdom. A favourable balance of trade hardly provides a proper atmosphere for cool calculating reason. But that is what we need at this juncture, when our most productive national resources lie idle and useless, and the nation is dazzled and hypnotised by the spectacular fireworks of promises, possibilities and hopes. Economic planning must be sure footed, no matter how drab it may appear to immature minds. Work, production and the provision of the basic requirements of good living may not be proper material for a stunning technicolour publicity picture; but they are the basic ingredients of nation building. The devaluation of the rupee will only lead to stabler economic conditions, if the basic requirements of a sound economy are provided along with it. Fuller utilisation of man power and the natural resources of the country come first in the list of economic priorities. For eighteen years we have been trying to achieve ends without provision of the basic means. It is not yet too late to undo the evil and go back to normal economic development. But will our leaders have the sense to do things that way? They have got used to "deficit financing," that is obtaining funds for unnecessary expenditure by inflating the currency. They also distribute purchasing power to hundreds of

thousands of incumbents who produce nothing that has a purchase price. That is how the rupee has lost its purchasing power. If they carry on in the same manner, the story will be repeated again and again.

### Earning Foreign Exchange Locally

One of the ways by which foreign exchange can be earned by India, is the development of tourist traffic in this country. There are in India several hundred places of archaeological interest and aesthetic excellence to which foreign tourists can go regularly. Among these places very few have any arrangement for the reception of tourists. That is, there are no arrangements for the provision of proper meals or for staying overnight in most of these places. Such arrangements as exist are barely rudimentary and do no credit to India. There are also many restrictions imposed by priests and other people which prevent tourists from having free access to all the artistic objects that one can see in these Temples, Tombs or places of pilgrimage. The restrictions that are imposed contravene the provisions of the Indian Constitution, but no one takes much notice of all that. Guest houses are non-existent or are noticeably sub-standard. The meals served in the railway trains, restaurants and the inspection or public works bungalows are also sub-standard and nobody does anything to effect improvements in these services. Formerly the Rajahs and Maharajahs used to maintain very good, well furnished, perfectly equipped and manned guest houses and shikar lodges. Under the new regime set up by people who have no ideas of good living, much of the fittings, equipments and paraphernalia have just disappeared. What local people say about the removal of furniture crockery, cutlery, napery and so forth will help the Government of India to reorientate their minds concerning the self-denying asceticism that many congressmen pretend to cherish. To come back to the facts of the case, India needs properly furnished and maintained guest houses all over the country which can be used by tourists on payment. There must be suitable arrangements for supplying meals in these places; also for transport and other necessities. These places must be for the use of paying members of the public and not

for the use of government servants. For government servants are well-known for creating privileges for themselves where none should exist, and foreign tourists or local visitors who are willing to pay cannot be subjected to indignities by being forced to share the guest houses with government servants (at a disadvantage, of course). The rates charged for boarding and lodging should be reasonably high and the standard fairly upto international minima.

If proper arrangements are made for tourists and the railway and road transport arrangements improved, India can easily entertain ten thousand tourists all the year round, who may stay in the country for a week or two on an average and change their money into ours to the tune of a thousand or two thousand rupees per capita. For they should be paying for their touring as well as for the souvenirs that they would buy. Cheating of tourists by tradesmen should also be controlled. And if all this is done and proper publicity is given through world tourist agencies for tour programmes in India, one may expect a large flow of tourists throughout the year in different parts of the country. Apart from mere sight seeing, there are other classes of tourists who like to indulge in mountaineering, hunting, sailing, sea bathing; trekking, etc., etc. These people also can be catered for. Then, there are foreigners who like to make a study of Indian languages, religions, philosophy, music, dance, arts and crafts; in fact of Indian civilisation through its various periods. The Indian universities can certainly make arrangements for the guidance of foreign intellectuals who want to know more about things Indian. We feel that such arrangements will find favour with foreigners and will slowly lead to a better understanding of India among those who now try to make a study of this country, its people and civilisation, and do not succeed in doing so, on account of our own lack of true interest in ourselves.

We are, of course, more interested now in earning foreign currency than in developing international relations. But the two are closely knit and cannot be separated. If foreigners learn more about India, they will have more of Indian goods too. Our exports therefore depend on the spread of Indian information in foreign

countries to a great extent. If, therefore, we gain 100 crores in foreign currency annually through foreign tourists, growth of exports may follow thereafter and yield a much bigger harvest.

### Breaking up India

Ever since the first act of breaking up India took place by the joint action of the Muslim League and the British imperial overlords of India in 1947, in which the Congress collaborated, the further breaking up of the country into self governing provinces continued, in order to satisfy the love of political power of all the various groups and cliques that existed in this great sub-continent. The unfortunate part of the whole process has been the eagerness that the self-denying and ascetic Congressmen have displayed in this destruction of Indian unity. The latest chopping up has been the business of dividing the Punjab into Punjabi speaking, Hindi speaking and Pahari style pieces called Punjab, Hariyana and Himachal Pradesh. There is a bit of India in it too, in so far as Chandigarh remains Union Territory as joint capital of Punjab and Hariyana. The Punjabis had discovered after a very long time that some of them spoke Hindi and others Punjabi. Their mother-tongues being different, they had to cut up the Punjab into two states. Whether after this division the Hariyana Punjabis will continue to speak Hindi or will revert to Punjabi is not yet clear. The fact that most of them spoke Punjabi from their infancy, in spite of Hindi being their mother-tongue, will no doubt, influence their choice of a racial language. In Bengal, for instance, in many families which habitually produced officers for the British Government of India, it had been the fashion among younger people and their mothers to speak *khansama* Hindi or *pidgin* English among themselves. But with the passing of time and the growth of nationalism these fake Anglo-Hindusthanis slowly changed over to the acceptance of Bengali as their mother-tongue. Punjabi, like Bengali, is an old-Aryan Prakrit language. All persons who are racially Punjabis should speak this ancient language and try to develop it. If some Punjabis have adopted Hindi or English for worldly reasons, they should go back to their

own language. The attempt of the Government of India to force Hindi upon various races which have their own distinctive languages, has caused much cultural disintegration. The Maithili, Bhojpuri and Maghdi languages of Bihar; the Eastern Rajasthani group of languages and many other sub-languages are being systematically destroyed by Hindi education over a wide area. Hindi, on the other hand, is not showing any clearly noticeable signs of developing into a great modern language. It is producing vast quantities of inferior printed matter through the direct or indirect assistance of the government. But these only serve to act as an eye sore on railway bookstalls. India has not produced a Hindi based civilisation. There are no signs that she will do so in the near or remote future. The glorification of Hindi by the governmental departments cannot produce a highly developed language. Statistics can be made to order but vast populations cannot suddenly change over and adopt novel idioms. The Hariyana and Himachal Pradesh Punjabis who had learnt to speak Punjabi in their infancy will continue to do so, although statistics may be used to prove things different.

### Deaths on the High Roads

Truck drivers who drive their vehicles recklessly, are rightly named the high road killers. We would call them murderers too in the sense that they are fully aware of the probable consequences of their lawless action. We do not know how many innocent men, women and children have lost their lives on the high roads of India under the wheels of trucks, tankers and buses; but we are sure the number is very large. Yet the Indian police do nothing to control the fiends who drive heavy motor vehicles. There are no highway policemen and, possibly, there are no prosecutions anywhere in India for speeding or for taking out vehicles which have no proper brakes or have faulty steering. Recently another very well-known person has given his life on the Grand Trunk Road, near Durgapur. Dr. T. D. Mukhopadhyay, the victim, was an important member of the medical profession, President of the Rotary Club of Asansol and socially high ranking, he was well-known for his humanitarian outlook and

cultural activities. His death on the high road came as a terrible shock to thousands of people who knew him, loved and respected him and counted upon him as a pillar of society. The Indian police will no doubt accept this death also as one due to misadventure and not bother any more about it. These deaths are preventible and most of them can be prevented if the police woke up and did their duty in a proper manner. But who can make the Indian Police duty conscious ?

### The Purchasing Power of the Rupee

The devaluation of the rupee was merely a statutory admission of a fact. It was, in fact, only a partial admission. The rupee has lost more in purchasing power than is admitted by making it worth a little less than a shilling. Some say the real price of the rupee is now about Rs. 28/- to the pound sterling. That is, its worth is now about 8½d. in terms of the pound sterling. Whatever that may be, the reasons for this fall in purchasing power of the rupee are inflation of currency and shortages in various kinds of production. We have suggested, in a previous note that the government should try to increase production and to reduce inflation in order to counter the fall in the purchasing power of the rupee. That is, all those millions of Indians who are fully or partly unemployed must be slowly put to productive work. All those millions of acres of land which are not used for cultivation or those wide areas in which there is water but no fish, should now be used for the production of edibles. Trees should be planted everywhere in large numbers for fruit growing and for other products. Man power should be utilised to the fullest in order to cut out machine buying and operating costs which involve expenditure of foreign currency. The various governments at the Centre and the numerous *Pradeshes* have hundreds of thousands of incumbents who earn purchasing power but produce nothing that can be bought or sold. These persons should be reduced in number or put to productive work. These economic reforms are essential for maintaining the true value of the rupee.

### Stop Begging and Borrowing

If the Governments of India and her various states do not arrange to cultivate all land that is fit for cultivation, the people of India should try to bring every inch of cultivable soil under the plough as soon as the rains set in. There are hundreds of thousands of acres of cultivable land that lie uncultivated every year. The reasons are many ; but the most common reasons are lack of proper ownership, disputed ownership and want of means of the owners. The states have taken over much land by abolishing landlordism ; but they have not yet succeeded in allotting all the land to individuals who will cultivate the land. There are also numerous cases of disputed ownership. The *gram* organisations should take over for cultivation all lands which are likely to remain uncultivated. The governments should arrange to make this lawful and compulsory by ordinance immediately. The *gram* organisations can also take over the lands belonging to poor owners and arrange their cultivation. In other words the *gram* organisations can be given a sound and useful *raison d'être* if they could take in hand the task of food production. They can, by their intimacy with local conditions, easily locate the obstructions in the way of fuller utilisation of India's land resources. And, this will help the nation to become self sufficient. Begging and borrowing cannot become a permanent feature of India's economic life. It cannot and it must not. We must stop this degrading practice without any delay. Are the political leaders of India making any efforts in this direction ? If they are, what are they arranging to do ? If they are not , what should the people of India do with such leaders ? Shouldn't they get rid of such leadership ?

### What is Human Greatness?

Human Greatness is not the same thing as position, power, wealth or importance created by circumstances. For greatness is a quality of the person who is great and not the reflexion of what others have made of him. A King, a President or an important member of a ruling political party will always occupy the front page of newspapers ; but that will not prove the innate greatness of the person so publicised. A

highly popular actor, actress, singer or dancer can be really great in point of a specialised ability; or, in the absence of such real and superior ability, the popularity can be just the result of the strange whims of mentally undeveloped masses. For entire communities of people can rave unreasonably about the non-existent genius or talents of quite ordinary persons. That is how undeserving persons occasionally rise to fame and impassioned coteries of admirers discuss their alleged greatness in superlative terms, without really knowing what they are meaning to say. We often have to listen to weird comparisons of Homer, Dante and a local cymbalist of words and we dare not say anything to protect our literary ideals and standards for fear of getting involved in an unsavoury controversy. True greatness in literature too must have something that elevates human thoughts to a higher level. A literary genius will always cover a wide range of ideas that will enrich man's civilisation. His imagery must be aesthetically of a superior and rarified type and not degrading from the human angle nor morally offensive. Playing to the gallery in an easy and effusive manner can entertain the masses for the time being but one cannot find true greatness in such exuberance. Popularity and fame can be achieved without possessing any real talent. For true literary excellence requires the expression of thoughts and emotions that have their roots in the fundamental richness of philosophy, ethics and aesthetics. Even superb technique by itself cannot produce greatness in the field of literature.

Those who attain fame by leadership of men in politics cannot normally earn greatness through mere bossing of followers. A great political leader must make his followers true soldiers of freedom, liberty and human rights. If the leaders teach or allow their followers to sacrifice freedom and liberty to any extent or in any manner as well as urge them to give up their rights; then such leaders cannot be really great. Greater ideals, nobler aspirations, clearer vision, superior standards and the search for perfection in all things give humanity a truer outlook in their understanding of human greatness. Those who cannot distinguish real greatness from its fake imitation substitutes usually outnumber those who can. But the latter should try

to open the eyes of their fellow humans; so that the progress of mankind is not held up by false symbols of truth, beauty and divinity.

In the world of music, dance, painting, sculpture, architecture and the superior crafts, greatness comes through creative efforts for the development of better styles, forms and the expression of aesthetic emotions with more intensive or wider appeal and in a clearer than ever communicative manner. Violation of established and accepted principles sometimes occur where creative urges break through the limitations that have been set up by the aesthetic selections and rejections of previous generations of connoisseurs. But mere breaking down of old walls cannot be called new architecture. Decadence and degeneration can be powerful forces which may be appreciated by certain types of men and women. Immorality, anti-social activities and denial of human values can also attain great dimensions. But we cannot accept these as the great things of life, nor their perpetrators as persons who have any greatness.

### **Bureaucratic Economics and National Solvency**

Bureaucratic enterprise creates productive institutions for the material well being of the people of the country at the cost of the nation; but the bureaucracy, being phenomenally incapable of managing anything well or in accordance with the principles of economics, allow the institutions set up at public cost to be mismanaged and eventually to close down. That is why bureaucratic planning of production, distribution and general organisation of industries or commercial establishments usually fail to achieve their purpose. The reason for this can be located in the psychology of clerical work. Forms, procedure, rules, regulations and all those numerous little things that give an office its complex slow-motion character, constitute the life of a government department or of an office managed by statutory authorities. Industry and commerce, on the other hand, cannot thrive or function at such glacial speed, and, that is why expert bureaucrats become so lethal when they devote their talents to the management of business enterprises. In the circumstances

one has to think of something more effective for the management of public enterprise than the sit-tight-and-do-nothing-until-next-year type of bureaucratic hold up of all movement that the state departments can provide. Quick movement in a highly organised manner and with trained cautiousness is one of the essential conditions of successful economic enterprise. The only persons serving the state who can move quickly towards any objectives are those in charge of the armed forces. But their objectives are usually limited and known, whereas the objectives of business managements are numerous, elusive and, quite often, unknown. The alertness and the knowledgability of entrepreneurs vary considerably from those of military officers. The outlook and ability of other government officials need not be considered at all in this connection ; for they excel in checks and controls of an elaborate and long drawn variety : while in economic enterprise these are a running necessity of a lesser priority.

Then how are we to manage our public establishments in the industrial-commercial sphere ? The answer is another counter question. How do private capitalists manage their affairs ? On enquiry we shall find that private capitalists arrange to run their organisations , even to set up such organisations , with the help of hired experts. These technical men are responsible to boards of directors or to the private owners of capital, who have general ability as well as the discipline to allow experts a free hand to get things done without relaxing in their own watchful wide awakesness. If national enterprises have to be run by ministries then we should arrange to set up boards of directors for the various establishments, industry and area-wise, and the men selected for such purposes should be persons of undoubted ability with sound records of achievements. These boards must not be allowed to be vitiated by the presence of political party nominees on them ; nor should the ministers try to influence their decisions directly or in a round about manner. The expert technical men who will be hired by the boards of directors should be of internationally recognised qualifications and they should be selected by the boards with the assistance of persons already engaged for technical work. It will therefore mean a complete separation of bureaucrats and business

managers, and, the political party leaders will not have any opportunities to exploit the nationally owned industries and enterprises in any manner whatsoever. If such a setting can be created for all public enterprises, there could then be a chance for such enterprises to run successfully as economic ventures. Otherwise our socialism will remain a pattern of wastefulness, inefficiency, corruption, abuse of power and a method of exploiting the resources of the nation for the advantage of a few undesirable characters. These persons are quite often not even Indian nationals. There are foreigners who collaborate with those who are in a position to allow them to make profits at the cost of this nation. Whether such collaboration involves secret participations in these gains is a question which no one can answer with certainty. But the tremendous expenditure indulged in by India during the last fifteen years with funds raised by borrowings and by crippling taxation has mostly yielded not much fruit as far as this nation is concerned. And suspicious people always think that whenever losses are sustained by one party, somebody else makes profits out of such losses. If, therefore, we as a nation, have lost several thousand crores of rupees during recent years, there should be some persons who have profited by our losses. Who are these people ?

Leaving aside these unsavoury aspects of our large-scale losses, we may apply ourselves to the question of preventing further bleeding out of resources. This can be achieved only by removing all persons who have been hitherto connected with the nation's economic planning and of the actual carrying out of the plans materially in all their aspects. Only a complete overhaul can save the nation's economy from total collapse caused by mismanagement, corrupt practices and a sustained attachment to mistaken policies. The nation cannot afford to follow the advice and dictates of incompetent persons. Economic solvency will just not be there unless all incompetent persons are removed from positions of power over the nation's economic organisation.

It is generally thought that the state employs persons and incurs expenditure to maintain the social order on its basis of law, custom, orderliness and multi-functional conduct. The state itself has no function which can be

measured in terms of economic values. This sort of evaluation, however does not hold good any longer. For the state now definitely undertakes the production of values in so far as it produces goods and services which can be bought and sold. In the circumstances, at least all those various undertakings of the state which produce saleable objects of a material or non-material kind, can be subjected to economic scrutiny and made to work profitably or be wound up. The state cannot undertake the production and provision of coal, steel, gas, transportation and medical facilities anyhow and at any price; for the reason that these can be produced and provided in a business-like manner. Even justice, law and order and passports can be arranged for by the state without incurring unnecessary expenses or engaging in wasteful pompousness. Again everytime a government servant is ordered to have a well dug in a remote village, he need not start on a world tour to study well digging in Russia, South America and Japan. Then again, economic liabilities must not be allowed to be created unless the state gains in proportionate assets thereby in the shape of something productive or of real value. The state must immediately give up its march towards bankruptcy in all fields of governmental activity.

### **In the Name of Socialism**

That all was not well with India's pattern of socialism has been noticed by our Prime Minister. She has discovered that many plans have been made carelessly and implemented in a worse manner. She has also found that all those who pretend to know much do not always know enough, and those who lay claims to achievements usually forget to convert their intentions to real deeds before making their claims. In short the Prime Minister is quite advanced in her realisation of the true character of the people who surround her. We suppose one of the prices that important people have to pay for being important

is to be surrounded by untrustworthy, incompetent and undesirable persons. Whether an important person will rise to the true height of the position he or she holds will be determined by her ability to shake off the self-seeking types that cluster round all important persons. Mrs. Gandhi is seeking new talent to direct her new ventures. That will be necessary if her new ventures are really necessary for the nation's progress. But what is more necessary is to close down and disperse all useless establishments and their personnel before new commitments are made. For, India requires that every man and woman must do some useful work. Mere play, acting will not suffice.

### **More Partitions ?**

India began her new era of independence with a major partition on the basis of religion. This has created more trouble for Indians than anything else during the last two hundred years. Then came more demands for "reorganisation", "redistribution" and reallocation of territory to satisfy other demands of a separatist kind based on race, language, mutual dislike of groups and coteries and so on. If all such demands were met; India would be debased into a land of a thousand antonomous states ruled over by groups of self seekers reciting catch phrases to hide their mean desires. Sometime ago there were talks of national integration and more self-seeking in the guise of thoughts of unification swamped the efforts of the few genuine men and women who still moved about in the field of Indian politics with the idea of making one India out of a medley of power grabbers. Apparently those who snatched and grabbed have been able to remove all thoughts of unification from the minds of Indians who could be heard. So that we have now only large and small bodies of state builders instead of any Nation Builders at all. This is, indeed, a very sad state of affairs and one must do something about it, so that India does not disintegrate completely to satisfy the greed of rival gangs of unworthy persons

## ABALA BOSE

### Her Life And Times

Dr. D. M. BOSE

Speaking of Rammohun Roy, Rabindranath once compared the role of a great man in revitalizing the stagnant culture of his people to that of a great river which, during its flood period, flushes the stagnant pools and deposits life giving silt over the area it serves. The impact of western culture on our half forgotten religious and cultural heritage generated in Rammohun Roy an extraordinary stream of creative activities which, like a great river, flooded the stagnant pools of our intellectual and spiritual life. The role of a great man unlike that of a river in flood is effective not only on the contemporary life of the people but also on succeeding generations. The measure of the greatness of an innovator is assessed mainly by the influence he has exerted on the spiritual and cultural development of his people in succeeding generations. Only recently, after the coming of independence, has the role of Rammohun Roy as the originator of many social, political and educational ideas on which the development of modern India is based, been more and more recognized all over the country.

To some of us the Brahmo Samaj which started with its foundation in 1828 by Rammohun Roy, later re-established by Devendranath Tagore (Adi Brahmo Samaj—1843), further developed by Keshab Chandra Sen (Bharat-barshiya Brahmo Samaj—1869) and by the efforts of Sivanath Sastri and his co-workers (Sadharan Brahmo Samaj—1878) represents a comprehensive incorporation and development of Rammohun Roy's many-sided interests in religious, social, and educational problems, and, incidentally, of his political ideas.

Amongst the second generation of eminent men and women of Bengal who came after Rammohun Roy and whose centenaries we have been celebrating during the last decade, we find names like those of Jagadis Chandra Bose (1958), Rabindranath Tagore, Prafulla Chandra Ray, Nityatan Sircar, Sarala Ray (1961), Ashutosh

Mookherjee, Swami Vivekananda (Narendran Datta), Brajendranath Seal (1964), Ramananda Chatterjee and Abala Bose (1965). They are all products of the renaissance movement in Bengal ushered in by Rammohun Roy. With the exception of three, all of the others were either born in the Brahmo Samaj or joined the Samaj after attaining maturity. Ashutosh Mookherjee, the liberal Hindu educationist, claimed that his great University reforms were inspired by Rammohun's advocacy of the need for the introduction of western learning for the higher stages of education in this country; Swami Vivekananda in his student days was a member of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj; and when later he became a disciple of Shri Ram Krishna, his attraction for the social ideals of the Brahmo Samaj never ceased.

Brajendranath Seal, a lifelong admirer and interpreter of Rammohun, was associated from his student days with the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj; towards the closing period of his life he ceased to subscribe to some of the tenets of Brahmoism like belief in personal immortality and with its concomitant belief in a personal Creator. The remaining seven were members of the Brahmo Samaj and with the exception of Rabindranath Tagore, they all belonged to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.

The present writer has, during the last eight years, published studies on the lives and activities of six of them. As an introduction to the last of these studies, that on Abala Bose, he proposes to say a few words on the milieu which the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj provided to men and women of diverse talents and which helped them to develop their innate talents.

The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was the dissident body which had separated from the Bharatvarshiya Brahmo Samaj founded by Keshav Chandra Sen. The leaders of the movement were Sivanath Sastri, Anandamohan Bose and Durgamohan Das. Bhagwan Chandra Bose



(father of J. C. Bose) was also intimately associated with the Brahmo movement.

The cardinal tenet of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was rationalism in religious belief. This implied acceptance of a moral order in which there could be no place for any kind of social inequality like handicaps due to caste or due to differences of sex. Economic destitution was also one of the handicaps to be removed. They believed in education as a great lever for raising the moral and intellectual standards of the community. Democratic form of church government they considered to be a natural consequence of their belief in the equality of men and women before the Creator.

The early Brahmos took a leading part in establishing educational institutions for men and women; they pioneered higher education of women, and education amongst the backward classes. Many of the leaders took an active part in the current political movements of the times. Anandamohan Bose was one of the first presidents of the Indian National Congress. Though they had no special aptitude for it, some of them as part of their plan for the economic growth of the country through indigenous agencies, risked their earnings in starting tea gardens and other industries and as a consequence suffered severe financial losses.

There were others who helped, by their self-sacrificing labour, to build the up Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Outstanding amongst them was Sivanath Sastri who, with his many intellectual gifts, his strength of character, and humane qualities could have, had he chosen, lived a life of eminence in comfort, but gave up all these prospects for a life of sacrifice and of continuous hardship to serve the Brahmo Samaj. There were men like Girish Chandra Majumdar of Vikrampur, Nabakanta Chatterjee of Dacca, who sacrificed their patrimony or were disinherited for joining the Brahmo Samaj.

#### *Early Years*

In this milieu Abala Bose was born on August 8, 1865 in Barisal; she was the second daughter of Durgamohan Das and Brahmomoyi Debi, both remarkable personalities, from whom Sarala Ray and Abala Bose inherited many of their fine traits. The atmosphere of their home

where Brahmamoyi's influence was regnant, and the character and activities of Durgamohan Das greatly influenced the two daughters.

Durgamohan Das was born in 1841 in a village in Vikrampur. For higher education he joined the Presidency College, Calcutta, staying with a branch of his family who had settled in Kalighat. He came under the influence of Prof. Cowell, an eminent Sanskrit scholar as well as a devout Christian. At this time, while contemplating to embrace Christianity, he placed his young wife Brahmomoyi under the care of an Indian Christian pastor, hoping that she would join her husband in his intention of accepting the Christian faith—a procedure which caused a great deal of annoyance amongst his Kalighat relations. At this time, about 1862, on the invitation of his eldest brother Kalimohan Das, who had built up a good legal practice in Barisal, he went to Barisal. Here on the advice of his brother, Durgamohan studied the writings of Theodore Parker, the American Theist. This induced Durgamohan to renounce his idea of embracing Christianity and to join the Brahmo movement which at that time, due to Keshab Chandra Sen's leadership, was attracting many young educated Bengali youths. Durgamohan never troubled himself much with the finer points of religious belief—it was more the ethics of the new religion which guided his conduct. What he considered to be good he carried out wholeheartedly, sparing neither himself nor his money. Probably Vidyasagar's widow re-marriage enabling Act had drawn his attention to the sad plight of the very young widows of his locality. His efforts to arrange for their re-marriage subjected him and his wife to virulent attacks, and, to social boycott. One incident stands out at this period; young Brahmomoyi who had just given birth to a son, learnt that the wife of a neighbour, one of the most violent opponents of Durgamohan had died at child birth; Brahmomoyi had the infant brought to her home to be nursed along with her new-born son.

In 1870 Abala Bose came with her father to Calcutta. Durgamohan wanted a wider field both for his legal practice, as well as for joining the growing Brahmo movement which was at that time passing through a crisis due to the impatience of the younger group with the

conservative views of some of Keshab's followers. At this period during religious services in the Mandir, the women used to be seated behind a purdah. This was objected to by some of the young Brahmo stalwarts who wanted their women folk to sit together with them in the Mandir; after some agitation this was conceded to. Durgamohan Das and Dr. Annada Khastgir, who later founded a girls' school at Chittagong, were prominent in this move; their daughters Abala Das and Kumudini Khastgir were fellow students in the Bethune School and passed the Entrance examination of the Calcutta University in the same year (1881).

Kamini Sen the eldest daughter of Chandi Charan Sen of Barisal, had met Abala Das first in Barisal. She passed the entrance examination one year earlier from Bethune School. These three girls maintained their friendship all through their lives.\*

\* Abala Bose used to receive in later life occasional letters from Kamini Roy mostly on her birthdays. The letters usually contained expressions of birth day good wishes and appreciation of Abala Bose's manysided humane activities. A letter dated 7th August 1933 quoted below is of interest as it contains some of Kamini Ray's early reminiscences of Abala Bose from the time they first met in Barisal; the dates mentioned are not always exact.

কল্যাণময়ি,

চই আগষ্ট তোমার শুভ জন্মদিনে আমার আন্তরিক শুভকামনা ও গভীর ভালবাসা গ্রহণ করিবে। ভগবান তোমার জীবনখানি, সৌন্দর্য্যে মাধুর্য্যে, গুণে ও গৌরবে এবং কল্যাণকর্মে ভরিয়া রাখিয়াছেন, তোমার জন্ম আজ বেশী কি প্রার্থনা করিব? তুমি আরও সুবীৰ্ণকাল যাহা পাইয়াছ, আরও পাও, যাহা দিয়াছ, আরও সকলকে দাও, যাহা করিতেছ, আরও কর। তোমার শুভ সাধনা নিজ্জিগাত হউক—ইহাই বার বার কামনা করিতেছি।

আজ কত কথা মনে হইতেছে। ১০ বৎসর পূর্বে বরিশালে তোমাকে প্রথম দেখিয়াছিলাম। উহার দুই বৎসর পর যিস্ এ-ক্রেডেন্সুলে আবার দেখা। তাহার দুই বৎসর পর হইতে যে লক্ষ্যবন্ধনে আবদ্ধ হইয়াছি তাহা এ জীবনে ছিন্ন হইবার নহে। এই অর্দ্ধ শতাব্দির অধিক কালের মধ্যে কত ঘটনাই ঘটয়া গিয়াছে প্রিয় ও পরিচিত কত কেহ চলিয়া গিয়াছেন। আমরা কয়েকটি বিশেষ

Miss Ackroyd, an English lady, a graduate of Girton College, Cambridge, during Keshab Chandra's visit to England had become interested in the education of women in Bengal; she came to India in 1872, and stayed with Monomohan Ghosh, an Indian Barrister. In 1873 a boarding school, Hindu Mahila Vidyalaya, was opened with Dwarka Nath Ganguly as Secretary; Anandamohan Bose and Durgamohan Das helped Monomohan Ghosh financially and in other ways in this venture. Miss Ackroyd who was in charge, left the school after a few years to marry one Mr. Beveridge, an Indian Civil servant.

The school after a few years of separate existence as Banga Mohila Vidyalaya was finally amalgamated with the Bethune Collegiate School. Lord Beveridge, the son of the Beveridge couple has recently written a biography of his parents with the title 'They also served India'. There is a very interesting photograph in this book of a group of young women including Sarala Ray (Das), Abala Bose (Das) and others who later became prominent in the women's movement in Bengal.

Brahmomoyi Debi did not survive long her transplantation to Calcutta; she passed away in 1875. Pandit Sivanath Sastri in his Autobiography and in his classic book "*Ramtanu Lahiri 'O' Tatkalin Banga Samaj*" has left behind a warm appreciation of this noble-hearted woman. She mothered the young women students of the Vidyalaya who during off-school days stayed with her. There were also a number of young widows who had taken refuge in their home to escape oppression from their families. To all of them she was a mother, and friend. They received their education under her care and many were well married. Both Sarala Ray and Abala Bose, we believe, inherited from their mother their generous temperament as well as a certain placidity and steadfastness of nature in face of difficulties. Durgamohan Das was a man of generous temperament and of quick

ভাবে তুমি ও আমি স্মৃতির দীপটি বন্ধে জ্বলোইয়া রাখিয়াছি। জীবন থাকিতে তাহা নিব্বিতে দিব না।

আবার প্রার্থনা করিতেছি—তোমার জীবন সুখে বাহ্যে এবং পুণ্যকর্মে সুন্দরতর ও কল্যাণতর হউক।

তোমার বাল্য মখী  
কামিনী

decision and once he made up his mind he would see things through. After the death of his wife his household was for sometime in charge of the wife of his younger brother Bhubanmohan Das, the father of C. R. Das.

We do not know much of her life between the death of her mother in 1875 and her marriage in 1887 to Jagadis Chandra Bose. A part of this period was spent as a boarder in the Bethune School and College boarding. In 1881 Abala Das had passed successfully the entrance examination of the Calcutta University.

### *Marriage 1887*

Abala Das persuaded Durgamohan to send her to Madras for medical education. The reason for her choice is not known. She did not complete her medical education but in 1887 married Jagadis Chandra Bose when he returned from England. It was one of those rare marriages between two highly gifted persons who through fifty years of happy married life struck out their own individual lines of activity, achieving distinction in their respective spheres. Their married life could be roughly divided into two periods. From 1887 to 1910 represent the period during which Jagadis Chandra after experimenting with scientific hobbies, discovered in 1895 his talent as a scientific investigator of great originality. During these years Abala Bose adjusted herself to become companion and helpmeet to her highly gifted and temperamental husband. She shared his hobbies encouraged him to take up research, and in the midst of many difficulties and setbacks supported him by her loyal and steadfast devotion.

### *Early Married Life*

All who have read accounts of the early life of Jagadis Chandra know him as a gifted but wayward youth more interested in the pursuit of his hobbies than of learning. He was fortunate in having a wise father who knew how to manage his wayward son. Later Jagadis Chandra was sobered down by the sacrifices his parents had made to send him to England for his studies. From 1881-84 he studied mainly in the Cambridge University from where he obtained the Natural Science Tripos degree and at the

same time the honours B.Sc. degree from London. After returning home he secured through the good offices of his brother-in-law, Anandamohan Bose, the post of Associate Professor of Physics in the Presidency College, Calcutta. In the early days he had to fight hard to secure recognition of his status in the government education service; for a period of three years he refused to accept the salary which was offered to him. It was a difficult time for him, as his father had retired invalided with a load of debt incurred by his various efforts to start industries in the country. At the time of Jagadis Chandra's marriage his parents and his unmarried sisters lived in a house in Chandernagore on the river bank. Durgamohan Das advised his daughter Abala that she with her husband should, at least for the first six months, live by themselves to better know each other. Later the young couple could live with her husband's family. A small house was rented by them in Chandernagore where Abala Bose, who after her mother's death had lived mainly in boarding schools, received from her husband her first lessons in housekeeping; how to arrange her stores and how to keep accounts etc.

Jagadis Chandra had every weekday to cross the river Hooghly to take the train from Naihati to Calcutta to attend the Presidency College. He purchased a jolly boat with which he was rowed to and back from Naihati. Sometimes Abala Bose took the boat to Naihati and rowed her husband back to Chandernagore. It was probably a year later that Jagadis Chandra found it more convenient to share with my parents (Mohinimohan Bose, younger brother of Anandamohan Bose and Subarnaprova, sister of Jagadis Chandra) a flat in Bowbazar Street. Ramananda Chatterjee, then a B.A. student in Presidency College, had narrated how he used to visit Jagadis Chandra at this Bowbazar house. The relation then commenced between the teacher and pupil matured into a lasting friendship; Ramananda Chatterjee, as editor of the *Prabasi* and *Modern Review*, always provided space in his two journals for the popularisation of Jagadis Chandra's discoveries.

Later, either late in 1888 or early 1889, my parents with Jagadis Chandra and my aunt, rented the commodious single storeyed house with a large garden, play fields, and tank at 64/2,

Mechuabazar Street which no longer exists. They shared this house till 1892 when Jagadis Chandra rented a house on Convent Road in order to bring his ailing parents from Chandernagore.

In the Mechuabazar house came as guest for a short time Prafulla Chandra Ray. On his return from Edinburgh he had to wait several months before he was appointed assistant Professor of Chemistry in the Presidency College; he then rented the house 91, Upper Circular Road where he resided till 1916. Jagadis Chandra and Prafulla Chandra on their retirement from Presidency College continued to live and work in this Upper Circular Road locality. Jagadis Chandra built his house at 93 Upper Circular Road (1902); after retiring from the Presidency College he built the Bose Institute adjoining it in 1917. Prafulla Chandra after retiring from the Presidency College gave up his house at 91 Upper Circular Road and was provided with a flat in the University College of Science at 92 Upper Circular Road when he joined as Palit Professor of Chemistry in 1916.

An amusing story is related by Dr. J. N. Ray, one of Prafulla Chandra's "three Jnan's". While a student in the Science College, J. N. Ray stayed with P. C. Ray. One evening the household discovered that no arrangement for the evening meal had been made; Acharyadeh asked Jnan Ray to go quietly to Lady Bose's kitchen and enquire of the cook if any surplus food was available. On hearing a conversation going on in the kitchen, Lady Bose enquired and heard the explanation of Jnan Ray. She arranged some food to be prepared and sent at once, and followed it up next day by calling on Acharya Ray to give him a sound lecture and arranged that for some time at least meals would be sent from her kitchen for his household.

Jagadis Chandra was an excellent teacher of Physics; he built up a good physics laboratory for his graduate and post-graduate students. After making adequate teaching arrangements he felt free to utilise his leisure hours for indulging in scientific hobbies, like taking voice records with the newly invented Edison's phonograph, X-rays and outdoor photography with a view, mainly, to entertain his friends and himself. Since his boyhood days, he had been fascinated with the stories of the epic and buddhist periods of ancient India. He began to spend his

vacations in touring different regions of the country, exploring and photographing ancient monuments, temples and places of scenic beauty. In those days travel was not easy; in the outlying areas people travelled by bullock carts, by ponies, dandies, and on foot. Jagadis Chandra used to carry a full plate 10" x 12" camera and did all his developing, enlarging and printing work himself. Abala Bose was his travel companion and acted as his assistant.

#### *Their Common Interest In Cultural Tours*

As years passed Jagadis Chandra's photographic hobby ceased; but the couples' interest in visiting places of historical and cultural interest never diminished. During Jagadis Chandra's later tours to foreign countries on scientific missions, such visits remained an important item of their programme. Nivedita since 1902 joined in these tours. One of the important tours undertaken by them was in 1904 to Rajgriha, Gaya, Patna, the scenes of Gautam Buddha's enlightenment and the development of early buddhist culture. Rabindranath Tagore and Jadunath Sarkar were members of the party. The last tour Nivedita undertook with them was in 1909 to Badrinath and Kedarnath. Nivedita has incorporated many of the impressions she gathered during these visits in her book "*Footfalls of Indian History*". In 1911 she went with the Boses to Darjeeling; while preparations were being made for a tour to Sandakphu and Phalut she fell ill and succumbed to her illness.

In 1907 I went with Jagadis Chandra and my aunt to England for studies in Cambridge. During 1907-08 with my brother Ajitmohan Bose, my cousin Himansu, we spent vacations with my uncle and aunt—Nivedita was with them. During X'mas 1907 we were in London staying near the house where my uncle's party lived. Every day Abala Bose cooked an Indian meal for our lunch. In the evenings we often sat in the sitting room; on such occasions Nivedita used to read and recite to us. One of the essays which she read has subsequently been incorporated in her "*Footfalls of Indian History*". In the chapter on the cities of Buddhism, Nivedita had collected data to support her theory, that 'the places of an (Buddhist) Abbey would always be at a certain distance from a city whose government was in

sympathy with it.' As illustration she cited examples of the location of Dhauli near Khanda-giri, of Gaya near Bodhi Gaya, of Benaras near Sarnath etc. I was very much impressed by her idea. Next year while in Edinburgh I went with my brother Ajit to visit Prof. Geddes and his Outlook Tower. Taking as example the location of the Edinburgh castle at some distance from the Holyrood Abbey, Geddes developed his thesis of the usual location of an abbey in Britain near the seat of temporal power, ideas very similar to those of Nivedita's. Later I came to know that Nivedita at one time had worked with Geddes and had been inspired by the latter's sociological theories.

In 1908 my brother and I went to Dublin to attend the meeting of British Association where Jagadis Chandra read a paper. More interesting to us than the meeting were the people we met and the places we visited. Amongst the people who met my uncle were the Irish poet and mystic AE (George Russell), Sir Horace Plunkett, the organiser of the Irish Cooperative Society, Richard Noble, Nivedita's brother who was then an official of the Irish Cooperative Organisation. We saw some of the new Irish plays in Lady Gregory's Abbey Theatre; we visited some of the neolithic ruins, the dolmenes, in which are found carvings of the two-headed snakes with their mouths biting each other—the same symbolism we see in the Indian bangle 'Ananta' the symbol of eternity. We saw the ancient sites of Tara Hills—here Nivedita was our guide and expositor. After the Dublin meeting our party returned to Liverpool from where the Boses with Nivedita started for the USA. This was the last time I saw Nivedita. Three years later in 1911 in London, I saw a newspaper report of Nivedita's passing away in Darjeeling. Only a month earlier I had received a letter from her in which she suggested as to how I should prepare myself for taking up Jagadis Chandra's work.

To resume the thread of my narration: Jagadis Chandra, who had till 1892 shared with my father the Mechuabazar house, decided to move to a house in Convent Road, Entally, to bring his ailing parents to Calcutta for medical treatment. Within two years of their removal to Calcutta Bhagwan Chandra Bose and his wife passed away.

### *Beginnings of Scientific Research*

A great change occurred to Jagadis Chandra at this time; he decided to take up scientific research seriously; within one year he was able to communicate to the Asiatic Society some remarkable results. Important decisions like the one Jagadis Chandra consciously took on his birth day in 1891 are probably the result of some inner conflict which had been going on in the subconscious region of his mind—I believe Abala Bose's persuasions had something to do with her husband's decision. After his first communication to the Asiatic Society, Jagadis Chandra sent some of his subsequent papers for communication to the Royal Society to Lord Rayleigh who was Jagadis Chandra's professor in Cambridge. It was probably on Lord Rayleigh's recommendation that the Bengal Government decided to send Jagadis Chandra on one year's deputation to Europe.

The original plan was for Jagadis Chandra to go alone on his deputation to Europe. He however decided to request his wife to accompany him; she was only too happy to agree. His eight years of wedded life had taught Jagadis Chandra to depend on Abala Bose's calm strength and on her unruffled temper under all distressing circumstances.

In one of her few writings "World tour of a Bengali lady" written probably in 1927, Abala Bose has given an account of her first European tour in 1896 in company with her husband. In October 1896, a few days after their arrival in England, Jagadis Chandra was invited to give an experimental demonstration at the meeting of the British Association at Liverpool. Abala Bose describes how she felt—a Bengali woman sitting in the midst of other visitors in the gallery of the lecture hall. 'Uptil now', she writes, 'the world had accepted the view that Indians were incapable of making any real contribution to science; here at this meeting a Bengali was standing up to challenge the world's opinion!' Naturally she felt very nervous about the outcome of this test. On hearing repeated applause interrupting Jagadis Chandra's lecture, she felt assured that victory rather than defeat had come to Jagadis Chandra. Soon after she saw an elderly person coming up the stairs leaning

on a stick, to congratulate her on the professor's discoveries. It was Lord Kelvin, the doyen of the British physicists.

She met several other prominent physicists like Oliver Lodge, J. J. Thomson, Lord Rayleigh and was invited by them to their homes. She describes meeting chemists also, Dewar, Ramsay, Donnan, Gladstone. Gladstone came of a very well connected family. When she first met them the family was in deep distress as one of the daughters had broken the family tradition and married a poor labour leader Ramsay Macdonald, the son of a highland crofter; later in life Ramsay Macdonald became the first British Labour Prime Minister of England.

Contrary to her expectation, she writes in another place, that the wives of the scientists would be intellectual women, she discovered that most of them found satisfaction in being devoted wives and true helpmeet to their husbands. Lord Kelvin was very careless about himself, his wife was always in attendance looking after him! So Abala Bose felt assured that to be a great scientist's wife it was not necessary to match him in intellectual qualities, but to look after the needs of her scientist husband and to mother him. This is what she did during the rest of her married life.

The second great impression of her visit was on the occasion of Jagadis Chandra's first Royal Institution lecture; she saw the Davy Faraday laboratory with its collection of historical apparatus with which famous scientists belonging to the Institution had worked; she witnessed also how the Friday evening discourses were delivered by world-famous scientists who spoke of their discoveries to educated audiences. After this lecture, Jagadis Chandra and Abala Bose resolved to save money for establishing a similar institution in their own country—this dream was realized 20 years after, when the Bose Institute was founded in 1917. Many donors known and anonymous contributed to the realisation of this project.

The sense of mission with which Jagadis Chandra and Abala Bose first visited Europe was echoed in the tumultuous appreciation with which they were received by their countrymen on their return home in 1897. Rabindranath was

the first to express in words and verse his countrymen's appreciation.

From 1897 on until their second visit to Europe in 1900, the couple stayed most of the time with Anandamohan Bose at 139 Dharmatala Street, and partly in the house at 85 Upper Circular Road. A growing circle of intellectual friends visited them in the last named house. Mrs. Ole Bull, Miss Margaret Noble (sister Nivedita) called on the Boses; Vivekananda and his fellow monks staying in Belur Math became their friends—we find that from 1900 to 1913 the Boses spent some of their vacations at the Advaita Ashram, Mayabati, near Almora. With Rabindranath came Mohit Chandra Sen and Loken Palit, both of whom were interested in Rabindranath's poems. The coming of Sarala Ghosal and Charu Chandra Datta, a colleague of Arabinda Ghosh from Baroda, oriented the group's interest in the growing national agitation also.

One of the accomplishments which Abala Bose acquired during her visit (1896-97) to England was cycling, in which her husband was already an adept. During their stay at 85 Upper Circular Road the Bose couple with missionary zeal induced some of their friends to practise this art. The practising ground was the lawn of the house at 64/2 Mechuabazar Street which was separated from Jagadis Chandra's house by a common wall. Amongst those who joined were Dr. P. C. Ray, Dr. Nilotkan Sircar and his wife. Their enthusiasm did not last more than one season I believe. This zeal in sharing with her husband some common form of physical exercise like rowing, going out to excursions, cycling, were but the expression of one aspect of the freedom in to which women of the Brahmo Samaj were being ushered.

Before leaving for England again in 1900, Jagadis Chandra and my father bought two adjoining pieces of land at 92/3 and 93 Upper Circular Road. By the time Jagadis Chandra returned in 1902 the two houses were built and ready for occupation. In 1901 my father died and we lived for a year in Anandamohan Bose's house.

Their two years' stay in England (1900-03) was a critical period in the scientific life of Jagadis Chandra. He had till then trodden the familiar path of researches on electric waves; he was now trying to establish a new generalisation

on the similarity of responses in the living and in the non-living. Vivekananda was present at the International Congress of Physics in Paris in 1900 when Jagadis Chandra presented his thesis. In the account he sent home of the impression of this meeting he concluded with these words.

"Out of this vast assembly, one young man stood up for Thee (my country) : one of thy heroic ones whose words had electrified the audience and will thrill all his countrymen. Blessed be Thy heroic son ; Blessed be his devoted and peerless helpmate who stands by him always !

On his return from England in 1902 Jagadis Chandra and Abala Bose came to a house they had built according to their own specifications. It was a three-storeyed building ; the top storey contained Jagadis Chandra's study, library, and later a few rooms for research. On this floor Jagadis Chandra could isolate himself and pursue his studies even when the rest of this house was full of relations and visitors. The ground floor which contained the living rooms was furnished and decorated in the Indian style revived by the Tagores of Dwarkanath Tagore Lane. On the northern walls of the drawing room, Abanindranath's pupils from the Indian school of Art, had painted his famous painting of *Bharatmata*. Higher up on all the four walls, Nandalal Bose had painted on wooden boards scenes mostly from the Mahabharata in the Ajanta style. Later on were put on the walls miniature paintings by Gaganendranath Tagore, a crayon portrait of Rabindranath by his cousin Abanindranath, one of his finest portraits.

During the next twentyfive years Jagadis Chandra passed through a phase of intense constructional activities. In the laboratory his wonderful set of instruments were being constantly redesigned, remodelled, to reach higher and higher degree of accuracy, magnification and compactness. He had, during this time, several places at his disposal in Calcutta, Darjeeling and Falta, where he constructed and reconstructed laboratories and buildings and landscape gardens. It was noticed that with failing health his creative efforts in building as well as in his scientific research began to slow down.

In the early days Rabindranath was a frequent visitor to his house ; he used to go straight to Jagadis Chandra's study on the

top floor. The partition of Bengal was associated with many scenes of activity in this house. Whenever Rabindranath composed a new *Swadeshi* song he came with it to Jagadis Chandra's drawing room to have his songs recorded by Hemendramohan Bose in the new Pathephone. It is a matter of great regret that only a few of these wax records of Rabindranath's voice of his early middle age, could be preserved. It was from this house on 16th October 1905 that Anandamohan Bose was carried on a stretcher to lay the foundation stone of the Federation Hall, on a site opposite to that of Jagadis Chandra's house on Upper Circular Road. A year later Anandamohan Bose died in this house.

The same year, probably December 1906, the Maharajah Gaikwar of Baroda came with the Maharani to witness some plant physiological experiments of Jagadis Chandra. After appearing for the M.Sc. examination I was working in Jagadis Chandra's laboratory as a research student. Jagadis Chandra asked my friend Nagendranath Roy and myself to demonstrate some experiments with plants before the Maharaja, and later we were introduced to him. Next year N. N. Roy and myself were awarded two scholarships by the Maharajah of Baroda for study in England.

This incident brings to my mind another occasion in 1898 when at 139 Dharmatala Street I saw Rabindranath bring Maharajah Manikya Deb of Tripura to witness a similar demonstration of Jagadis Chandra's electric wave experiments. On that occasion, however, I with my cousins were observing the demonstration through a sky light on the roof. Sometimes in those days Rabindranath would stay for dinner with my uncle and aunt and then adjourn upstairs to an open verandah and on request would give a few songs.

I accompanied Jagadis Chandra and my aunt to England in 1907. I have described how in October 1908 my uncle and aunt, after the termination of the British Association meeting in Dublin, went to America where they were for some time the guests of Mrs. Ole Bulle. By 1909 they were back home.

So far I have described the first two decades of the married life of Abala Bose first as a companion of Jagadis Chandra in his many excursions and adventures and then as the devot-

ed wife of an Indian scientist who shared with her husband the quest for reviving the scientific tradition of the country. During this period that particular aspect of her nature she had inherited from her mother could only find expression in the maternal care she took of her husband. From 1910 onwards, when she was elected Secretary, Brahma Balika Sikshalaya, she began an independent life directed to the education of girls, and later to the welfare of distressed girls and women.

*Contact with Anandamohan Bose*

The period from 1897 to 1910, when she with her husband came in close contact with Anandamohan Bose's family, had helped I believe, to deepen that side of Abala Bose's character which she had inherited from her mother Brahmoymoyi Debi.

In 1875 Anandamohan Bose purchased Fairy Hall, a house in Dum Dum with extensive grounds where the British had at one time imprisoned the Nawabs of Sind. This house and later, another, purchased in 1891 by Anandamohan at 129 Dharmatala Street, gave shelter to the members of the Bose family when any one of them was in need of such shelter. This happened the last time in 1902 when after the death of my father my mother with her three sons, Jagadis Chandra's unmarried sisters, and after their return from England in 1902. Jagadis Chandra and Abala Bose, lived for some time.

In 1903 Anandamohan, due to increasing financial difficulties, caused partly by the losses incurred by the National Tea Company, decided to remove his family to Dum Dum and let out his Dharmatala house which was later sold. Due to progressive deterioration in health Anandamohan, with his family, had from time to time come and live with Jagadis Chandra at his Upper Circular Road house. In 1906 Anandamohan died in this house, where later, during 1907-10, three of his daughters died. His wife Swarnaprobha Bose, after a lingering illness, also passed away in this house. During the last quarter of the century Swarnaprobha was more or less ailing and not capable of looking after her family. The partial responsibility for looking after them fell off and on, on Abala Bose from 1897 and more or less continuously since

1903. From the Upper Circular Road house some of the sons and daughters of Anandamohan got married and started their own households. Anandamohan's children looked upon Abala Bose as their second mother. To her sympathetic and understanding heart they could confide their difficulties and troubles.

I believe this long contact with the ailing family deepened Abala Bose's maternal instincts and her understanding of human sorrow. During the next forty years she took under her care more than one distressed family, tended them back to health, provided them with educational opportunities and set them up on their feet. Not only to families, but to individuals also she gave her personal attention and care. As her fame spread, numbers of people, mainly distressed women, sought her help and advice. She always gave them a patient hearing and assisted them as much as it was within her power to do. It was astonishing to notice the large circle of men and women to whom she could turn for help for her protegee.

Prof. Patrick Geddes, a friend of Nivedita, came with his wife in 1915 to hold town planning exhibitions in India. Mrs. Geddes with an American lady Miss Mcleod spent the autumn holidays in 1915 with the Boses in Darjeeling. During the summer of 1916 the Geddes were in Lucknow. After holding a town planning exhibition there they returned to Calcutta with the intention of proceeding to Darjeeling where Prof. Geddes had plans for holding a series of extension lectures.

In Lucknow Mrs. Geddes had contracted, as it was then called, enteric fever. She stayed in the Calcutta house of Dr. Nihatan Sircar for treatment and Prof. Geddes went with the Boses to Darjeeling to fulfil his summer school programme. He had in the meantime heard the news of the death of his eldest son Alastair in the War front: this news he had to withhold from his wife. From Darjeeling he again came back to Calcutta on hearing of the critical state of Mrs. Geddes's illness. When he arrived she had already passed away. After the funeral he returned to Darjeeling to stay with the Boses for a time. At this time he passed through a period of great mental stress. Rabindranath Tagore was staying in an adjoining portion of the house occupied by Jagadis Chandra. For the



rest of his period of stay in India till 1921 Prof. Geddes when he had no other assignment, stayed with the Boses. Before leaving India he completed a biography of Jagadis Chandra which is still the standard one. In one of the chapters Prof. Geddes paid a fine tribute to Abala Bose which is reproduced here. Speaking of the influences under which Jagadis Chandra came from his youthful days, Geddes writes:

"Most important however, of all these influences from youth onwards has of course been that of his life companion of now some thirty-three years. She had an education in Science, having been a medical student for four years. Fortunately too for her, in view of long continued scanty means and strenuous savings to pay off family debts, she had been trained to skilled and thrifty house-keeping. Yet here has been no simple housewife's life, but one full of active culture-interests also, not only appreciating her husband's many scientific problems and tasks, and hospitality to his students and friends, but sharing all his cares and difficulties, and so lightening them not a little. For his impassioned temperament - in younger days doubtless fiery, and still excitable enough - her strong serenity and persistently cheerful courage have been an invaluable and ever an active support, like the fly-wheel steadily maintaining and regulating the throbbing energies of the steam engine. Pilgrimages in India and visits to Europe and America have been made always together, and their one great common sorrow - the loss of their only babe in early infancy - has made them more completely at one. Alike for physical health, on the whole well maintained yet once and again nursed back from danger and for steadiness of intellectual output, for consolation in times of trial, difficulty and depression, as well as cheerful acceptance and constant lightening of long years of poverty and self-denial—which cannot but press more closely upon a wife than on a husband—Bose has indeed been rarely fortunate in such a helpmeet; and no friend or biographer could fail to recognise the great-

ness of her share in his life's productivity and success".

### *Brahmo Balika Sikshalaya*

In the concluding sentence of the article from which I have quoted earlier Abala Bose wrote: "Whatever I have been able to accomplish for my country has been based upon the experience I had gathered during my foreign tours".

In 1910, Abala Bose succeeded her sister Sarala Ray as Secretary, Brahmo Balika Sikshalaya. Sarala Ray had been to England with her husband early in the 1890's; from 1910 she was for several years in England where her husband Dr. P. K. Ray was for some time Educational Adviser to the Indian students. After her return she founded the Gokhale Memorial School which has now in addition a college wing. It would be an interesting study to compare how the two sisters utilized their foreign experiences in planning the education of girls of this country.

What we learn from our experience depend largely on the attitude with which we seek to study—it depends both on what we focus our attention on and what we assimilate. Sarala Ray married Dr. P. K. Ray in 1878 when she was about 17. At this period her education was mainly guided by her husband who had returned with a very firmly west oriented attitude towards life.

Abala Das with her friends Kamini Sen, Kumudini Khastgir, as fellow boarders in the Bethune School, came at this period very much under the influence of the budding nationalism developing in the country. Her husband had a wise father who sent Jagadis Chandra to a village pathshala before being introduced to English education. Jagadis Chandra through attending melas, fairs, and reading of the epic stories had been nursed in the tradition and culture of the country. Their friendship with Vivekananda, Nivedita, with Rabindranath and his group, had created in them a desire to orient their living in tune with the dawning cultural pattern of the country.

Abala Bose as well as Jagadis Chandra were both religious by temperament and till the very last they commenced the day with a devotional hour. The orientation from which Abala Bose tested and assimilated her western experiences

thus contained both a religious as well as a nationalist element.

During her tenure of office as Secretary, Brahma Balika Shikshalaya, extending over a quarter of a century, Abala Bose made the institution probably the leading girl's school of the province. After 1919 part of her attention was concentrated on the founding of the Nari Siksha Samiti which I shall describe later.

When the premises 294, Upper Circular Road was purchased by the Brahma Balika Shikshalaya (BBS) authorities, there was a two-storeyed building at the eastern end of a large plot of land. The first building to be erected by the school authorities was the Mary Carpenter Hall with a dormitory above it, with grants received, I believe, from the National Indian Association, London, in memory of Mary Carpenter. When Abala Bose took charge, some additional plots of land were acquired on the northern side of the original area from the Federation Hall authorities. Next a two-storeyed building on the western side was erected with donations from the sons and daughters of Durgamohan Das. The building was named Durgamohan Bhawan. Soon after, the old red building to the east was demolished and replaced by a new structure named Anandamohan Bhawan.

From the time of taking over charge as Secretary, Abala Bose, whenever she was in Calcutta, used daily to spend some hours in the school, holding discussions with the teachers about methods of improving the teaching; she also made it a point to know the girls. The late Basanti Chakraborti had related that at one time Nivedita, at the request of Abala Bose, gave instructions to a group of teachers on Froebel's method of kindergarten teaching. During her subsequent visits to Europe Abala Bose was impressed with the progress being made in the Montessori method of child education. She decided to open classes for Montessori teaching in the BBS.

For the Montessori section of the BBS, Abala Bose first appointed Sm. Meher Vakil who had received her training abroad as Montessori teacher. Subsequently Sm. Nalini Raha was sent to Rome to be trained in Mme. Montessori's institutions. The BBS's Montessori department was probably the first of its kind in this province.

Even before the opening of the Montessori

department, Abala Bose had, under a scheme for training Indian women teachers, sent there Sm. Rajkumari Das and Sm. Swarnalata Das, teachers of the school. Both of them on their return served for sometime as Head Mistress in the school.

Lady Bose's real discovery was Miss Florence Saker who had taken the M.A. degree of the London University. As a christian Miss Saker had ingrained habits of discipline so dear to that community. She possessed in addition an even temperament and could mix easily with the staff and the students. She could, when necessary, admonish, but she also saw to it that it did not leave a hurt feeling behind. Under Abala Bose's guidance Miss Saker within a short time was able to introduce remarkable changes in the school atmosphere in its teaching, and discipline. A teacher of physical training was appointed. For the senior girls, for training in lathi playing, Pulin Das was appointed. Amongst the many extra curricular activities introduced at this period were included annual excursions of senior girls to different regions of India. This formed part of Abala Bose's programme to inculcate in the students the consciousness of their Indian identity. In her talks with the girls Abala Bose used to present before them the ideal of a disciplined personality who could with her training become a good mother, a good citizen, taking her share in all kinds of welfare work of the community. Above all, amongst the changes in the management, the important thing she introduced was the atmosphere and the ideals she placed before the school teachers and the taught. Many of the girls who passed out of the school at this period have, wherever they were placed, taken their share in relieving human distress and been engaged in social service. In 1936 when Abala Bose saw that the school was progressing well and did not need her continuous attention, she resigned her post as Secretary to the BBS to devote her whole attention to developing the institutions of the Nari Siksha Samiti. She always maintained to the end her interest in the School.

#### *1915-1937, the Last Phase of Their Married Life*

Within five years of Abala Bose taking charge of the BBS in 1915, Jagadis Chandra

retired from the Education Service. He had just returned home via Japan after a strenuous lecture tour in the USA with a severe nervous breakdown—one of the symptoms was a persistent insomnia. After several trials he found that the air of Darjeeling suited him best; he took on lease from Dr. N. R. Sircar, Glen Eden No. 1 where he stayed till 1922. During this time he was looking out for a suitable site where he could build his proposed Himalayan research laboratory. This area with its forests and glades broken with waterfalls is one of the most desirable residential localities of Darjeeling. Jagadis Chandra decided to purchase the three cottages named Abbey Home 1 and 2 and Sanctum, a linear array of glass fronted one room deep cottages perched on the edge of a hill—the cottages were also known among the hill people as *Ayna Kutir*. They have been renamed Mayapuri. He thoroughly reconditioned these cottages; he built as extension, a concrete house, at a level lower than the cottages which included a small laboratory and accommodation for the research staff. In addition there was a glass house. Jagadis Chandra also acquired a piece of forest land below Mayapuri with the Mackintosh Road on its upper side and on the lower side the Auckland Road, two waterfalls enclosing it on the two lateral sides. In developing these forest lands he found some outlet for his abounding energy. He planted new trees, opened out some sites for the future extension of the laboratory and for field work. He used to be seen going up and down the hill sides with an *Alpenstock* in his hand; his grey suit and mop of grey hair contrasting well with his bronzed face.

In this locality Jagadis Chandra and Abala Bose spent, when not away on European tours, six months of the year from May to October. After the Bose Institute was founded in 1917 Jagdis Chandra appointed Prof. N. C. Nag, till then Professor of Chemistry, Banaras Hindu University, as the Assistant Director and placed him in charge of the administration of the Bose Institute.

During the period 1916-23 this part of Darjeeling served as a summer resort for a large number of the intellectual elites of Bengal including Nilratan Sircar, Jagadis Chandra Bose, Rabindranath Tagore, his son Rathindra-

nath Tagore and his cousins Gaganendranath Tagore and Abanindranath Tagore; Dr. B. N. Seal and Prof. M. Ghosh, who resided in other parts of Darjeeling often visited this area. Prof. P. Geddes and Dr. Cousins, one a scientist and the other a student of literature, utilized their vacations in Darjeeling to hold summer schools and give lectures.

On my return from Europe in 1919 I saw some of the activities of this interesting group in Darjeeling. Two impressions are still vivid in my memory: the first was a lecture on excavation at Mohenjodaro given soon after the discovery of the sites by my college friend Rakhaldas Banerjee. A select gathering including the late C. R. Das assembled in Jagadis Chandra's sun parlour to hear this lecture. Jagadis Chandra's desire to visit these sites of prehistoric Indian civilization could only be satisfied four years later when he presided over the Lahore session of the Indian Science Congress in 1927. An excursion to Harappa was arranged by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, the then Deputy Director General of Archeology. Amongst the party which accompanied J. C. Bose and Abala Bose were Prof. and Mrs. A. H. Compton, S. N. Bose, Meghnad Saha and myself.

Some years later Prof. Nicholas Roerich the famous artist and traveller from the Baltic province of Russia resided with his family including his wife and two sons for a few months in the cottage Hermitage near Lebong. The party had just completed a trek through Mongolia and the Tibetan plateau to India. I met them one day when they called on Jagadis Chandra; the menfolk wearing top boots and riding horses looked impressive. I was very pleased to accept an invitation to visit them. During this visit Prof. Roerich showed me a number of small paintings he had completed recently—usually depicting scenes of Mongolian camps at night with always a rider on a white horse passing by—it was a representation of a mongolian legend of the second coming of Gautam Buddha. From Madam Roerich I heard a vivid account of their journey across the Tibetan plateau; on several nights she saw luminous balls travelling across the tent walls and rugs—she believed them to be of esoteric origin; probably they were of a rare type of electric discharge phenomena which

can occur at high altitude under dry atmospheric conditions.

Life became quieter for the Boses when the flux of summer visitors I have mentioned gradually ceased. Their daily routine commenced as usual with a devotional hour; after breakfast they spent some time in the garden or took short walks round the locality—often Jagadis Chandra was seen riding a pony while Abala Bose walked. If there were friends staying in Glen Eden the walk ended with a short visit there. After returning Jagadis Chandra entered his study where his secretary Miss Ornsholt was waiting for him to dispose off his correspondence or to type the monographs which Jagadis Chandra was then writing. This went on till 12 noon, the time for lunch.

Lady Bose employed this period in disposing off her large correspondence dealing principally with the administration of the two institutions in her charge—the BBS and the Nari Siksha Samiti. She was a rapid writer, quickly taking decisions on problems sent upto her from Calcutta. It would be worthwhile publishing a selection of her letters which reveal her insight into the problems sent upto her and into the character of the people in charge of administration.

In the midst of her various preoccupations she always found time to go to the bazar to purchase her supply of fresh fruits, vegetables and other edibles. The bazaar was about 2 miles from Mayapuri and about 1000 ft. below. Till she was seventy Lady Bose usually covered both the ways on foot. Only later, for her return journey she would take a rickshaw. Though few of the bazaar people knew Jagadis Chandra, the shopkeepers, the porters and the rickshawallas knew Lady Bose as a discriminating buyer and a generous patron. Occasionally she had relations and friends to lunch; the afternoon tea was generally for inviting officials, mostly British with whom they kept up friendly contacts so necessary for securing grants to the institutions in which the Bose couple were interested.

In the evenings, on occasions, senior people like Pravash Chandra Mitra, Bhupendranath Bose, Jadunath Sarkar were invited with whom Jagadis Chandra could discuss the problems of education, research and administration of the country.

Sometimes in the morning the grandchildren of Dr. Sircar and of other relatives came to call on Bose *Dadu* and Bose *Didi*. They were first ushered in to Jagadis Chandra's study—one of the questions usually put to them was how much they loved Bose *Dadu*. They demonstrated this by stretching their arms wide almost touching at the back. After they had imprinted their token of affection on Bose *Dadu*, they were sent out to see Bose *Didi* who was waiting for them with a bag of sweets—she had a realistic view of what induced the young barbarians to visit Mayapuri.

Since his retirement Jagadis Chandra visited Europe eight times; on the last five occasions, 1926-30, he attended sittings of the Committee for Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations at Geneva. Through such meetings his contacts with the intellectuals of Europe widened; he met Einstein, Gilbert Murray, Mme Curie and others. He took the opportunity of visiting Romain Rolland who presented him with three volumes of his novel *Jean Christophe*. He visited many continental universities where he delivered addresses. He made friends with Prof. Sommerfeld of Munich, with Prof. Molisch the famous Plant Physiologist, and ex-Rector of the Vienna University. Prof. Molisch stayed for one year as visiting scientist at the Bose Institute (1923-29). After his return Molisch published a book of impressions of his Indian visit; it contained an important chapter on the Bose Institute and the investigations which were being carried out there. Many of the younger group of German plant physiologists including Prof. Bibel, Molisch's successor at Vienna, made a thorough study of his book before coming to India to visit the Bose Institute.

The first three European visits (1919-23) coincides with the gradual acceptance by the British plant physiologists of Jagadis Chandra's new biophysical concept of the common nature of responses to stimulation in animal and plant tissues; he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London in 1920. Jagadis Chandra during his stay in London often gave private demonstrations of his latest experimental results; many leading scientists and intellectuals were invited. This was done partly to convince the scientists of the value of the investigations carried out in the Bose Institute, and to

associate them with representations made to the India office to increase the Government of India grant to the Bose Institute.

Some of his oponents at this time wrote to the *Times* that they were not satisfied with the claims of Jagadis Chandra, based as they were on experiments carried out in his private laboratories. Jagadis Chandra replied to this challenge by inviting a group of scientists to be present at a demonstration of his experiments (23rd April, 1920) in the University College of London. These scientists in a letter to the *Times* testified to the validity of the experimental technique used by Jagadis Chandra and of the conclusions on plant response derived from them. During this period of stress and trouble, Abala Bose's tact and serenity was of great help in easing her husband's contacts with the group of British scientists.

Amongst the many friends among scientists and intellectuals during their several visits to Great Britain, one of the earliest was Prince Kropotkin the famous Russian anarchist who, early in 1902, was convinced of the truth of Jagadis Chandra's generalisation on the similarity of responses in the living and the non-living. Prince Kropotkin presented Jagadis Chandra with his two volumes of *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*. One of the later group to witness Jagadis Chandra's plant physiological demonstration was George Bernard Shaw, who after witnessing one such demonstration in 1927 presented Jagadis Chandra with a set of his collected plays; Two of the volumes '*Back to Methuselah*' and '*St. Joan*' contained the inscription 'from the least to the greatest of living biologists', which was, for Shaw an unusual expression of self depreciation. More characteristic of Shaw was the story circulated in 1919 of a meeting arranged in London for British philosophers to meet Henri Bergson; it is related that Shaw took a large part of the time at this meeting in explaining what Bergson's philosophy meant.

The winter months always found the Roses back in Calcutta—it was a busy time for them; many meetings had to be arranged. important people were to be received and shown round the Bose Institute. The most important meeting of the season was the anniversary of the Bose Insti-

tute on November 30—it was a double event, as it coincided with Jagadis Chandra's own birthday. During his later years Jagadis Chandra used to work himself to a state of extreme nervous tension in arranging to the last detail the experimental demonstrations which would accompany his anniversary lecture. Abala Bose had her own responsibilities too—not only to look after her highly-strung husband, but also to make arrangements for two dinners which would follow the anniversary lecture—one was for the research and workshop staff of the Bose Institute, where she personally served; followed a little later by the dinner to which both Jagadis Chandra and Abala Bose's relations were invited as well as friends like Dr. Nilratan Sircar, Ramananda Chatterjee, with their families. Dr. P. C. Ray did not attend these evening functions. He usually came the following morning to collect his share of the previous evening's entertainment for his proteges. At one time Jagadis Chandra started a discussion circle in Calcutta whose meetings were occasionally attended by Dr. Radhakrishnan, Prof. M. Ghosh, Prof. Benoy Sarkar, a Bengali Philosopher from Oxford and others but it did not coalesce into anything permanent.

As time passed on—Jagadis Chandra began to loose his hold on life. His physicians advised him to give up his summer visits to Darjeeling—as the elevation of the place was not good for him. During these years instead, the couple went on short visits to Giridih during winter and for long weekends to Falta on the river Hooghli near Diamond Harbour. Lady Bose made many attempts to keep Jagadis Chandra interested in meeting different types of people who were invited to meet him. She feared that the cessation of visits to Europe since 1930 had cut off Jagadis Chandra from the stream of intellectual movements in Europe; she was often arranging plans for Jagadis Chandra to undertake short visits to Europe during the summer.

The golden jubilee of their wedding on February 27, 1937 was celebrated by a gathering of old friends and relations who brought them presents and recalled past memories. Nine months later while preparing for the return journey to Calcutta in time for the Bose Institute's anniversary, Jagadis Chandra quietly passed away in Giridih on November 23, 1937.

### *Nari Siksha Samiti*

In 1919 Abala Bose founded the Nari Siksha Samiti with the comprehensive aim of imparting education in the mother-tongue to girls and adult women, so as to enable them to be good mothers, good housewives, as well as useful members of society, and, when necessary, to earn their living in honourable ways. It is interesting to study how the objectives of the Samiti were gradually realized—it took two decades before she could give her project a rounded form.

According to the present vogue in planning, she should have given first a blue print of her perspective planning indicating the dates by which the different stages of this plan would be implemented. Being a pioneer and having no precedent to guide her, Abala Bose had to work otherwise namely, when each stage of the plan was approaching completion, she would intuitively visualise the next stage of the development plan; after two decades she had outlined and put into operation a more or less complete programme of education and training for girls and adult women, specially for the socially and economically handicapped. Sm. Asoka Gupta in a recent address delivered on the occasion of Abala Bose's Birth Centenary Celebration, had pointed out that the present social welfare schemes for women and girls which are financed by the State, and worked through women welfare organisations, generally follow the plan which Abala Bose had developed intuitively.

The institutions started under the auspices of the Nari Siksha Samiti broadly came under two groups :

1. Imparting in the vernacular, education to girls and adult women, to enable them to be good mothers, good housewives, to be useful members of society. A free primary education programme was started in 1919 in Calcutta and its suburbs; it was soon extended in 1921 to the districts in East and West Bengal; it was from the first a successful venture. To meet the growing dearth of teachers for these schools a scheme for teachers' training was started in 1925 at the Vidyasagar Bani Bhawan. This will be described in the next section.

This portion of the Samiti's work had to be closed by the time of the Partition of Bengal, when in West Bengal the District Boards took the responsibility of starting free primary schools in selected areas; for the education of adult women the Sister Nivedita Adult Education scheme was started in 1938 by Abala Bose with a donation of Rs. one lakh left by her husband Jagadis Chandra Bose.

2. The second and what has become the most important part of the Nari Siksha Samiti programme, was to enable girls and women trained in the Samiti's institution to earn their living in honourable ways as respected members of society. To this group belong :

- (1) Vidyasagar Bani Bhawan (1925)
- (2) Silpa Bhawan (1927)
- (3) Junior and Senior Training department (1935)
- (4) Cooperative Industrial Home (1938)
- (5) Jhargram Headquarters of the Bani Bhawan (1940)

With the rapid increase in the number of primary schools in the mufassil areas during the period following 1921, great difficulty was felt in obtaining teachers who would be prepared to live and work in rural areas. From her many contacts with women workers like Krishna Bhabini Das and Harimati Debi, Abala Bose had realized the deplorable economic conditions in which a large section of the widows in Bengal lived; this was aggravated with the gradual breakdown of the joint family system as a result of the first World War. She realized that from this class of economically distressed young widows, teachers for the primary schools could be recruited. For the training of such widows the Vidyasagar Bani Bhawan was started, whose inmates would receive free board and tuition and sufficient education to fit them to be primary school teachers. The condition of living in the Bani Bhawan was so arranged that even the most orthodox families would have no hesitation to send their wards to it.

Fifty years earlier Abala Bose's father, Durgamohan Das had felt keenly the sad condition of many child widows of his locality; it was his plan in which his wife Brahmamoyi Debi shared, to receive child widows who came to their home for shelter, surrounding them with

maternal care, providing them with some education and then, wherever possible, marry them to suitable men. Now Abala Bose found that with the state of Hindu Society with which she had to deal, legal sanction of widow remarriage was not an adequate remedy for the solution of the many economic difficulties in which a large body of young widows had to live. Hence her plan for starting the Bani Bhawan.

Conditions in the Hindu Society have undergone a rapid change during the last thirty years (1925-55). Girls are no longer married young, so there are few child widows. In many middle-class families the parents themselves provide opportunities to their widowed wards for training to fit them to earn their own living. The problem now is to educate and rehabilitate displaced and economically distressed girls and adult women, independently of their marital status. This is the principle on which inmates of the Bani Bhawan are at present recruited.

With the closing of the primary schools the inmates of the Bani Bhawan had to be given junior teachers' training. This required a higher preliminary educational training and the starting of a Training Department (1935); junior practical training classes were held in a primary school started in 1950.

The whole of the Bani Bhawan organisation was placed on a rational basis in 1940 when, through the generosity of the Rajah of Jhargram, the Bani Bhawan's main centre of work was transferred to Jhargram and housed in premises built on a plot of 23 bighas; here the trainees live under rural conditions; they do their own house work, work in the garden, tend mulberry trees and rear silk cocoons. After their preliminary education the trainees come to the Calcutta Centre for training as junior teachers.

Abala Bose early realized that a part of the training of prospective teachers should be in crafts; such crafts and handicraft training would for many be a better way of earning their living; for this purpose she started the Silpa

Bhawan (1937). She explored the possibility of starting Cooperative Industrial Centres in which the women workers trained in the industrial Arts and Crafts could form cooperative organisations for marketing their products. Such an organisation was started in 1938 in a house in Dum Dum; during the Second War it was transferred to the Krishnagar area and finally it has been located at Kamarhati where under support from the Ministry of Rehabilitation it is providing opportunities for training and earning their living to a large number of displaced girls and women from East Bengal.

Describing Abala Bose's method of work for the Nari Siksha Samiti, Sm. Tarulata Das Gupta, who succeeded her as Secretary has said:

"She (Lady Bose) performed all she did silently, selflessly, without show and without diffidence. There is a saying that if you move one step towards Bhagwan, He will come forward ten steps. So it has actually happened. Leaders of the community, wealthy people, all helped to make her scheme a success. The Nari Siksha Samiti was thus launched for women's welfare."

On the eve of his passing away in Giridih on November 23, 1937, Jagadis Chandra had discussed with Abala Bose and with his cousin Abaninath Mitter his ideas about distributing his cash assets amounting to Rs. 4.50 lakhs in trusts and charities. Within one month of his passing away, Jagadis Chandra's last wishes were scrupulously carried out. Amongst his legacy was Rs. one lakh for establishing the Sister Nivedita Adult Education Fund.

Her last charitable trust was made in 1944; Abala Bose purchased about 3 bighas of land at Ariadaha for erecting a Sadhanashram whose management was entrusted to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. She had been elected President for two years of the Samaj.

She passed away on April 25, 1951.

## A NEW DEAL FOR TRIBAL INDIA

P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY

Several States and Union Territories including the State of Bihar have a very sizeable population of the under-privileged classes who have been given a particular status under the description of the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes. There has been a very great horizontal mobility in the caste-tribe structure of the country and Bihar is no exception to it. It will be of interest to look into some of the background features which are still continuing in some way or other and are affecting the present and the future of the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes.

In 1931 the Reforms Office had consulted the four Governments of Madras, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam regarding the treatment to be accorded to the Backward Tribes in the new Constitution. Bihar and Orissa had particularly suggested that this should be considered by a Special Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference and should not be left to be decided by implementation. It was felt that protection should be given to the aboriginal races for the maintenance of their culture, their peculiar systems of land tenures, customs and the existing system of administration. It was urged that such protection can only be worked out by giving the Governor the statutory position of a sort of a protector with powers to vet the alterations of the Acts and Regulations and impositions of new laws and that he should be assisted by an Advisory Council of representatives of these races by means of an indirect election by village communities if this was practicable. Apparently this suggestion did not carry its full weight. When Sir Stafford Cripps came there was a spate of

representations from various parties, caste-groups and associations from all over India. One common feature was an unabashed fear that the so-called lower castes and the tribals will be swept away unless their interests are specially protected. One of the memoranda on behalf of the Intermediate and Suppressed Caste (Hindu) Association, Calcutta with its President, Maharaja, S. C. Nandi of Kasimbazar, urged for the abolition of the caste system by declaration in the Fundamental Rights in the Statute Book. It also mentioned that if the caste system was allowed to remain, there should be joint electorate with reservation of seats for Hindu castes separately on a percentage of population basis in all the Legislatures. It also urged that there should be special facilities for all Backward Classes and communities in the matter of education, appointments and training in all branches and the distribution of services and status in public bodies by preferences.

A few cross-currents had already started flowing and gathering strength like a snowball even at that time. For example there was a representation from the Khatiks of Central Provinces and Berar that they should be excluded from the Scheduled Castes. There was a representation from the Kahar Federation Office, Nanodar (Jullundar district) that the Kahars in the Punjab had been included among the Scheduled Castes in 1921 but their name had been omitted under the Government of India (Scheduled Caste) Order, 1936. The prayer was that the Kahars all over India should be included among the Scheduled Castes. The Nama Sudras of Dacca and Narayanganj protested



against their inclusion in the list of Scheduled Castes. This urge was not surprising as the Scheduled Castes had been recognised as a separate entity as early as 1917 in the Montague-Chelmsford report and the Joint Parliamentary Committee had also recognised them as a distinct political group. This position was further strengthened by the declaration of the Viceroy in August, 1940. Lord Wavell in his letter to Gandhiji dated the 15th August, 1944, had even mentioned that the Scheduled Castes are one of the important and separate elements in the national life of India and their consent was a necessary condition precedent to the transfer of power.

The expression "Scheduled Tribes" succeeded the expression "Backward Tribes." According to the XIIIth Schedule to the Government of India, (Provincial Assemblies). Order, 1936, dated 30.4.36, the Provinces of Madras and Orissa had lists of "Backward Tribes." Formerly predominantly Scheduled Tribes were found in those parts of the old Vizagapattam district transferred to Orissa in 1936. The Orissa list included very few of them. The classification of Backward Tribes in the XIIIth Schedule to the Government of India (Provincial Assemblies). Order, 1936 was intended exclusively for electoral purposes vide para 19 of the Vth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935. In Census table XIV of 1941 the tribal population was given. For sometime in 1946 almost throughout India the expression **Sachut Sudras** was commonly used to denote the Backward Classes as separate from **Achut Sudras** or the untouchables. There was, however, a lot of confusion and more than one way of thinking into the problem.

This fluid conception as to who were the under-privileged tribes, communities or castes continued when the Constitution was introduced. In the meanwhile owing to political and social influences, spread of education and other socio-economic

forces, the process of tribes and communities crystallizing into separate castes or getting into some other castes by a sort of process of osmosis was going on. When Dr. Ambedkar introduced section 303B of the Bill on the 17th September, 1949, he did not lay down any definition as to who were the Scheduled Tribes or Castes. He merely mentioned that the Scheduled Tribes mean such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under article 303B of the Constitution to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of the Constitution. This article merely mentioned that the President may, after consultation with the Governor or Ruler of a State by 'public notification' specify the tribe or tribal communities or parts or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State.

The Resolution on Aims and Objects of the Constitution of India moved by Jawaharlal Nehru in the Constituent Assembly included a clause that the under-privileged classes shall be given special facilities for their development and suitable provisions be incorporated in the Constitution for the purpose. Thereafter the Government of India had appointed Sub-Committees for the minorities and two particular Sub-Committees, one of which examined the conditions in excluded and partially excluded areas other than Assam, while the second Sub-Committee examined the conditions in the tribal areas of Assam. Peculiarly enough the evidence recorded by the Committee did not indicate definitely as to who should be deemed as Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes or Backward Classes. Dr. B. S. Guha and Verrier Elwin mentioned some of the traits that should be there but somehow they also did not in their evidence, try to definitely disclose what they thought of the problem.

One looks in vain into the documents connected with the working of the Advisory

Committee on Fundamental Rights, Minorities, etc., and the two Sub-Committees to look into the conditions in the excluded and partially excluded parts of India to come to any firm finding as to the basic principles for preparing such lists.

The Draft Constitution of India drew liberally from the provisions contained in the Government of India Act, 1935. The description of the Scheduled Castes in the 1935 Act appears to be based on what was mentioned regarding the Depressed Classes in the Government of India Act, 1919. As a matter of fact, it was mentioned that the Scheduled Castes will "correspond to the classes of persons formerly known as the Depressed Classes." The Government of India Scheduled Caste Order, 1936 apparently provided the basis for drawing up the list of Scheduled Castes.

Regarding the Scheduled Tribes, however, there appears to have been more confusion and for some reason or other the matter was left entirely to the States to draw up who should be described as a Scheduled Tribe. The starting point for the list of Scheduled Tribes was provided by the list of Backward Tribes as per XIIIth Schedule to the Government of India (Provincial Legislative Assemblies), Order, 1936. It has to be recalled that in the 1931 census there was a special enquiry on the basis of which communities properly classifiable as aboriginal and hilly tribes were distinguished from castes and among these those which were properly classifiable as primitive were also listed. But the attempt to draw up an agreed list of the Scheduled Tribes for the Constitution did not materialise as Thakkar Bappa, who had been taking a prominent part in this enquiry, could not come to an agreed decision as to the final specification of the Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, the Constituent Assembly left the matter for subsequent settlement by the President. The term "Tribe" is nowhere defined in the Constitution.

The next step was taken when the Ministry of Home Affairs had called a conference of representatives of State Governments and in this conference also there were concrete differences of opinion regarding the basis on which the tribes should be scheduled. The views expressed by the different States are embodied in Appendix IV of the 1951 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The States drew up their lists of Scheduled Tribes according to their best judgment. The results were peculiar. To give one instance H. H. Risley while describing the **Pans** in his "Tribes and Castes of Northern India" (1891) mentioned that the **Chik Baraiks in Lohardaga** (now Ranchi district) were a part and parcel of the **Pans**. The **Pans** in Ranchi district are also known as **Tantis**. At present the **Pans** are a **Scheduled Caste** in Ranchi district while the **Chik Baraiks** are a Scheduled Tribe and the **Tantis** are a Backward Class. Such instances may be found, if a probe is made probably in all the States. In Mysore whoever is not a Brahmin is almost always taken to belong to a Backward Class. The very large list of Backward Classes in Mysore can hardly be justified.

After the first declaration of the list of Scheduled Tribes there was some modification in 1956 largely based on the recommendations made by the Backward Classes Commission and the views expressed thereon by the State Governments. The anomalies still remain. The **Cheros** and **Kharwars** in Shahabad district, who have been marrying in Rajput families for decades and call themselves as Rajputs, stand classed as a Scheduled Tribe. The **Kanwars** a Scheduled Tribe in Madhya Pradesh, claim themselves as Rajputs. Acculturation, fusion of tribes into castes and various other political and socio-economic factors have been responsible for a

good deal of mobility both horizontal and vertical among the tribes and castes.

The census figures will show how very complacently the tribals have been taken by the enumerators. To give one instance, in the 1951 census there were 28,360 tribals in the district of Saharsa in Bihar. In 1961 census the tribal figure in this district has been reduced to 7,605. There has been no wholesale exodus of any of the tribals as an enquiry shows. In Ranchi, a predominantly tribal district, some of the comparative figures of the tribals in 1941 and 1961 show a rapid decline if the figures are correct.

Tribe		1941	1961
Kisans	..	7,144	3,854
Parhaiyas	..	2,360	406
Savars	..	506	4
Cheros	..	65	37

On the other hand, there are the intriguing figures of a great increase in the case of a few other tribals if the following figures are correct :—

Tribe		1941	1961
Birjia	..	481	2,296
Chik Baraikis	(No figure has been given)		
Karmali	..	240	2,470
Kharia	..	78,785	95,956
Lohars or Lohara		44,875	69,928

This picture may not be peculiar to Bihar only. The Commission appointed under article 340 of the Constitution which was entrusted with the task of finding out the criteria of backwardness and preparing a list of other Backward Classes had failed in their task. Then the Government of India tried to prepare such lists in consultation with the State Governments.

This attempt also having failed the Government of India had prepared a list on the basis of occupation which should be regarded as leading to social and educa-

tional backwardness. This criterion was not agreed to by all the State Governments and ultimately the Government advised the State Governments to recognise other Backward Classes for whatever facilities may be made available on the basis of economic conditions. But the results have been neither beneficial to the sections of the under-privileged or the sections other than the under-privileged.

Another resultant of what has been done could also be mentioned. The Gonds of the district of Saran, Champaran, etc., in Bihar now claim to be a Scheduled Tribe taking advantage of the similarity of their caste name to Gonds which is a formidable Scheduled Tribe in Madhya Pradesh and in Chotanagpur. There have been such features in several States other than Bihar. There is no reason why some tribes and castes that might have reached a stage of acculturation and cannot be distinguished from others should not be de-scheduled. It is clear that much of the money provided and energy spent for the welfare measures might not be properly used under the present circumstances of confusion and vagueness.

This task for a revision of the lists of Scheduled Castes and Tribes maintained by several State Governments and Union Territory Administrations has already attracted the attention of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes. He has emphasised in his last report that it is high time that these lists were scrutinised to exclude those who do not need special assistance measures and to add special communities who deserved to be on the lists but have not been included for some reason or other. It may, however, be mentioned that this will be a formidable task because the criteria for considering a community as a tribe cannot be something very precise. The first impression is that the tribes must have been the original dwellers in the forests. This is not correct

as the **Dublas** of **Surat** do not live in forests. The **Pankas** in the jungles living with the **Marias** near **Chitrakot** and **Kutum-sar** in **Bastar** are excluded. The **Gonds** form a big tribal group in the **Madhya Pradesh** but the **Ahirs** of **Madhya Pradesh** with a similar social structure are not included in the list. Sociologists and Anthropologists had often differed as to the criteria. Prof. D. N. Mazumdar's views are not shared by Prof. Ehrenfels. Some spadework was done by the **Tata Institute of Social Science** but without any definite conclusions.

Dr. T. B. Naik, Director of Tribal Research Institute in **Madhya Pradesh** in a paper read at the **Bhopal Sessions** of the **Social Conference** in **August, 1964** had pointed out that for operational definitions the existence of **Scheduled Tribes** should not be considered as constituting a single category of social life. Categories should be demarcated in terms of typology of integration rather than the stage of acculturation. There should be differences between the definition of a tribe for operational purposes and the anthropological definition of a tribe. The concept of tribe for the theoretic-

tical purposes of a study of social processes and the recognition of **Scheduled Tribes** for operational purposes are two different things today, but they should actually be one. The anthropological definition can serve as a conceptual frame in terms of which the social process of different communities recognised as **Scheduled Tribes** may be assumed. For operational purposes the anthropological definition may serve as a nominal definition.

Two Russian Anthropologists who were recently in India considered that the categories like **Scheduled Tribes** are artificial and mechanical. They had their own tools to define a group, like, **pre-tribal** and **nation** (their **Nation** is not a political concept) according to the stage of socio-economic development. For this reason they thought that the **Khasis** who fit more in the category of **National** and the **Chenchus** who belong to the pre-tribal stage of development should not have been grouped together.

This problem of inclusion and exclusion will have to be faced squarely and the sooner the better.

# ARCHAEOLOGY IN WEST BENGAL

SWAMI SANKARANANDA

THE recent trend in Archaeological researches is far from satisfactory. So much importance is given to pottery sherds, that the Archaeological Departments are turned virtually to potter's dens. This all India ideology has also found expression in the archaeological researches in West Bengal.

In West Bengal there are three independent archaeological research organisations other than the West Bengal branch of the Central Archaeological Department. Of these three two are in the University of Calcutta, one run by the Ashutosh Museum and the other by the Anthropological Department of the University. The third is run by the West Bengal Directorate of Archaeology.

Though each of them are doing good work in pushing back the dates of the cultural age of West Bengal, the Directorate of the West Bengal Archaeological Department had brought out remains of an ancient copper-age settlement in West Bengal. Including the surface finds, the date of the Archaeological finds of West Bengal could not be pushed beyond the Gupta regimes, but it was really the dawn of a new era in West Bengal's pre-history when Shri P. C. Das Gupta, M.A., the Director of the Government of West Bengal's Directorate of Archaeology, opened the "Pandu Rajar Dhibi" in the Ajay Valley, in the District of Burdwan. A great deal of heat was generated when the bold Director announced that he had opened a pre-historic copper-age site.

A critical study of the reports of the excavations show unerringly that Director P. C. Das Gupta had opened a really pre-historic site of the copper age. The antiquities discovered in West Bengal, by different institutions and persons, which were mainly surface

finds without any reference to definite strata, were not older than the Gupta age. So, the site in the Ajya Valley, known as the "Pandu Rajar Dhibi" to the neighbouring villagers, appeared to be the earliest archaeological site hitherto known in West Bengal. As such, this discovery is of supreme importance and is of immense historical value.

Here, in the Pandu Rajar Dhibi, the sequence of the appearance of the different metals are well marked as they were found in separate strata. It has been observed from the Archaeological reports, that the two earlier strata were without any iron implements and had only copper implements. The iron appeared very late and was found in the uppermost stratum. Here is a clear indication that iron followed copper directly without the intervention of bronze. This sequence is also seen in the excavations of Hastinapur in the Ganga-Yamuna Valley of Aryavarta.

But thanks to the wirepulling by friends of Indian culture, the excavations of the site have been forcibly stopped by the very big Archaeologists of West Bengal and India! If the work of P. C. Das Gupta was not looked upon as conducive to unlocking the truth that lay hidden under the Pandu Rajar Dhibi, the Archaeological Department of the India Government could have dug the site and could bring out a correct picture. So, stopping summarily the diggings of a very promising ancient site of West Bengal, cannot be looked upon as a very innocent gesture of the Government.

It is to be noted that bronze was invented long before the founding of the cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, because a layer with purely copper objects was not discovered in any of the Indus sites. So, the people with

copper must have migrated from the Indus Valley long before the origin of bronze in that area on the following grounds.

#### ATHARVAVEDA IN ORISSA

The recent discovery made by late Durgamohan Bhattacharya of Atharvaveda and the priests of Atharvaveda from Orissa, show clearly that there was a southward movement of the people from the Vedic settlements of the Indus Valley. In fact, these priests of the Atharvaveda still live outside the Aryavarta from Gujrat to Orissa. This Southward migration of the priests of the Atharvaveda was not surely an isolated event. Other selections of the people must have preceded or followed them from the same place and colonised the whole of Eastern India, known as Sankirnayoni to Bodhayana.

#### COPPER IMPLEMENTS

The earlier two strata of the "Pandu-Rajar Dhibi" yielded copper rings, copper eye-pencils, copper bangles and copper fish hook. All the above objects also were discovered from the Bronze-age cities of the Indus Valley, indicating clearly, that Mohenjodaro and Harappa inherited them from their copper-age ancestors.

#### PERFORATED JARS

Several sherds of perforated jars were discovered during the excavations of the "Pandu Rajar Dhibi". During the excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa scores of perforated jars were discovered. Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda identified these perforated jars with the Vedic 'Satadhara and Sahasradhara Utsam'. It is recorded in the ninth mandala of the Rigveda that the Satadharam and Sahasradharam Utsam, were used for the percolation of the Soma juice. Kusha grass or wool were protruded through these pores with a knot which remained within the jar. The Soma would

dribble drop by drop over these protruded kusha or wool, known as Asha Pavitra among the Vedic priests. So, these jars were used to purify Soma-juice. This Idea of purification lingered with both the jars and the Asha Pabitras, hence in later ages when the brewing of Soma-juice became obsolete, the Sahasradhara and Asha Pabitra retained their purificatory properties. The Sahasradhara jars are now used for the purificatory bath of the deities and the Asha Pabitra, and losing its first part of the name has become now a simple pabitra made of three kusa grasses with a knot. The ingredients for worship of a deity is purified by sprinkling water with the "Pavitra".

The presence of the jars of Soma-percolation among the copper-age people of "Pandu Rajar Dhibi", surely relate them to their vedic counterparts they had left at home in the Indus Valley.

#### HAND-MADE POTTERY

Several hand-made pottery were also excavated from the Pandu Rajar Dhibi. It is well known that the hand-made pottery was and is still used in the vedic rites. Hand-made pottery were discovered from Mohenjodaro and Harappa as well as from Chanhudaro. The wheel-made pottery, which were manufactured by the Asuras were and are not used in the vedic and funerary rites of the vedic people. The users of the hand-made pottery therefore were surely the vedic reciters who brought these pottery with them when they migrated from the vedic settlements of the Indus Valley.

#### FAN-SHAPED HEAD-DRESS

The terracotta figurine with head-dress looks like similar terracotta figurines of the Indus Valley. The head-dress of them are identified by the Archaeologists as fan-

shaped. The head-dress of Daksin Roy, the king of the South and the presiding deity of the tigers is also of the same form.

The Indus Valley fan-shaped head-dress has been identified by the present writer as the peacock's plume. According to the vedic tradition, the gods Agni, Rudra and the goddess Ratri wore two peacock's plumes on their heads. The Indus specimens of the terracotta figurines are of a female. Hence, the deity may be identified as, Agneyi, Rudrani or Ratri. But, the Ajaya Valley specimen being of a male god, it might have represented either Rudra or Agni. Rudra was Pashupati in the Brahmanas, so this terracotta figurine may belong to Rudra, who became Daksin Roy, the presiding deity of the tigers in the Sundarbans.

#### CONICAL HEAD-DRESS

A terracotta figurine discovered during the excavations with a conical head-dress, may be identified with a similar terracotta figurine from Mohenjodaro, wearing a conical head-dress. The people of the copper age of the Pandu Rajar Dhibi were presumably the migrators from a pre-Mohenjodaro site of the Indus valley.

#### THE DECORATIVE MOTIFS

The fish and birds as decorative motifs were used both by the Indus and the Ajay Valley potters, indicating a common origin of the both. The peacock's figure discovered was also a favourite motif in the Indus Valley art.

#### THE DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

Like the Indus people, the dwellers of the Ajay Valley also disposed of their dead both by cremation and burial. The fractional burials observed in Mohenjodaro and Harappa also was present in the Ajay Valley indicating clearly that these modes of disposal of the

dead was pre-Mohenjodaro, that is Vedic in origin.

#### SEAL WITH INSCRIPTION

During the excavation a seal, which is a very rare commodity in the area, with an inscription couched in traditional Indus signs, was discovered. The face with inscription is divided into two compartments. The lower compartment contains a river, a sea fish, the shark and an un-identified mysterious sign. The upper compartment contains an inscription, couched in four characters, viz :

From the left to the right —

1. An angle with a stroke.
2. A branch of a tree.
3. Two slanting long strokes.
4. Another angle.

This inscription may be deciphered by my method of decipherment of the Indus seals in the following way,

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1. The angle really represents the peak of a mountain with the value Na. the stroke within represents the sound U | Nu. |
| 2. A branch of a tree, Sakha  | Ja  |
| 3. Two long strokes, Dvaya  | Ha  |
| 4. The angle or the peak of the mountain, Girinayaka  | Na  |

Nuja Hana., i.e.

the killer of Nuja.

The presence of the Indus characters in seals of the copper age indicates clearly that the bronze age culture borrowed the art of writing from copper age culture of the Indus Valley. Thus a study of the copper age finds of Ajay Valley culture supplies a link between the early vedic copper age culture with the later bronze age vedic culture of the Indus Valley, over and above providing the pre-Mohenjodaro origin of the Ajay Valley culture of West Bengal.

## DILEMMA OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS

R. N. TEWARI

At no other time in the history of the world demand on the economic science has been so heavy, as in the late fifties of this century. This era has evidenced an unprecedented growth in prosperity both in economic content as well as in the field of technology. Vast spheres of the world have been gradually subjected to this 'phenomenal emancipation'. For the emerging countries economic progress has become connotative of national fulness. The American economy has become the epicentre of the world's economic progress. Indisputably it is the first (Facile princeps) to attract the attention of the under-developed countries—the emerging nations. Economists are having their field-day which has resulted into conceitedness. The success of the natural sciences (which are reportedly free from value judgments) seems to have overwhelmed social scientists, which in turn has given impetus to 'isolationistic' behaviour. In the enthusiasm to place this social-science in the flock of natural sciences there has emerged an under-current, unconscious of its origin, trying to eliminate all traces of its antecedents by eradicating from its system of thought, all conscious, normative and ethical aspects.

The word 'progress' in our time is 'made in U.S.A.'<sup>1</sup> The idea of mass production rules. The ghost of Americanism is enveloping the emerging nations. Production, more production and still more and more production has become the slogan of the developed and the developing nations alike. This general trend creates the anxiety that the materialistic craze might blur our sight of the 'ultimate'. As a student of the discipline, it becomes one's duty to know

the aim of Economic Progress. Have the Americans been able to find out the ultimate aim of economic progress? Save to the extent that rapid economic progress may today often serve and in the past served more often still, to relieve real poverty, there is surely not even a presumption that it also promotes the other ends of social welfare. This conflict between the "supposedly" and the "real" have been termed here as the Dilemma.

The operational factor behind American economic progress has been the "spirit of capitalism"<sup>2</sup> and, therefore, the dilemma can appropriately be analysed in that context. Capitalism is supported by the three pillars of Rational Conduct, Competition and Accumulation. Within each of these three there is a predicament and that has been detailed hereunder and we proceed to examine them.

### *The 'Spirit' Analysed*

#### *Rational Conduct :*

It is supposed to root out the various social inertias and to perform the cardinal function in the economic growth. Scientific activity is often looked upon as rational activity. It can be defined as : the worker, whatever his ultimate aims, allows himself to be guided by the rules of logical inference. Spontaneous, impulsive, capricious, sentimental or enthusiastic behaviour is considered to be reprehensible. In economics this connotes the acquisitive attitude with its precise profit and loss calculation and systematic pursuit of economic gains.

For example in the economists' theoretical model a rational consumer is guided by a price basis, buys as cheaply as possible, has no pre-

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1. Americanism : A way of life characteristic of the United States who are commerce minded, have commercial soul and are biased in favour of practical success and intensive technicalization and automation of all the processes of life, frequently rejecting higher values.

Ref : Encyclopedia Universal Herder, Barcelona, 1954.

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2. Max Weber's agenda incorporates many more items than noted in this essay such as : quantification, Individualism, and Asceticism (as high evaluation of savings and rejection of luxurious consumption). Refer his work : *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*.



ference for anyone of the homogeneous products or for the product of a particular producer.

However, the 20th century customer does not see the product with aloofness, that is, as dispassionately as a Rationalist must do. The 20th Century consumer is product bound. He likes to purchase where the business ability<sup>3</sup> is more pronounced rather than in the cheapest market. The Western consumer shows a marked preference for packing, design, colour, style and various other extraneous factors which prevent rationality. Similarly in the field of politics instances are not lacking when an individual chooses the other side of rationality. The Kennedy murder, if the Warren Commission's<sup>4</sup> findings are true, will remain an example of the absurd crime and perhaps history's greatest instance of the 'Irrational' act. To multiply the example is not at all difficult.

The phenomenon of irrational conduct of the consumer (which represents the demand side) is omnipresent in the Western nations more than anywhere else. How then this accounts for Economic Progress? If one intends to say that this ubiquity of irrational behaviour has gained potency only after attending a high level of prosperity, then it is an admission that economic progress kills rationality. There should be no illusion about the desire of individuals, including businessmen, to create privileged positions for themselves, nor about the consumer's choice for cheapness. What is spelled-out is the logical consequence of Economic Progress. At moments, particularly when most of the essential needs have been fulfilled, one likes to have "affaire d'amour" with sentimentalism and enjoys capriciousness.

3. "The seller's location, the general tone or character of his establishment, his way of doing business, his reputation for dealing, courtesy, efficiency and all the personal links which attach him either to the seller himself or those employed by him. This elaborates the phenomenon noted above (cited from Chamberlain's *Theory of Monopolistic Competition*, P. 56. Ed. 1942).

4. This Commission was enjoined upon to investigate the motivation for the murder of President J. F. Kennedy of the United States. His murder had a world-wide repercussion, political and economic.

### Competition:

Since the very emergence of the economic science, it has been accepted that the market mechanism left to itself through the medium of price, plays a functional role in allocation of resources to optimal use. This forms the core of the market mechanism dating back to the Smithian era. Adam Smith most vehemently opposed any kind of intervention in the economy and the spirit of competition transcended all barriers over time and space. Capitalism symbolises this competitive spirit. The most intense impact of Darwin's teaching was felt on economic science establishing a branch which came to be identified as Social Darwinists. Such was its impact on social ideas in the 19th century. Incidentally it coincided with the phenomenal rise of great fortunes in the United States.

To-date, the achievements of the capitalistic spirit has been a marvel of the world culminating in Americanism. One is naturally astounded to find that even in that nation this spirit is relenting itself with the emergence of economic progress. Entrepreneurial behaviour has been gradually tending towards security. For maintaining harmonious relationship between themselves they have eliminated the greatest source of competition, that is, price variation by formation of syndicates, associations and by entering into such other agreements. Through the media of advertisements the entrepreneurs have made the consumer product bound, irrational, and by enlarging the size of the corporations they have interfered with the market mechanism. Nowhere the phenomenon is more pronounced than in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Who could be sure that a blending of competition and monopoly would be benign? Would not such oddly assorted parents produce a mis-shapen progeny?<sup>5</sup>

Unfailingly this indicates that for breaking the vicious circle of poverty, market mechanism must be wedded to the competitive spirit and, after attaining certain levels of progress, it should divorce or die at its hands? How ironic is this if it is the truth! This spirit has descended from Pure Competition to Competition, from Imperfect Competition to Monopoly—what shall

5. Galbraith, J. K. *The Affluent Society*, p. 33.

be the next stage is a matter of speculation—State Monopoly may be the logical end in this chain. However, we desist to forecast. Here a brief mention of Marx is due, who emphatically elaborated the coincidence of elimination of competition with economic progress. If capitalism wants to survive then monopolisation is but logical :<sup>6</sup> “.....This is a law of capitalist production imposed by incessant revolutions in the methods of production themselves the resulting depreciation of existing capital, the general competitive struggle and the necessity of improving the scale of production, for the sake of self-preservation and on penalty of failure.....” By a semantic legerdemain Americanism is hanging on fire.

### *Accumulation :*

Capital formation in the present era has become the prescription for almost all economic ills. The emphatic recognition of its merit is found right from Adam Smith to this day. “We are more industrious than our forefathers, because in the present times the funds destined for the maintenance of industry are much greater than they were two or three centuries ago.”<sup>7</sup> Smith further elaborated its importance by stating : “Every increase or diminution of capital, therefore, naturally tends to increase or diminish the real quantity of industry,.....the real wealth and revenue of all its inhabitants.”<sup>8</sup> This emphasis seems to prevail with increased vigour. In every day economic discourse nothing is more frequently taken as an index of economic growth than the rise in Gross National Product—in developed and under-developed countries alike. Today many Western countries have abundant supplies of food, clothing, steel and such other raw-materials ; still any faltering in the upward trend is an occasion for heart searching and dismay. The cry is for more rapid growth ; for still higher production.

6. Interpretation of (the subsequent citation) Karl Marx's work cited in *Studies in Economic Development*, Ed. by Okun and Richardson, p. 82.

7. *The Wealth of Nations* : Ed. by Edwin Cannan. 6th Edition, p. 318.

8. Okun and Richardson, *Op. Cit.*, P. 191 quoting Adam Smith.

Some two centuries back when Smith was venturing to systematize his views on economic development, starting with a deficient economy, he emphasised the need for capital accumulation. Today when nations have super-abundance, when some of them are scarcely conscious of what they want, still the emphasis centres around accumulation. In particular, when an economy is largely poor and progressing but slowly, marginal wants are clearly defined : more food, more shelter, more clothing and what men go for is justifiable on simple grounds of physiological necessity. But when accumulation is rushing ahead at a headlong pace such an image of the economic spirit is surely falsified? Are the economically progressed standing at a cross-road? The striving for acquisition of wealth and riches for the increase of possessions is felt to be a duty. The individual must continually prove that he is chosen, successful, valuable ; he can never relax, never tell himself that he has accumulated enough and reached his goal. Ironically this part of the spirit coincides with the spirit of ‘Hedonistic paradox.’<sup>9</sup> What in the end we are going to do with our wealth except to increase it all the time and make it more certain that all of us have an equal opportunity to have it ?

### *Economic Progress*

With Mr. McCulloch, for example, prosperity does not mean large production and a good distribution of wealth, but a rapid increase of it ; his test of prosperity is high profits, and as the tendency of that very increase of wealth which he calls prosperity is towards low profits, economic progress according to him must tend to extinction of prosperity. Remaining neutral to the element of prediction, one can discern that economic progress and increase in production are synonymous. The pursuit of a higher Gross National Product per capita has become the barometer of economic progress. The pursuit of higher production and increased income has become a religion, dominating the thinking of

9. Its use connotes only the significance and not the literal meaning. Refer : *Dictionary of Philosophy* edited by D. D. Runes (Littlefield, Adams & Co., Paterson—New Jersey).

mankind. Accumulation for the sake of accumulating more, production for production's sake, the proletariat is but a machine for production, the capitalist for further accumulation, without being conscious where it leads to.

Generally, we view the production of some of the most frivolous goods with pride. We regard the production of some of the most significant and civilising with regret. Thus use value plays a secondary role, the predominant factor is exchange value. Semantically the most necessary things are cheaper, the wasteful costliest. Progress means shift in emphasis in consumption from essentials to luxury.—Psychological Hedonism. It appears that need satisfaction is only an incidental aim.<sup>10</sup> Prof. Lewis provides an escape value from the imminent and, if one wants to ignore those realities so as to live in a glass house, one should put faith in his definition of life and its purpose. He says "we do not know what the purpose of life is, but if it were happiness, then evolution could just as well have stopped a long time ago, since there is no reason to believe that men are happier than pigs or than fishes. What distinguishes men from pigs is that men have greater control over their environment: not that they are more happy." In Contemporary Society the possibilities that endlessly open-up before each experiment is over and any conclusion can be drawn, a new set of problems is posed. Society in this situation reels along blindly in every thing that ultimately matters to the quality of its member's lives. The economic costs of progress, however large they may be, is less than its cultural and social consequences. It undermines family and kinship ties, commercialises sexual and family relationships, increases political extremism. The foundation of law and order and the spiritual governance of church and the society are obviously shattered. All of these symptoms of social disruption are to be seen in the industrial slums of Shanghai, Paris and Calcutta. The massing of workers together as a conglomeration of physical goods, is the greatest inducement to socialist design which is the threshold of Anarchy. These have a deteriorating effect on human

behaviour and his mutual relationships. Sexual dereliction, morbid glorification of film stars and cutting off of the old moorings, are some of the logical consequences.

Sardonic it is but the fact remains that under the circumstances the energies of mankind shall have to be kept in employment by the struggle for richness as they were formerly by the struggles of war. 'Apriori' will it not be fallacious to juxtapose the trinity of Science (Economics, Technology and Science) which forms the hard core of the Western civilisation, as capable of devoting the creator himself? The world is drifting towards a destiny that resulted into crisis in the past and who knows what this Trinity of Sciences may brew due to this reckness course of aimlessness and deprivation of ethics. These conflicts and disequilibriums are noticeable even in the educational field. All over the world students rebel without knowing in any clear way why they rebel. For many it is revolution in search of a cause. Their rebellion, and the rebellion of faculty members who some times join them, is a great and important paradox. These conflicts are widespread, throughout all of commercialised society. In our modern complex society universities are failing to get the message across that the universities are for the individual and for individual values.

It is questionable if all mechanical inventions have yet made life more adorable in reality or have yet begun to foster those great changes in human destiny, which is in their nature and in their futurity to accomplish: "I know not why it should be a matter of congratulation that persons who are already richer than anyone needs to be, should have doubled their means of consuming things which give little or no pleasure except as representative of wealth or that numbers of individuals should pass over every year, from the middle classes, or from the class of the occupied rich to that of unoccupied"<sup>11</sup> (J. S. Mill).

In many societies and in other periods of history, an annual income of \$3000 would have placed a family among the wealthier sections. However, in the U.S.A. in the year 1965 poverty meant: an income of \$3000 or less a year for a family of four or more persons. In

10. It has been mentioned earlier in this note that a point is reached when one is not conscious of his requirements.

11. Okun & Richardson, *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

U.S.A. only one family out of five earns less than \$3000 yearly. Still they talk of "get this country moving". A profound concern is shown at a slower growth rate measured in terms of G.N.P. The favourite American pastime is worry. Edwin L. Dale Jr. writing a Special to *New York Times* (Jan. 23, 1966) concluded with the remark that: "yet, though growth will by no means be automatic, it is clear that the United States, already very rich, can show a respectable growth rate and become richer still". This craving for 'More' coming at a time when the U.S.A. had recorded the most rapid rate of growth among industrial countries in the year 1965, seems an endless demand in void. Right now inflation is in almost everyone's mind and four out of every five American is convinced that some restraint is in the offing. The President complained to a convention of Mayors: "Prices are moving up too fast to be comfortable. Increases at these rates cannot long be tolerated" (*Times*, Canada Ed. 8th April 1966). It implies a veiled threat; so apply the brakes. These are indicative of two facts, firstly, that one may have a tearless onion but not a tearless economic growth. And, secondly, to diminish discord is to have still more rapid economic development. Loosing the heart in the process of Progress will be even more tragic.

When this materialistic progress ceases, in what condition are we to expect that it will leave mankind? Twentieth century economists seem not to worry much on this problem of 'what next'? They take it for granted that the rational spirit of man shall take care of it. This may be true in the hypothetical models but untenable in practice.

For centuries the truth value of science has been an open problem, the controversy between 'Realism' and 'Nominalism', is an old battlefield. But at this juncture of accelerated material progress realism is most wanted. The members of the economic discipline should not be confined in their approach by the Robinson's prediction of neutrality nor by the Marshallian approach which attempts to study mankind in their ordinary business of life—the study of the so-called extra-ordinary is also an useful acquaintance. Manufacturing of goods for the satisfaction of wants may be ordinary but the creation of wants for consuming goods is not

ordinary. Providing the economic requisites for creating bombs may be viewed with neutrality but the attendant catastrophe cannot be so viewed. One has only to have a look at war torn Vietnam to convince himself. Taking stock of this phenomenon is realism. If economics with its present body of systematized knowledge cannot incorporate such norms, let it not be shy in drawing help from other Social Sciences—that is Philosophy and Ethics.

## *Nihilism of Forecast*

In this chain of Dilemma the last item for consideration is the capability of economics (as a specialized body of knowledge) to forecast destiny. From Smith to this day economists<sup>12</sup> have been indulging in romanticism between the present and the future. Starting from incomplete premises, the Classical School created the myth of Stationary State.—Marx and Schumpeter shared the view of the ultimate downfall of the capitalist system (they differed in their approach). Keynes made similar predictions—But all the more it survived. Similarly, Anarchism was predicted by Proudhon, Hodgskin and more emphatically by Lenin—which is still on our waiting list. Surprisingly the same historical phenomenon has been subjected to varied interpretations, each economist converted into astrologer ostensibly believed in his approach. In the late fifties of the current century Economists have devoted too much of their time in finding the stages of Economic Growth as if Progress and the Stages follow a pre-destined track.

It needs emphasis that 'Man' is a psycho-cultural product. When this 'Man' travels over-time, he may maintain the whole of his physical appearance but not the whole of the psychological identity. All the time he is open to metamorphic changes. Furthermore in this travel the individual may get dissolved but the society may continue. Who knows that all through the period of growth the 'He' shall emerge as the same 'He'? In this connection mention can be made of Comte's approach to this problem of transition. As I understand,

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12. Many others deserve inclusion but I do not want to be charged of vagrancy hence specific mentions have been avoided.

each man is a Theologian in his childhood, a Metaphysician in his youth and a Philosopher in manhood. This 'He' at one stage of his life is faced with growth, then stagnation and finally decay, composes his mind. Obviously his attitude towards life shall be different at different times. To pre-suppose that the economic spirit shall persist in the same degree and of the universal kind is to disown the natural law of growth, stagnation and decay. Furthermore, 'He' being a psycho-cultural product, the social institutions, customs and status constantly intervene and effect his thinking and conduct. The Philosophy of Enlightenment proclaimed that our misery is not due to human nature but to man's environment in the widest sense, to social institutions.

In unassailable words Gandhi<sup>13</sup> said that "life is governed by a multitude of forces. It would be smooth sailing if one could determine the cause of one's action only by one general principle..... But I cannot recall a single act which could be so easily determined."

This explains the ambiguity in the predictions made so far. Economics should be treated as science, part of the Science which starts with a capital 'S'. Man's existence in the society is not what he consciously feels (or Rationalises), rather the unconscious also plays a part in decision making. He is not always rational but other extraneous forces also matter. Therefore, we should not be anxious to retain certain untenable concepts and it would be better to desist from graphing out the course of events to follow in future.

#### *Agenda for Unison*

A fashion has enveloped within this behavioural science to arm it with growth models built up with mathematical precision. These models avoid highly controversial questions by scaffolding it through assumptions and hypotheses. If this eclecticism and the opportunism continues, more often than not it will result in isolation (spiritual isolation included). Painting an image of the economic man under Americanism is capable of depriving the soul of this Science of value statements. The age old code of conduct

(based on divine power) has been lost in oblivion due to scientific orientation and the worst of it is that this new science did not leave man with a readymade solution. It has uprooted the old beliefs without establishing the new, thus creating a chaotic state of affairs.

Economists should not be over taken by the great engine of economic progress and, from a safe position on the road-side, lead the cheers which attend the juggernaut progress of the Gross National Product. Let not the economists of Emerging Nations be mystified by the economically rich world and their high level of living. There is no reason why they should not draw lessons from their wealthy and rich neighbours' life and attempt to raise *the* Level of life :

The emerging nations, simultaneously with purely materialistic progress, should try to reconcile the Dilemma. The ability to reach unity in diversity will be the beauty and the test of their civilisation. The trinity of Science is racing at a great pace. Before it sweeps our Society, we must develop a positive outlook towards life. We must realise that to have failed to solve the problem of providing goods would be to continue man in his oldest and most grievous misfortune. But to fail to see that we have solved it (or is within reach of solution) and to fail to proceed thence to the next would be fully as tragic.<sup>14</sup>

#### *Dilemma Reconciled*

The divorce of economics from normative and philosophical judgment is not justified and the one-ness of the aim for the sake of realism has never been so urgent. The 'Dilemma' is the product of excessive emphasis on higher level of living. This emphasis needs change and its orientation should be towards a higher level of life : Comte was most truthful when he fathomed that the ultimate goal of science should be to serve the society—the humanity. We must have wealth not to acquire more wealth; rather the aim should be something nobler and stable than accumulation itself. In this pond of human life, we must realise, waves emerge, merge and

13. The Essential Gandhi—an Anthology. Edited by Louis Fischer, P. 207.

14. Galbraith, J. K. : The Affluent Society 4th Edition, P. 277. (The original quotation has been modified).

re-emerge so as to rest at destiny—the shore. Disequilibrium should be ultimately guided to attain equilibrium. The aims should be clear, well defined with the help of the Social Sciences. Cannot we, in the light of what has been discussed, agree in principle with Mill that “It is scarcely necessary to remark that stationary condition of capital and population implies no State of human improvement. There would be as much scope as ever for all kinds of natural culture and moral and social progress, as much room for improving the Art of Living and much likelihood of its being improved, when minds cease to be engrossed by the art of getting on. . . . .” The integrated development of Social Sciences (implies the integrated development of the economic man) can alone resolve the ‘Dilemma’.

In the mid-twentieth century, society is taking responsibility for basic elements in the welfare of

its members, without commensurate obligations laid upon him in return. The challenges which the common man faces have been vastly lightened, at precisely the time when society is facing the most threatening challenge to its existence. If the members fail to develop the ethics of voluntarily working together, if they fail to master the materialistic craze, society will positively fail to meet this collective challenge. This is no time to hesitate. The tool of annihilation is man-made. The opportunity to pursue these aims is dependent on material advancement. If we fail to develop a science equipped with eternal vigilance, economic techniques would become our masters, precisely through our failure to realize that they are anything but docile servants.

Economic growth is by no means the be all and end-all of a nation's performance. Such matters as the quality of life count, too.

### Education In Russia

The main features of the Elementary Schools Bill which has just been passed by the Duma are . . . the establishment of local School Councils, which are to supervise both the Communal schools—which have lay teachers—and the Church schools, hitherto controlled solely by the Holy Synod, and taught by the parish priests or other ecclesiastical persons ; the introduction of compulsory attendance, in so far as the existence of school accommodation permits ; and the provision that the teaching shall take place in the language spoken locally, and not, as the Extreme Right desired, solely in Russian.

So even Russia is going in for compulsory attendance, which must end in universal education. India is the only civilized country where universal education is considered not only impracticable but possibly pernicious.

Ramananda Chatterjee  
in The Modern Review, February 1911, p. 207

## BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS NEPAL, 1767-1947

KANCHANMOY MAZUMDAR

The British policy towards Nepal was evolutionary in character. The policy was, of course, of their own making, but in its formulation and implementation they had to take into account a significant fact viz., that Nepal, too, had her own policy towards the British. British India's policy in Nepal had thus in it the nature of an interaction of the Nepalese and British diplomacy, of challenge of one and the reaction of the other, of mutual adjustment and accommodation resulting in mutual benefit.

Policy postulates certain objectives, and it aims at realisation of those objectives. British objectives in Nepal were not always the same; they varied with the change in their position and power in India. In order of urgency and importance they changed as well. In addition they were to a great extent conditioned by Nepal's internal situation.

British policy in Nepal had several phases of development in course of which one notices marked shifts of emphasis on their objectives in that country. The first phase spanned about fifty years from 1767 to 1816. The aim at first was to safeguard and promote the customary trade between Bengal and Tibet through Nepal, and to secure thereby the supply of gold from Tibet which the East India Company needed for its trade with China. The Gurkha military activities in the 18th century threatened peace in the lower Himalayas, and as a result trade and commerce of the area received injury. The Company sought to forestall the Gurkha conquest of the valley of Kathmandu by a military expedition in October, 1767. The expedition proved fatuous. Its only result was to sow in the minds of the Gurkha conquerors of Nepal a feeling of distrust and hostility towards the British which lay at the root of Nepal's policy of jealous exclusion and non-intercourse with the foreigners.

Intervention cost the British much. Not only in Nepal, but in the regions around, their commercial schemes foundered on the studied opposition of the Gurkhas. The Company then

sought to make amends by conciliating the new rulers of Nepal, but to no purpose. Later attempts were made to establish political influence in the Court of Kathmandu by exploiting the party squabbles. This reinforced the Nepalese fear that the British were an intriguing power, and the best defence against them was to have no truck with them at all. The Nepalese saw that their internal dissensions paved the way for British intrigue. A strong regime was needed to guard against both Nepal's political instability and foreign intervention. Such a regime was set up in 1801 by Bhim Sen Thapa, one of Nepal's greatest ministers. Within a decade of his rule the Nepalese had conquered the cis-Himalayan territory from the Sutlej in the west to the Tista in the east. They made nibbling encroachments on the Company's territory in the south; they pillaged the defenceless villages; they spread panic and consternation. By 1814 Nepalese military expansion had become the greatest threat to the Company's richest territory. Promotion of trade with Nepal and Tibet as an object fell into the background; security of the most vulnerable frontier of British India now became the paramount concern of the Company. A war followed, and a pyrrhic victory was achieved by the British.

The object of the Anglo-Nepalese war was to impose a limit on the Nepalese military expansion; the treaty of Segouli (December 1815) secured it. The Indo-Nepalese frontier was delimited and demarcated. Nepal was circumvallated by the British territories and by Sikkim whose protection from Nepalese invasion became henceforth a British responsibility. The British would not leave any outlet for Nepal's martial spirit.

The British had restrained Nepalese ambitions by arms; after the war they would do so by keeping up the political relations established by the war. They would not press for any commercial concessions nor for a subordinate alliance. Nepal should just keep to the terms of the treaty of Segouli, and realise that their

breach would not be tolerated. The treaty came naturally to be looked upon as the very sheet anchor of Anglo-Nepalese relations. The war had cost the British enough in men, money and morale; they would not have another war except as a last resort. The risk of a war with Nepal and appreciation of her peoples' intense love of independence served as two major influences in the British policy towards Nepal in subsequent years.

The war and the loss of one-third of her territory sobered Nepal. The Nepalese realised that their mountains were no impregnable defence against a determined enemy far superior in resources. Their respect for British arms increased; their fear, too. The treaty of Segouli was a galling restraint, and yet it had to be suffered for the dread of another and more disastrous war. The British in India were a compelling phenomenon, and Nepal had to reconcile herself to it. Nepal's history would from now on be dominated by this phenomenon. None was convinced of this more than Bhim Sen himself who continued in power as Minister. Thus, both the British and the Nepalese desired for their own reasons peaceful relations. The British hands were full with wars with the Indian powers, and Nepal needed a breathing spell to recover from the shock of the war. Bhim Sen on his part would require some time to rehabilitate his prestige which defeat in the war had tarnished. Bhim Sen had learned one more lesson: single handed Nepal could never outmatch the British in war.

For twenty years after the war there was peace in Anglo-Nepalese relations, but no cordiality. Nepal lay sulky and aloof, nursing her wounds, full of resentment and fear. The British Resident at Kathmandu posted after the war was dreaded as an instrument of British imperialism or as a sinister agent of intrigue. Keeping the Resident a virtual prisoner, was regarded as the only means of protecting Nepal from what she feared the natural result of the British connexion would be—viz. the gradual erosion of Nepal's independence and integrity. Bhim Sen could not but look with alarm at the steady weakening of the Indian states and their transformation into feudatories of the British government.

The British acquiesced in Nepal's haughty aloofness. They, however, appreciated Bhim

Sen's strong rule, for it alone could check the turbulence of Nepal's martial people. The British policy was one of absolute non-intervention in Nepal's internal affairs. Nepal was safe in Bhim Sen's hands; India's long frontier with Nepal was secure, and Indo-Nepalese relations were free from intermittent convulsions. From time to time the Nepalese government did intrigue with the Indian states but the British winked at such efforts which were but manifestations of the characteristic restlessness of the Nepalese people.

Change came in the 1830's. Bhim Sen's long monopoly of power ranged the King and ambitious nobles against him. He was deposed in August 1837, and two years later in utter despair he took his own life. Then followed about a decade of political confusion and uncertainty, of cabals and intrigues, of lust for power which violent assassination alone could put to rest. Political instability in Nepal knocked out the bedrock of Anglo-Nepalese relations. That instability, however, was to some extent the British Resident's own doing. The Resident, Brian Hodgson, intervened at first covertly and later openly in the Nepalese court politics. He had his own reasons to do so, although he scarcely anticipated that in sowing the wind he would reap the whirlwind.

The time then was out of joint. A storm was brewing in Afghanistan and China, Burma was hostile, the Indian states were in varying stages of restiveness and disaffection; all about there was an air of eager expectancy and of high events. Hodgson at Kathmandu took fright. The British were about to be engaged in large scale wars, and the Nepalese, he feared, would certainly seize the opportunity to settle old scores with them. Nepalese army, well-drilled and armed to the teeth, and kept for two decades in leash was a veritable thorn in the most exposed frontier of British India. It seemed to Hodgson that the only means of dealing with this certain Nepalese menace was to help the rivals of Bhim Sen to cause his fall, to let loose all the centrifugal forces in the state and to keep the Nepalese stewed in their own juice till the troubles of the British were over. In a divided court, with nobles having conflicting ambitions, the Resident could hope to assume commanding influence. In spite of the conciliatory policy of



two decades Nepal had not come closer to British India. What could explain this attitude except that the Nepalese government were hiding time to avenge their defeat in the last war? This was Hodgson's argument.

Lord Auckland, the Governor General, sought to justify this interventionist policy as a political contrivance to weather a crisis; it was a *pis aller*. Its result, however, was to churn up unprecedented anti-British feelings in the court of Kathmandu. During the first Afghan war (1839-42) Nepal spun plots with almost all the principal Indian states; Nepalese emissaries were seen supplicating support from the courts of Lahore, Kabul, Teheran, Ava, Peking, and Lhasa. The Nepalese records seem to suggest that the object of these intrigues was to form an anti-British confederacy. Nepalese troops broke into north Bihar and Oudh, and Anglo-Nepalese relations came close to a violent breach. Twice the British sent troops to the frontier. The Supreme Council in Calcutta pressed Lord Auckland to send a punitive expedition to Nepal. Auckland, however, would not take such a risk until his hands were freer. A war with Nepal, he feared, would be a signal for the Indian states to rise in arms. Political pressure was remorselessly exerted on the King of Nepal, punctuated by threats of invasion. The King was eventually obliged to concede what Hodgson had wanted: a Ministry with the Resident as its adviser and, indeed, the only prop. With the end of the war in Afghanistan Nepal's restlessness abated. Auckland's interventionist policy had worked; Hodgson and his proteges had kept peace, however precarious it may be, at a very critical time.

The experience of both the British and the Nepalese during these years was bitter, but the lessons learnt were wholesome. The Nepalese once again realised that their internal dissensions provided openings for British intrigues and intervention, and that a masterful Resident could create problems. To the British it was clear that active involvement in Nepalese party politics increased rather than curbed anti-British feelings in the Nepalese court; that political instability led to excitement in the Nepalese army, for every aspirant to power pandered to its warlike propensities; and finally, that a crisis in British India had repercussions on the

Nepalese politics. Nepal could be a menace to India during such crises, if the turbulence of her people were not kept in control by a strong rule. The policy of intervention was, hence, abandoned, and that of disengagement from the internal affairs of Nepal adopted.

Political confusion consequent upon Bhimsen's fall in 1837 ended in September 1846 when Jang Bahadur Rana assumed power as Minister. This marked a great divide in the history of Nepal's relations with India. Jang Bahadur gave the British what they wanted: a strong and friendly regime. He ruled for more than thirty years as an absolute despot; he kept the Nepalese army in full strength but in reins. He earned the British appreciation by making a trip to England. He was cooperative and obliging. He concluded an extradition treaty, preventing the Nepalese forests and swamps on the southern border from being a safe sanctuary to outlaws from the British territory. He got from the British what he expected of them: consistent support, though not an openly declared alliance. The British did not interfere with his bloody ascent to power nor questioned the way he ruled. They treated him as though he were a ruling chief of an independent state. They excited his vanity by flattering allusions to his able rule and his alliance with the mighty British empire.

The Mutiny of 1857-58 provided at once the test and vindication of the policy of mutual trust, understanding and co-operation which the two governments were following. The Nepalese government did not exploit the greatest crisis of the British in India. Instead, they actively helped them against the very forces which Nepal once tried to rally against the British. Jang Bahadur was naturally looked upon as the best guarantee of Anglo-Nepalese friendly relations. Honours were lavished on him; the western Terai wrested from Nepal in 1816 was restored to her. The Nepalese troops who fought in the Mutiny were loud in praise of the British for their liberality shown in the form of *battas* and high rates of pay. The House of the Ranas became henceforth the surest insurance against impairment of Nepal's friendly relations with British India. Jang Bahadur initiated the Nepalese government in the policy of active cooperation with the British government with a view to earn-

ing prestige, money and territory, and this policy all his successors scrupulously followed. The Nepalese government had now finally abandoned their earlier policy of taking advantage of the British difficulties.

With this a great political objective had been achieved ; the Nepalese now were not only safe neighbours but dependable allies, too. There was, however, a fly in the ointment : Nepal was still a closed land. The Residents' movements were still restricted, although unlike earlier, their personal relations with the Minister were cordial. Jang Bahadur with all his amiability and effusive friendliness could hardly conceal his deep seated prejudice that too close relations with the British and admission of their agent or countrymen into the interior of Nepal would ultimately end up in British domination. Jang Bahadur felt that the Nepalese government should have that much of attachment to the British as would be conducive to Nepal's own interests. Nepal would live in peace and amity with India, but the British should not expect a greater degree of cordiality than what the Nepalese government would safely allow them. Jang Bahadur would try to convince the British that Nepal's friendliness was a policy of her own choice. The British, however, fully knew that it was for the Minister and his family an indispensable means of strength.

Jang Bahadur died in 1877, but his policy survived him. Lord Lytton saw in his death rather an opportunity than an occasion for anxiety. He made an attempt by political pressure to increase the Resident's influence in the Court of Kathmandu, and to force the latter to eschew its exclusive policy. The Nepalese government doggedly resisted the move, causing, albeit for a short while, a rift in the erstwhile friendly relations with the Indian government. The British realised that the Nepalese government would not abandon its exclusive policy, for it was in their view Nepal's only means of defence against a neighbour whose influence spread as much by a conscious effort on its part as by its sheer position and overwhelming power. Never hereafter would the Indian government risk unpleasantness with Nepal on this score. This was the Nepalese government's strongest susceptibility, and the British always avoided ruffling it.

From the 1870's the most engaging pre-occupation of the Indian government was the defence of the frontier from the Russian and the French pressure. The Indian military establishment was consequently reformed and expanded. The demand now was mostly for men who had better fighting capacity and greater acquaintance with difficult mountainous terrain, and who were also politically least excitable and, hence, safe and trustworthy. Nepal had just this sort of men. The Gurkhas had since 1815 been recruited in the British Indian army, and had firmly established themselves as its best element. Their unquestioned obedience to and admiration for the British were matched by their contempt for the Indian soldiers. They were, hence, looked upon by the British as the most effective counterpoise to the Indian soldiers, and as a safety valve against a mutiny by them. Unlike other regiments of the Indian army, any expansion in the Gurkha ranks did not require a proportionate increase in the number of British soldiers to maintain the balance, and this was an additional reason why the Gurkhas were most sought after.

There were in the last decades of the 19th century some political problems, too. China asserted her suzerainty over Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. The fear was not so much of an actual invasion of India's north-east frontier as of subversion and intrigue in a region which the British looked upon as their sphere of influence. In view of these military and political exigencies closer ties with the Nepalese government became a compelling necessity for India. The importance of Nepal as a frontier state and its military resources and potentialities were now closely studied. It was being increasingly felt that in Nepal lay the fulcrum of India's north-east frontier. This led to an adjustment in the British attitude and adoption of a new policy—the policy of winning Nepalese confidence by liberal concessions, and progressively increasing their obligation to the Indian government. A deal was struck by which the British undertook to supply the Nepalese government with modern arms in exchange for unrestricted supply of Gurkha recruits for the Indian army. Nepal's military power was no longer dreaded as a menace to India's security ; it came to be regarded now as an essential accessory to India's

own military resources. The arrangement, arms for Gurkhas, bound the Indian and the Nepalese governments in ties of mutual obligation and served in future as an important plank of their relations. Nepal's main export was—and still is—her men. The British on their part had to be solicitous of the Nepalese government on whom they depended for their best troops.

In the later decades of the 19th century when British commercial interests in Tibet were revived Anglo-Nepalese relations assumed a new perspective. Nepal's relations with Tibet and China were closely studied, especially their political implications. A thorough probe was also made into Nepalese commercial interests in Tibet to ascertain whether or how far they affected British policy in Tibet. Thus in Anglo-Tibetan relations Nepal came to play a significant role. The events leading to the Young-husband mission to Tibet could be cited as a case in point. Russian activity in Lhasa alarmed the Nepalese government as much as the British, and made them take concerted action to safeguard their respective interests. Nepal proved a great help to the British during this time, especially in making the Lhasa government agree to Young-husband's terms of settlement. The Nepalese legation at Lhasa served as an intelligence transmitting centre. Ever afterwards Kathmandu remained an important link between Calcutta (and later New Delhi) and Lhasa.

Chinese activity in Tibet between 1904 and 1914 brought Nepal and India closer still. British interests in Tibet were imperilled by the Chinese policy of converting Tibet from an autonomous region under Chinese suzerainty into a directly administered province. The Dalai Lama was deposed and was obliged to escape to India in 1910. Chinese troops tore through Eastern Tibet, destroying monasteries; the local people rose in arms. The Chinese intrigued with Bhutan, refusing to recognise the Anglo-Bhutanese treaty (1910); they crept into the tribal territories north of Assam and set up colonies; they dropped feelers on Nepal, too. The Chinese proceedings activated the normally quiet north-east frontier. In dealing with this menace and in ensuring Tibetan autonomy, the British made ample use of their good relations with Nepal. The Nepalese government were concerned over the forcible change in the political status of Tibet

at the hands of the Chinese and consequent injury to Nepalese interests in Tibet. Nepal was assured of protection against Chinese invasion; the British also guaranteed security of Nepalese interests in Tibet. At the British instance the Nepalese government formally repudiated their traditional allegiance to China; the tributary missions to Peking sent by Nepal since 1792 were discontinued. In short, the Chinese proceedings in Tibet and the north-east frontier resulted in further weakening of their influence in the area and further assertion of British power. The British also secured a measure of control on Nepal's relations with Tibet and China. From 1915 to 1947 the British were a factor in Nepal-Tibet relations; they preserved peace between them, and arbitrated in their disputes. The British government did not specifically ask Nepal to have no relations with the Chinese Republic, although they made it amply clear that such relations had better not have any political content.

By the 1920's areas of agreement between the Governments of India and Nepal had widened considerably, and their interests, particularly military and political, had become to a great extent both coordinate and complimentary. Nepal only wondered if the trend of events would lead eventually to the disappearance of her independence under sheer force of circumstances; the British would not make any attempt at obtaining such result, but then their influence was an irresistible fact. The problem of the Nepalese government was to forestall the natural result of this influence. The British government fully appreciated Nepal's uneasiness. In 1923 a treaty, called the Treaty of Friendship, was concluded which explicitly recognised Nepal's independence, both external and internal. The Nepalese government had already been given an annual subsidy of rupees ten lakhs. They were also free to import from now on arms and machinery for manufacturing munitions. The Nepalese government made much of the treaty; the Prime Minister could convince the people that he had obtained what for Nepal had so long been a political desideratum—a definite guarantee of her integrity. From the British point of view, however, the treaty was but a necessary formality; it was a means to satisfy the Nepalese government's *amour propre*. Treaties made little change to the actual fact

that both policy and concatenation of circumstances had brought Nepal well within the political orbit of the British empire in India. Nepal was in fact an Indian political and military outpost, and serving the purpose of an outer or strategic frontier. Nepal's internal autonomy was guaranteed by the British, but her external relations were subordinated to the considerations of British interests. It was a state economically heavily dependent on India, and whose rulers' many obligations to the British made them subordinate partners in safeguarding and fostering British imperial interests in Asia.

The intensity of the nationalist movement in India from the 1920's and such factors as the growing Japanese influence in China and interest in Tibet and Mongolia, the rise of Bolshevik Russia and the disturbed situation in India's north-west frontier, culminating in the third Afghan war (1919), necessitated keeping Nepal in good humour. A review of British military position in India established that the India government should estimate their military resources in the worst contingency on the sole basis of the strength of the Gurkhas in the Indian army and the troops which the Nepalese government would lend the British as mercenaries. In fact, the Gurkhas came now to be valued not only for their military quality but even more for their detachment from those political, racial and religious influences which complicated and embarrassed the military system of the British government in India. It was recognised, particularly by the India Office, that a powerful Hindu state as Nepal could exert considerable influence on the Indian anarchist elements, and the more articulate the anti-British forces became the greater became the need for keeping on well with Nepal. The Ranas actively helped the Indian government in dealing with the anti-British forces in India. Indian newspapers with seditious writings were banned in Nepal, and the Indian employees in Nepal were warned against any activity against the British. Arrangements were made to rush the Gurkhas from Nepal to the Punjab during the disturbances connected with the Jalianwallabagh massacre. During both the world wars large contingents of the Nepalese army were posted in India for the maintenance of internal security. The Home government particularly feared that the Nepalese government could exercise powerful

influence on Indian politics, and if they were disaffected the revolutionary movement in India could assume a much graver aspect. Attempts at sowing anti-British feelings in the Gurkha army were suspected to have been made by the anarchists in 1906-7. During the first world war the Germans made an abortive effort at intriguing with Nepal through Raja Mahendra Pratap, the noted Indian revolutionary. When relations with Afghanistan and the Pathan tribes in the north-west frontier were uneasy the Nepalese troops were looked upon as an effective counterpoise.

This was also the time when a small band of young Nepalīs raised their voice against the Rana's autocracy and urged for liberalisation of the regime. These Nepalīs came mostly from the Terai region and were educated in India. They published a paper called the *Gurkhali* from Benaras. The paper was anti-Rana in tone and was, hence, banned by the British government in 1922. By the treaty of 1923 each of the two governments undertook to prevent its territory from being used for purposes prejudicial to the security of the other. In the 1930's secret societies were formed in Nepal to physically exterminate the Ranas. The Rana government came on these societies with a heavy hand and frustrated their objects.

The British relations with Nepal is, thus, a history of gradual conversion of a challenge into an opportunity, of a source of danger into one of benefit. The British policy was one of tactful management of a proud, sensitive, freedom-loving nation which would not grudge the loss of *de facto* independence provided an appearance of its sovereignty were kept up by profuse assertions to that effect, by avoidance of interference in its internal affairs, by periodical bestowal of honours, titles and subsidies to its autocratic rulers, and by the provision of employment to its martial peoples. That this policy paid off was due to three main factors; first, understanding the Nepalese people, their sentiments, prejudices and susceptibilities as interpreted, of course, by their government; secondly, appreciation of the fact that Nepal had a personality of her own, and quite a strong one at that; and thirdly, adjustment of British needs to the Nepalese expectations. To these must be added two more factors; the isolation of Nepal, and

monopolisation of Nepal's diplomatic relations by the British. Events in India particularly of political and military character had profound effect but did not unsettle Nepal's relations with the British government. In 1839 political pressure obliged the then Nepalese government to undertake to have no relations with the Indian states, and this restriction, at least in theory, continued until 1921 when on the representation of the Prime Minister, Chandra Shamsher, it was formally lifted. Sikkim was taken under British protection with the declared object of preventing its and Bhutan's absorption in Nepal. The rise of militant Nepal had disturbed the balance of power in the lower Himalayas, and it was gradually restored when the British confirmed their political influence in Sikkim and Bhutan and later in Tibet. The British policy in the north-east frontier of India was to isolate Nepal from her neighbours and to prevent the formation of a large Himalayan kingdom under Nepalese hegemony—a project on which the early Nepalese statesmen had set their heart. The British discouraged Nepal from having any relations with any power other than themselves. Nepal's desire to have diplomatic representation at the Court of St. James was not met till 1934 for fear that foreign powers like Germany and Japan might establish relations with Nepal through her embassy in London. When Chandra Shamsher sent a few Nepalese to Japan for technical training, there were not a few in the India Office who felt uneasy. It was, in fact, held as an axiom that the political and military exigencies of the Indian empire could not allow Nepal to pass out of the British sphere of influence into that of any other power. Nepal's landlocked position and economic dependence on India and the lack of any power in her neighbourhood which could prevent its gravitation towards India enabled the British government to exercise this monopoly on Nepal's diplomatic relations. Nepal could not play the same role as Afghanistan between Russia in Central Asia and British in India. Nepal did serve as a buffer state when China was powerful in Tibet. But the weakness of China and the emergence of an independent Tibet under British influence made India's north-east frontier safe, and correspondingly Nepal's importance as a buffer state decreased.

Politically British influence on Nepal had

both a stabilising and retardatory effect. British support to the Rana regime ensured peace and stability in a country where geographical obstacles and ethnic variety impeded political unity. British support to the Rana family made the latter strong against its potential rivals. But it also made the setting up of any other rule impossible; more so any other form of government. The Nepalese could, therefore, have no experience of political experiments, and this was no small handicap for them when the Rana regime collapsed in 1950-51. The Nepalese had no training in constitutional or even liberal form of government, and small wonder they had much difficulty in running this form of government when it was established in the post-Rana period.

In Nepal's social life the British had no pretensions to act as a conscious catalytic agent. Yet their abhorrence of social evils like the Sati and slavery led the Ranas to abolish both, if gradually. The need for dealings with the British obliged the later Ranas to educate themselves, and to open a few schools at Kathmandu. The British encouraged the Nepalese aristocratic families to travel freely in India and to go to Europe as much to impress on them the power and resources of the British empire as to enlarge their mental horizon. British non-interference policy was tempered by their positive opposition to change of power by violence, and this partly explains the comparatively less bloody events in Nepalese history in the twentieth century. Nepalese criminal laws were moderated; corvee was declared illegal. With British help a very limited arrangement was made for the improvement of sanitation and public health in the city of Kathmandu. Ropeways and a light railway were built and a few industries started. Even a newspaper controlled by the government made its appearance. The British did not want to force the pace of modernism in Nepal, for it was certain to be resented by the Rana government as an interference in Nepal's internal affairs. If the Nepalese took a few slow and hesitating steps towards progress the British gave them every encouragement. Geographical obstacles, lack of communication and mobility in life, the Nepalese government's policy of isolation and the British anxiety to keep on well with the Ranas—all these prevented the dissemination of even a limited degree of liberal ideas which were sweep-

ing Nepal's southern neighbour. The Nepalese had the innate fear that appurtenances of modernism were but instruments of political enervation, and the Ranas, in their own interest, kept up this fear. A modern Nepal helped in her development by the British, they feared, would be reduced to an adjunct of British India. Beneath this apparently lofty patriotic ideal there lurked the apprehension that modern ideas and institutions and the resultant enlightenment of the people would weaken the autocratic rule which the Ranas had set up. Isolation and non-intercourse with the outside world thus served the family interests of the Ranas. In fact, it is not so much the British who actively supported the Rana rule as that the Ranas purposely made it look so to their people with a view to strengthening themselves.

British influence on Nepal was, hence, limited, and this was partly due to the fact that this influence had practically only one agency to operate through, namely the Nepalese government, whose policy, as has been seen earlier, was to keep this influence down to a minimum. Movement of the Nepalese to and from India was unrestricted, but for the Indians Nepal was a closed country, except for occasional pilgrimages. The Gurkha soldiers who served in India and elsewhere returned home with nothing but memories of battles and fond expectations of similar opportunities in future. They were closely attached to the British government which gave them employment and sustained them in their old age by pensions. In fact, there was not a single village in Nepal which had not sent men to fight for the British in India and elsewhere. There were many others who emigrated to Assam, Darjeeling and the Dooars to work mostly as labourers in the tea gardens. An intellectual class was conspicuous by its absence; in 1947 there were only one college and four high schools in Nepal. In 1948 there were only seven holders of M.A. and B.A. degrees, fortyeight undergraduates and fourteen having Sanskrit degrees. This small number of educated men at Kathmandu were either absorbed in government offices or purged out of the country at the slightest suspicion of being anti-government.

Indo-Nepalese relations during the British period had, thus, a very narrow base; it was a

relationship of a family oligarchy in Nepal and an alien government in India, both of which became in course of time unpopular. Anti-Rana forces naturally looked to the anti-British forces in India for support. The Indian nationalist press assailed the Rana regime, particularly when the Gurkha mercenaries were employed to put down the nationalist movements in India. Anti-Rana forces were later organised under three main parties, the Gurkha league, the Praja Parishad and the Nepali National Congress; all of them had the blessing of the Indian National Congress. During the Quit India Movement in 1942 a number of prominent Nepalese were arrested in India. The same year the people of Saptari in the Nepalese Terai broke open the Hanuman-nagar Jail where Jaiprakash Narain, Dr. Ramanohar Lohia and others had been interned by the Rana government when they escaped to Nepal to seek political asylum. Anti-Rana movement in the Terai became a strong force in 1946-47 which compelled the Rana government to make a gesture of administrative reforms in 1947-48. The Rana-British relationship appeared to the anti-Rana forces as an unholy alliance, a partnership in the exploitation of the Nepalese people. The British were condemned as props of an autocratic regime. When the British left India the Ranas found it difficult to adjust themselves to the new Government of India which insisted on a new and broader basis of relationship between the two states. The British with their limited political and military objectives tolerated a regime very different from their own administration in India. New India with its democratic ideals would not only treat this regime as a political anachronism but would actively assist in effecting its fall. The British had little interest in a modern Nepal; independent India would actively help in bringing about a rapid transformation in Nepal's political, social and economic life—and preferably under India's guidance. While the British were accused of having stretched the principles of let alone too far and thereby arrested the progress of Nepal, the problem of the Government of India today is to help Nepal in her development in such a way that the Nepalese would not feel that India was overdoing her role as Nepal's guardian and pacemaker.

## INDIAN PRESIDENCY

Dr. VISHNU NARAIN SRIVASTAVA

The Indian Presidency has been a subject of interesting comment ever since the institution of the office by the Constituent Assembly of India and particularly since the commencement of the Indian Constitution on January 26, 1950. The President possesses large powers under the Constitution, which fact creates the impression that he is by no means only the formal executive of the Union but that he can, if he so chooses, become a real ruler within the framework of the Constitution. There is the opposite view, popularly held in the country, that the President is a mere 'figure-head' and that "he could not act and will not act except on the advice of his ministers;"<sup>1</sup> and that "he occupies the same position as the King under the English Constitution."<sup>2</sup>

These views regarding the status, powers and functions of the President of India are confusing. A careful study of the Constitution will prove that the President is intended neither to be a powerful ruler nor a figurehead nor an exact replica of the British Crown but he is to be a constitutional head of the state and the symbol of the nation, vested with considerable authority and status under the express provisions of the Constitution, sufficient to make him a brake in the governmental machinery and at times its engine—a position which is essential to the proper functioning of our quasi-federal parliamentary democracy.

### *President as the Chief of the Nation and the symbol of its Unity*

The importance of the President in the constitutional set-up of the country is disclosed by the manner of his election.<sup>3</sup> He is elected by the members of an electoral college consisting of (a) the elected members of both Houses of Parliament; and (b) the elected members of the

Legislative Assemblies of the States. Both Prime Minister Nehru and Ambedkar stated in the Constituent Assembly<sup>4</sup> that election by such electoral colleges was tantamount to a direct election on the basis of adult franchise. The suggestion that the electoral college should consist of members of Parliament alone was turned down so that "the President might not be a creature of the majority in power and a pale replica of the Prime Minister and therefore no better than a figurehead as in France under the Constitution of 1875 or Ireland."<sup>5</sup> This would show, in the first place, that the President is not merely a figurehead and in the second place, that he represents the people of India, as against the Union Ministers who represents only the majority party in Parliament, thus making him not only the head of the Union, but also the Chief of the Nation and the concrete embodiment of the unity of the State.

The President takes the oath<sup>6</sup> to "faithfully execute the office of the President.....of India and.....to.....preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and the law....." In the result, he has to maintain the Constitution against inroads from whatever quarters they might come. Further, he takes an oath to devote himself "to the service and well-being of the People of India." Thus, he represents the will of the people in securing the unity, welfare and integrity of the country. No such oath is taken either by the Vice-President, the Prime Minister or any other minister of the Union. The oath taken by them is only to act within the Constitution, which can function only if preserved, protected and defended by the President. Thus, the obligations and responsibilities to which the President is pledged are different from and superior to those of the Vice-President,

1. Ambedkar, C. A. D., Vol. VIII, p. 215.

2. C. A. D., Vol. VII, p. 32.

3. Art. 54.

4. C.A.D., Vol. VII, P. 998 and Vol. IV, P. 846.

5. C.A.D., Vol. IV, PP. 734-35.

6. Art. 60.

the Prime Minister or any minister of the Union.<sup>7</sup>

### *Ministerial Responsibility*

The Constitution vests in the President a large array of powers and functions. The impressive list of the Presidential powers bears a close resemblance to the formal powers of the British Monarch. He is to exercise these powers and functions with the aid and advice of his Council of Ministers. The British Sovereign is bound by the advice of his ministers as is implied by the well-known doctrine that "the King can do no wrong". The Crown must act on the advice of the Cabinet and must not act on any other advice.<sup>8</sup> This convention is enforced through the rule that every public act of the Crown must bear the counter-signature of some minister responsible to Parliament. This rule is so universal in its operation that it has been said that "there is not a moment in the King's life, from accession to his demise, during which there is not some one responsible to Parliament for his public conduct."<sup>9</sup> There is no such explicit provision in the Indian Constitution to bind the President to act in accordance with the advice of his Council of Ministers. Instead of providing that the President shall act only on the counter-signature of a minister responsible to Parliament, Article 77(2) of our Constitution provides that the President himself shall make rules as to the manner in which his orders and instruments shall be authenticated and this is done at present by a departmental secretary and not by a minister.

So, whereas in England the ministers assume legal responsibility for the acts of the Crown. In India the ministers have no legal responsibility for the acts of the President. The proposal to incorporate instructions<sup>10</sup> that the President would be bound by the advice of the ministers was

deleted by the Constituent Assembly. The provision in the Irish<sup>11</sup> Constitution that the President should accept the advice of the ministers was also not incorporated in our Constitution. The President is, therefore, under no legal obligation to accept in every case with which he deals the aid and advice of his Council of Ministers. B. N. Rau rightly observes that "even if in any particular instance the President acts otherwise than on ministerial advice, the validity of the act cannot be questioned in a court on that ground".<sup>12</sup>

Though there is no legal obligation upon the President to act upon the advice of his ministers, the exigencies of responsible government demand that he should normally act on ministerial advice. In England, the dependence of the Crown for taxes and supplies on the elected representatives of the people in the House of Commons obliges the Sovereign to rely on a ministry having the confidence of the House; and the evolution of the doctrine that the Sovereign was bound to accept the advice of his ministry became inevitable. Its logical corollary was responsibility of the ministry and not of the Crown for the government of the country. The same basic postulate forms an integral part of the Indian Constitution. Under Article 113 of the Constitution, all estimates of expenditure other than those relating to expenditure charged upon the Consolidated Fund of India are required to be submitted in the form of demands for grants to the House of the People which may "assent or refuse to assent to any demand for grant or assent to such demand subject to any reduction of the amount thereof". Since the House of the People has thus the last word in financial matters and since that House is controlled by the Council of Ministers, the result will be that when a strong-headed President disregards the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers, the Council of Ministers through the House of the People, will refuse to assent to any demand for grant and will in this way be able to curb the powers of the President. Thus, we see that for the smooth and efficient running of the administration, the President must act according

7. Munshi, K.M., *The President under the Indian Const.* (1963), P. 35-36.

8. Halsbury, Hailsham Ed. Vol. VI, Pp. 636-7.

9. Todd, *Parliamentary Govt. in England*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 266.

10. Munshi, K.M., "The President under the Indian Constitution."

11. Art. 13 (a) (11) of the Constitution of Eire, 1937.

12. Rau, B. N., *India's Constitution in the Making* (1960) P. 375.



to the advice of his Council of Ministers. Since in this way the control over the public exchequer is vested for all practical purposes in the Council of Ministers, the position virtually is that the real executive power of the Union is vested in the Council of Ministers and the President is normally only the constitutional head of the state and cannot for any long period of time run the machinery of government in disregard of the advice tendered by his Council of Ministers.

We thus find that there are provisions in the Constitution the practical effect of which is that the President will normally be bound to act according to the aid and advice of his Council of Ministers. Indeed, no Sovereign or Governor-General in a British Dominion would dare reject the advice of his ministry save at his own peril. The abdication of Edward VIII, and the removal of the Governor-General of the Irish Free State on the advice of De Valera when he first came into power are recent illustrations. The President of India is also liable to removal by the process of impeachment.

But, by no means does it follow that the President is merely a rubber-stamp, a marionette in the hands of his Council of Ministers or a dignified hieroglyphic—to use Coke's immortal phrase. The Constitution secures to the President the same powers as Bagehot<sup>13</sup> ascribed to the Crown in England—'the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn.' He has a very useful function to perform behind the scene. As provided in Article 78, all decisions of the Council of Ministers are communicated to him and he can call for any information. He is thus fully posted with the affairs of the government. The method of election of the President set out in Article 54 ensures that the President is an elderly statesman enjoying the confidence of the elected elements of the various legislatures. He can bring his experience and wisdom to influence the Council of Ministers in formulating their decisions. He is regarded as a non-party man with ability to approach all problems in an impartial and dispassionate manner and he can make his views felt by placing them before the Council of Ministers. Either he can convince the Council

of Ministers or be convinced by them. If, however, his views do not ultimately prevail with the Council of Ministers, he must yield to their decisions. There is no express provision in the Constitution to this effect; but this is a law inherent in the mechanism of responsible government and in the method of its working in whatever soil that system of government is implanted.

#### *Presidential Authority*

Obviously then, persuasion, not compulsion, is the normal instrument of Presidential authority. But, where the normal course of responsible government ceases to run smoothly and acceptance of ministerial advice tends to create a breakdown of the constitutional machinery, the President's personal intervention becomes imperative. Situations may arise, where no single party commands a majority in the legislature to be able to undertake the responsibility of forming a government as happened in England in 1931 under the Labour Government and Ramsay Macdonald was commissioned by the Sovereign to form a National Government of all parties, or, having formed a government, its stability may be threatened by unforeseen events; or, a government in power might embark on action in persistent violation of the law or deliberate defiance of the Constitution as the Premier of New South Wales, Lang, did in 1932; or again a government is corrupt and this charge is proved as happened in the case of John Macdonald's Government in Canada in 1873 and its continuance might become obnoxious to the nation and its policies might become ruinous to the country. It is, indeed, impossible to predict every exigency that may render it impossible for the President to accept ministerial advice. In all such circumstances, the President of India, like the British Crown or Dominion Governor-General, may be presumed to have a clear right to depart from ministerial advice and act at his own discretion.

There are certain other exceptional matters in which the advice of the Council of Ministers is not required or is not reliable or is not sufficient or is not available. Among these exceptional matters are the following:

(1) The appointment and dismissal of a Prime Minister who ceases to enjoy the leadership of his party;

13. Bagehot, "English Constitution" (World Classics Ed. 1928), p. 67.

(2) Dismissal of a ministry which has lost the confidence of Parliament ;

(3) Dismissal of a House of the People, which appears to the President to have lost the confidence of the Public.

(4) The exercise of the powers as a Supreme Commander in an emergency where the ministry has failed to defend the country ;

(5) When there is no ministry due to a possible whole-sale assassination ;

(6) Consultation with the Supreme Court of India under Article 143 when there is a cleavage of opinion between him and the Council of Ministers on any question of law or fact.

The President may also disregard the advice of his Council of Ministers in such matters as the protection of the interest of minorities<sup>14</sup> and backward classes,<sup>15</sup> the exercise of his emergency<sup>16</sup> powers to suspend the Constitution in a State where another party is in power, the appointment of a Finance Commission,<sup>17</sup> an Election Commission<sup>18</sup> for the superintendence, direction and control of elections, the Attorney-General<sup>19</sup> of India in order to receive independent advice in constitutional matters, the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India,<sup>20</sup> members of the Union Public Service Commission,<sup>21</sup> Judges of Supreme Court<sup>22</sup> and High Courts etc.<sup>23</sup> These are matters in the decision of which any party bias has to be avoided. The President may also disregard ministerial advice where he is enjoined to act otherwise than under the Constitution.<sup>24</sup>

The ministers hold office during the pleasure of the President.<sup>25</sup> It would be ridiculous to suggest that a minister could be dismissed only on his own advice. If, on the dismissal of the ministry, the President is able to find a suitable ministry in the existing legislature, he has

the right to summon those who, he feels, can command a majority to form a new government. If the alignment of the parties does not permit him to adopt such a course, he has the undoubted right to dissolve the legislature and order fresh elections. Of course, if the country should return the old ministerial party to power, the President's action would stand condemned by the nation and he would have either to resign or to eat the humble pie at the hands of the ministry. Such an event has been rare of occurrence. The power of dismissal or of dissolution is, of course, double-edged. But the wisdom and restraint inherent in its exercise has generally obtained the verdict of approval from the people in the rare cases when it has been exercised.

The President in the Constitution is, therefore, not a figurehead. He is the embodiment of the ultimate authority of the Constitution, which moves only on threat to constitutional government. The President's oath of office compels him "to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and the law" and "to devote himself to the service and well-being of the people of India." The supremacy of the President lies in securing the supremacy of the Constitution.

It is possible to contend that the exercise of Presidential authority without ministerial advice is fraught with dangerous consequences for it may lead to abuse of authority resulting in the upsetting of the traditional maxims and principles of parliamentary government. In order to check this possibility it is suggested that whenever the President desires to depart from ministerial advice and act on his own, he should be guided by the decisions of a kind of Privy Council, consisting of non-party elder statesmen, a body analogous to the Council of State under Article 31 of the Irish Constitution of 1937.

The powers of the President are almost nil when there is a stable majority in the House of the People to support the Council of Ministers headed by a Prime Minister who rules the country but they will increase in proportion to the instability and weakness of the Council. They will reach a maximum when there is no party in a majority in the House of the People and the Union Government has to be carried on with shifting coalition ministries. It is likely that there will be a struggle for power between the

14. Arts. 330, 331, 347 etc.

15. Arts. 341, 342.

16. Art. 356.

17. Art. 280.

18. Art. 324.

19. Art. 76.

20. Art. 148.

21. Art. 315.

22. Art. 124.

23. Art. 217.

24. Arts. 3, 53, 85, 103, 111.

25. Art. 75(2).

President and Prime Minister and the result will depend upon the relative personalities of the two incumbents and party alignments in the two Houses of Parliament. An anomalous situation can come into being when a powerful Prime Minister faces a popular and strong-headed President and the situation will be still worse if the Prime Minister and the majority in the House of the People belong to one party and the President and the majority in the Council of States belong to another.

### *Status*

It is the Presidential authority that keeps the Union and the people bound together constitutionally. His authority runs like a golden thread throughout the Constitution of the Union.<sup>26</sup> The people look to him for the protection of their fundamental rights; the judiciary for its independence; and the Parliament for the due fulfilment of its constitutional functions. The country as a whole depends on him for protection in an emergency.

The States look to him for safeguarding their autonomy. The importance of Presidential authority will be felt when conflicts arise between different constituent States of the Union, possibly having governments formed by different parties. In this contingency, the ruling political party at the centre might possibly come into conflict with state governments formed by other political parties. It is in such a case the President has to be looked up to for a solution, and to function as the arbitrator<sup>27</sup> in all Union-State differences, particularly in the application of Article 356 of the Constitution for superseding a state legislature.

Though the President does not govern the country, he, like the British Sovereign, personally performs certain definite acts which he and he alone can do and which no other state functionary

can perform under the Constitution. Important among these are :

(1) authorising a political leader to form a ministry;<sup>28</sup> (2) summoning each House of Parliament<sup>29</sup> (3) proroguing the Houses or either House of Parliament<sup>30</sup> (4) dissolving the House of the People<sup>31</sup> entailing a general election; (5) addressing both Houses of Parliament<sup>32</sup> assembled together at the commencement of the first session after each general election to the House of the People and at the commencement of the first session of each year; (6) summoning the Houses of Parliament to meet in a joint sitting for the purpose of deliberating and voting on the Bill in case of disagreement between them (7) assenting to a Bill when passed by the legislature; (8) summoning a conference of leaders to consider ways of handling a constitutional crisis as in England in 1931; (9) receiving ambassadors who present their credentials to him etc.

The whole authority of the state periodically returns into the hands of the President whenever the ministry changes. During the interval between the retirement of one government and the appointment of another, the President is the repository of all power. Power of a genuine kind must rest with the President so long as it is in his discretion to "send for" the leader of the opposition and, so long as he can under favourable circumstances, demand or refuse a dissolution.

Denied the authority of the making of laws and the actual management of the public departments, the President can and does patronise with judgment certain branches of national activity, such as arts, literature, science, industry and the stage and inspire and supervise movements for improving the conditions of the masses for supplying them with better dwellings, hospitals, care, good nursing and relief in distress. He is at the head of the pageant of national life. Presidential patronage is a great asset to any cause,

26. Munshi, K. M., *Ibid*, p. 36.

27. Santhanam, K., Third Lecture in a series of four on "Conventions and Properties in the Parliamentary Government of India" delivered at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, reported in the *Hindustan Times*, Oct. 3, 1964.

28. Art. 75(1)

29. Art. 85.

30. Art. 87.

31. Art. 108.

32. Art. 111, 201.

institution or fund and ensures for it popular support. It imparts a 'national appeal' to any cause which no other person, however eminent, could give. In a given political situation as a binding convention.<sup>34</sup>

The President is the fountain of honour. The awards like Bharat Ratna, Padma Vibhushan, Padma Bhushan, Padma Shri etc. are and can be made by him alone though as a matter of practice only on the advice of the Prime Minister. Like the British Crown, he is a link between the executive and the legislature and he can utilize his good offices whenever needed to promote harmony and understanding between them.

The President is the symbol of the Nation and supposed to be above party and as such he can act as a mediator between political leaders in times of crisis to maintain national unity. In the international field, he can and does help in strengthening the cultural, social and political ties of India with other countries through his visits and the visits of foreign dignitaries to him. During the time of war, his visits and inspections of the armed forces in the field may serve as a source of immense inspiration and may help them to rally together and inspire courage and fortitude in the face of common danger.

The study would appear to show that the President of India is not the exact replica of the British Monarch. It is true that we have a parliamentary form of government as in the U.K. and not a presidential form of government as in the U.S.A. But this fact does not justify the assumption that the President can have only the status of a British Monarch, irrespective of the express provisions of the Constitution and such a claim was never made by the Founding Fathers. Nor is such an inference warranted in the light of constitutional experience of different countries.<sup>33</sup> The President is expressly enjoined to act in accordance with "this" Constitution i.e. within the limitations imposed by it by express provisions. It would, therefore, be unjustifiable to interpret the powers of the President conferred by the Constitution in the light of any other law or constitution or by elevating a practice followed

For the most part, the Indian President shall be guided by the principles and maxims underlying the parliamentary form of government and act generally like the British Sovereign in the discharge of his powers and functions. But we cannot expect him to function like the British Sovereign under all conditions, for "our conditions and problems are not on par with those of the British and it may not be desirable to treat ourselves as strictly bound by the interpretations which have been given from time to time to expressions in England."<sup>35</sup> The departure is necessitated particularly by two factors peculiar to our country—a federal system and the prospect of a plurality of parties in the States and at the Centre. After considering the problem in its entirety, no serious student of constitutions could possibly hold the view that an elected President of a federal state can occupy exactly the position of the hereditary head of a unitary state like the British Sovereign.

It would seem to be inevitable that, in a federal state, whatever the distribution of powers between the centre and the constituent states, there should be some provision for an independent and neutral focus of power and decision to adjudicate effectively and conclusively between the rival and possibly controversial claims of the centre and the constituent states. In the U.S.A. this function is performed by the Supreme Court but that country still has a two party system. Even so, American opinion has consistently felt for the last three quarters of a century that the Supreme Court has functioned more as an ally of the Federal Government than as a guardian of state rights. Both the conscious and the inherent bias of legislators and jurists is in favour of the unitary state. They can with effort only reconcile the rival claims of the state with those of the states within the state. But in a country like India with strong regional diversities of economic and social conditions, languages and historical

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34. Art. 53 (1).

33. Munshi, K. M., "The President under the Indian Constitution" (1963), PP. 12, 30, 31.

35. Vide President Rajendra Prasad's speech at the Indian Law Institute, New Delhi, 28th Nov., 1960.

inertia, and basically differing political ideologies, the adjudicating non-partisan umpire standing between the centre and the states has to function more in a political than a legalistic spirit. The real and the really valid view embodied in the Constitution is that the President shall function as such an umpire, whenever the need should arise, in an impartial and non-partisan spirit while normally working as a constitutional head of the state. As pointed out above in this text, in suspending the normal constitutional machinery in a state in conditions of a political stalemate or emergency, in 'defending' the Constitution against political inroads upon it from any quarter, in ensuring financial stability and probity in the administration, in safeguarding the rights of less privileged classes or weaker elements in the population of the Union, the President, rather than the political government of the day, has to play a special and inevitable role. Even if the Founding Fathers did not openly say so, the facts of the situation oblige us to say that they intended to say so.

To sum up, the President of India is to be an adviser, a brake, an arbiter and not a protagonist. He is the Head of the State but not of the Government. He is the symbol of the Nation and the embodiment of the unity of the State. He is the great centre of national unity, the fulcrum of our political and social activities,

theoretically vested with a vast multitude of powers but actually exercising only a few of them and that too, very rarely and invariably in accordance with the Constitution. He is the supreme guardian of the democratic processes and forms and has been vested with powers of safeguarding the Constitution as also those necessary to maintain the machinery of the government effectively in a crisis. The business of the President is not to govern; that is the right of the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister. But when they fail, the President, in order to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution, becomes all powerful and functions as an independent organ of the state representing the whole Union and exercising independent powers. Thus, the President is the repository of a "reserve power" to prevent the breakdown of the Constitution and not a device to help in the establishment of a Presidential despotism, veiled or open. He is, neither as powerless as the French President was in the Constitution of 1875 nor a mere titular head as in Ireland. While normally lacking the plenitude of power enjoyed by the American President, the President of India is certainly endowed with vastly greater powers than its patently obvious prototype, the British Crown; and it is in this vast, vital and varied potential authority that the real authority, dignity and national importance of the office really lies.

# A HISTORICAL LOOK TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ATOMIC POWER

R. S. SHARMA

With the rise of Nazi Germany and the ambition of Hitler to conquer the world by his great military power, most drastic weapons were aimed to be developed. Among them the invention of atomic bombs was taken up for research. Hitler constituted an atomic research institute for the purpose and great scientists of that country were entrusted the responsibility. Einstein was one of them. Einstein was a Jew by birth and when Hitler started the torture of Jews in his regime and their vast exodus began, Einstein dissociated himself from the research work and left for Palestine.

In 1939, Einstein wrote a letter to President Roosevelt of U. S. A. informing him that Hitler was trying to get success in the development of the Atomic Bomb. He fully emphasised the danger to the democratic world in consequence of this mighty weapon with the Nazis and urged him to take up its preparation by U.S.A herself to counter-balance the efforts of Nazis at the earliest. He also furnished useful technical information and suggested a line of action. President Roosevelt at once constituted an Atomic Energy Commission with Dr. Lyman Briggs as Chairman and Col. K. F. Admason and Commander G. O. Hoover as members.

An important meeting of the Commission was convened on 1st November, 1939 in which renowned scientists of America and Canada like Sacks, Gillard, Vigner and Edward Taylor participated. The Commission submitted its report to President Roosevelt that the preparation of atomic bomb can be a reality.

The administration approved of the report and immediately the work of atomic energy development started as a first priority. Construction of two atomic reactors was soon taken up at Los Alamos in New Mexico State and in Canada.

\* In the mean time, Mr. Modre, the great scholar of atomic energy sent a plan to Mr. Churchill, the then Prime Minister of England, for the preparation of the atom bomb and urged its immediate implementation. Mr. Churchill approved of it and requested President Roosevelt for a joint venture. The latter gladly accepted the offer and thus a joint enterprise of America, England and Canada was started. Under this scheme, American scientists like Mr. Harold Ure and George Pagán went to England on study trips on these schemes. Scientists from England also took similar trips to U.S.A and Canada for the purpose. This greatly enthused the work of atomic energy development through a tripartite venture and work on uranium U. 235 rapidly progressed.

The conquests of Hitler in Europe and Africa and the sinking of the gigantic Prince of Wales and the Repulse of England by Japan and U. S. shipping in Pearl Harbour made the allies more serious about the completion of the atom bomb. In 1942 the Manhattan plan was introduced, according to atomic development top priority from the point of military and national interests.

The work rapidly progressed and on December 2, 1942 renowned scientist Enrico Fermi, successfully demonstrated the effect of atomic fission and its chain reactions through

a reactor at the playground of Chicago University. At last, in July, 1945 Dr. Robert O. E. N. Hymer gave the last touch to the completion of atom bomb with the help of his associates Messrs Chadwick and Bohr and Fermi. Two days later on July 16, 1945, a successful atomic test was carried out at Elmagardo, a place in New Mexico State. A month later two atomic bombs each of 20 K ton (20,000 T.N.T.) were produced. One of them was fired at Hiroshima in Japan on August 6, 1945, the other at Nagasaki (Japan) three days later on August 9, 1945. Twenty K. tons T. N.T. means, the energy produced by 20 K. tons of explosive matter. These drastic atomic attacks brought Japan to her heels and she surrendered. Germany was already defeated.

U. S. A herself was greatly impressed by the destructive power of the atom bombs. She felt, if other powers could produce atom bombs, the danger of atomic war would considerably be enhanced and may become the cause of the world's destruction. She, therefore, proposed a plan named the Barukh plan to eliminate the danger of atomic war and the maintenance of world peace in 1946. The plan was to ban nuclear weapons and to limit atomic energy to peaceful operation and fuel requirements. She also proposed the secret of atomic power to be handed over to the U. N. O.

Russia, prominent among the U. S. A's rival camp did not agree to the plan and in 1949, she astonished the world by her first nuclear test. U. S. A also continued nuclear tests. In 1951, U. S. A made her first test of the Hydrogen bomb on the island of Inavitok. Later the test of Hydrogen bomb in Bikini Island in Pacific ocean was very dreadful. It was a 20 Megaton bomb, which means (2,00,00,000 K. ton T.N.T.).

England, too, prepared the atomic bomb after some years. She also aspired to become independent in atomic energy and to be free from the domination of the U.S.A in this respect.

France also prepared the atomic bomb on July 13, 1963. She did not sign the nuclear weapon ban treaty with 86 countries of the world for the purpose of achieving success in the completion of atomic bomb. China too, did not sign the aforesaid treaty. This was due to her policy to over-power the world by making herself a big military power. She also started the preparation of nuclear bombs. She made her first nuclear test successfully on 19.10.64. Again her second test came on 14.5.65 and recently the third test which was very powerful, perhaps, of a hydrogen bomb, came on 9th May, 1966. Though the nuclear test in space is banned by an international convention, China made her third test in open space, which released radium dust in space and its detrimental effects are feared on a very long range. Mostly the world has deplored the action of China in this respect.

The development of China as a big nuclear power is a great threat to India. As far as know-how, and the resources are concerned, India is far ahead. The only reactor of Trombay produces 10 K tons of Plutonium which is the main ingredient of an atom bomb. India has got the ball at her feet, but she does not want to kick it. Her ideological affiliation is an obstacle. She is bent upon utilising the atomic power for peaceful constructive work only.

The fundamentals and the secret of nuclear bombs are largely known to the modern world. The preparation is not very difficult, provided resources and funds are available. Late Dr. Bhaba had declared that India had the capacity to prepare the atom bomb

## DEVELOPMENT OF ATOMIC POWER

within 18 month's time at the last Geneva conference. According to him, the preparation of one 10 K. ton atom bomb will cost 17 lakh rupees. The ordinary bomb like that fired at Hiroshima was a 20 K ton bomb which can be prepared at a cost of 34 lakh rupees at the present T. N. T. rate. In view of the above data, the expenditure in preparing 2 dozen such bombs will come to about 9 crores of rupees only. The cost of apparatus will take about 10 to 15 crores of rupees. The main substance in the preparation of atomic energy is plutonium, a converted form of uranium, amply available in India. U. S. A had to import uranium for its atom bombs from Katanga.

The Director of Strategic Studies Institute of Great Britain, Mr. Elster Bacon is of opinion that India can produce 50 bombs of 20 kilo tons at the cost of 10 crores of rupees as it has got resources and a developed atomic power at her reactors.

In the context, it should be borne in mind that the preparation of atom bombs is much cheaper in the long run than the ordinary armament. It is said that the power produced by the expenditure of Rs. 150 crores on ordinary bombs can be achieved by less than 30 crores of rupees. It means that preparation of atom bombs involves 1/5th of the expenditure for the same power through ordinary bombs.

### East And West

*The Christian Register* of Boston says—

"The Western world must understand the East before it can come into cordial relations with India and China and induce them to accept whatever is best in our religion and our civil life . . . So long as Orientals believe that the secret of our dealings with them is a desire to make gain at their expense or a conviction on our part that we have a right to dictate to them as inferiors, they will resent the advent of our Christianity and our efforts to control them for their own good."

The East does not believe that the West controls it for its own good ; on the contrary the East believes that the West does all the controlling for its own good, and any benefit to the East being merely incidental.

Cordial relations with the East cannot be established so long as the West is not convinced that it, too, has much to learn from the West

Ramananda Chatterjee  
in *The Modern Review*, March, 1911. Pp. 314



## INDIANS IN FRANCE

Dr. DILIP MALAKAR

Indians in France are not so many in number as to be of the same significance as a community as they are in Britain.

France is better known to our elite. In colonial days, Paris and the French Riviera were the main attractions for Indian Maharajas and Princes. They were better known to French society as 'playboys'.

But there was the other side, too. Before and after the first world war, Paris was chosen by Indian revolutionaries as their European centre of activity.

Vir Savarkar, Krishna Varma, Madame Cama, Birendra Chattopadhyay, Sri Aurobindo and many others used to frequent the revolutionary centre, to which came many Indian revolutionaries expelled from Britain and India who found temporary exile in Paris. This lasted up to 1925, and leaders like Pandit Nehru and Subhas Bose made frequent visits to Paris.

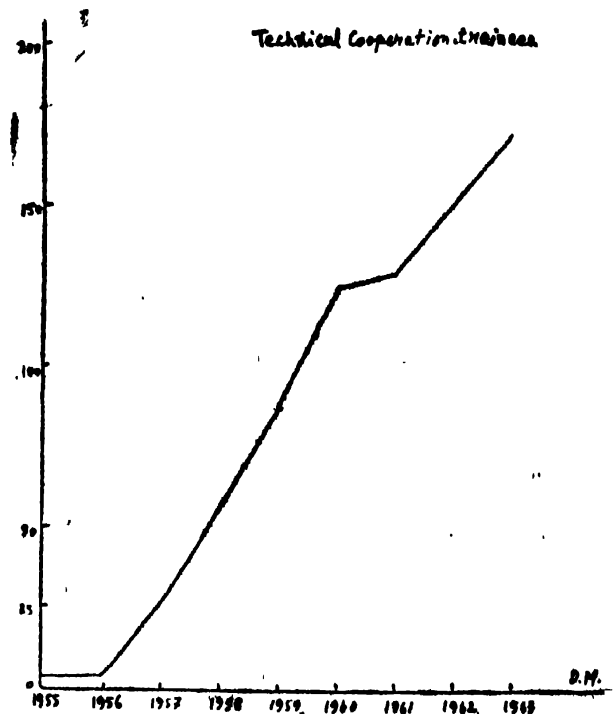
Earlier still, from 1912, Mahatma Gandhi and poet Rabindranath Tagore were given princely receptions by the Indian community. Tagore was well-known to the cultural elite of Paris ; at present I find his name evocative not only among the elite but equally among the general French public.

### *After Independence*

Since 1947, that is, since India's independence, the number of Indians in France has grown. It was only in 1948 that India established her own diplomatic relations with France. Now all Indians are officially registered here as Indian citizens when

before they were put down as British subjects.

Indians in France fall into six main categories : businessmen, Indians of the French *comptoir*, permanent residents, officials, students, researchers and technical assistance trainees and tourists.



To most of them France means Paris and Paris is France.

How the number of Indians here has shot up post-independence, may be seen from the fact that there were only 53 Indians in all France and 34 in Paris in 1948 ; in 1958 there were 476 and 342 respectively, and in 1963, 710 in France and 661 in Paris.

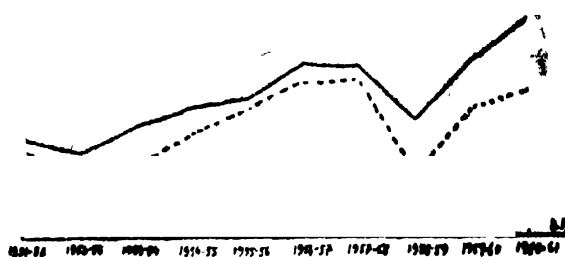
### *Indian population in France and in Paris.*

Year	France	Paris
1948	53	34
1949	82	51
1950	196	155
1951	232	191
1952	311	254
1953	390	310
1954	449	381
1955	269	194
1956	310	237
1957	402	319
1958	476	342
1959	414	306
1960	483	344
1961	568	413
1962	650	498
1963	710	661

army, the government and colonial services. Their number would be about 350.

Permanent Indian residents in Paris are not more than just 50, but some of them are also government officials and keep changing their places of residence.

*Indian Students in different French Universities at the University of Paris*



### *Business Community*

Indian businessmen in Paris are mostly those engaged in the jewellery trade and are jewellers from Gujrat. Between 1905 and 1939 this trade held an important place in the French commercial world. Gujrat jewellers were the sole importers of precious stones from India, and other parts of Asia, South America and Africa.

The stones were first cut and polished in Bombay and then they were sold in European markets. In that period there were as many as some 300 Indians engaged in this profession. But the international economic crisis of 1936-1938 came as a serious blow to them, and since then their number has been reduced to not more than 80.

Another section of Indians which is not negligible, consists of persons from the old French territories in India, namely, Pondichery, Mahe, Karikal and Yanon. Most of these have acquired French citizenship, working scattered about in France in the

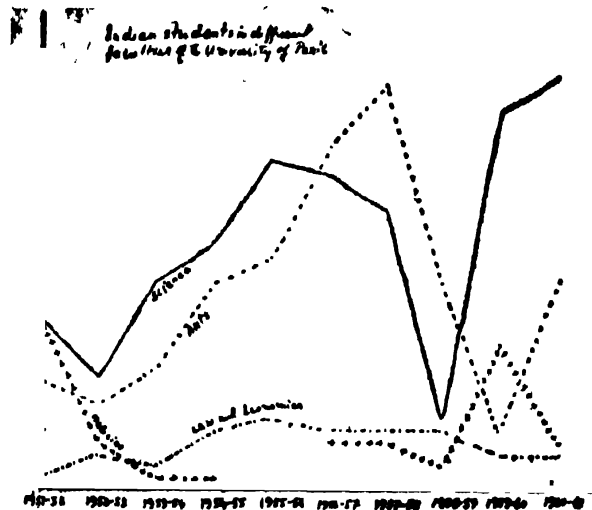
### *Students, Researchers and Trainees*

Indian students, researchers and technical trainees are gradually increasing in number, of whom 85% come for higher research in sciences and humanities, but mainly in science. The technical trainees are mostly engineers: electrical, mining, railway, petrochemicals, atomic-energy and so on. The growth in the number of technical trainees is shown by the fact that in 1955 there were 3 but in 1964 there were 189.

#### **Technical trainees of A.S.T.E.F. :**

Year	number of trainees	
1955	3	
1956	3	
1957	26	
1958	57	
1959	86	
1960	124	
1961	128	
1962	149	
1963	171	
1964(x)	20	(x) incomplete
Total :	767	

The student community, mainly research scholars, were distributed in 1951-52 with 42 in France as a whole and 38 in Paris, and 1960-61 their numbers were up to 89 and 56 respectively.



Of the 496 students in Paris between the academic years 1951-52 and 1961-62, 42 students were in the faculty of science in the University of Paris. During that decade 46 received D.Sc. (Dr. es Science) degrees and 29 the Ph.D. (Dr. de l'Universite).

#### Indian students in Universities of France :

Year	No
1951-52	42
1952-53	55
1953-54	46
1954-55	54
1955-56	57
1956-57	72
1957-58	71
1958-59	48
1959-60	72
1960-61	89
1961-62	65

Total : 651

#### Indian Tourists in France

Paris is the main attraction for the Indian tourists to Europe. I do not think a single Indian tourist ever misses 'Paris by night'. The number has been increasing too, though not of the French tourists to India relatively.



In 1951, the number of Indian tourists was 2,386 and in 1961 it was 8,229. French tourists to India numbered 2,153 in 1959 and 3,261 in 1962.

#### Year Indian tourists in France

Year	Indian tourists in France
1951	2,386
1952	1,967
1953	1,045
1954	176
1955	4,450
1956	5,395
1957	5,507
1958	5,304
1959	6,793
1960	8,382
1961	8,229

## LINCOLN THE MAN OF LETTERS

K. K. KHULLAR

COMPILED from his speech and talk, and calculated from his written and the verbal word, state addresses and official releases, government documents, private letters, and personal recollections, the total number of the printed words of Lincoln, according to Carl Sandburg, is 1,078,365.

Inspiring untold lovers of the language and the lore, the power and poetry of his prose, the dignity and decency of his declamations has been universally felt and universally enjoyed during the ten decades after his assassination. Though not a professional writer in the tectonic sense of the term, Lincoln was a man of letters and a literary artist, in whose hands words no longer remained mere words; they became concepts and melodies that were capable of melting even the stoniest of hearts and the blandest of minds. If Lincoln was not a politician or the President, he would have been one of the profoundest writers of human agony and ecstasy. His words were persuasion itself.

His were not the noisy words of a political debator but the soft and gentle voice of a poet and yet there was somewhere steel hidden in them. He was deadly earnest even in his jokes. His love of truth was so intense that in order to maintain it, he was prepared to pay any price, make any friend, oppose any foe. His prose, which is so eloquent and impassioned, is a testimony to it. And today after almost a century when he and his deeds are forgotten, his words

abide, his name sustains, his utterances endure for they are man's noblest expressions of the highest urges—liberty, equality, and democracy. That's why, they still stimulate, absorb and uplift. It is said about Wordsworth that to read one of his longer poems is to have excursions into the countryside. To read any one of the shorter speeches of Lincoln, one might add with equal felicity, is to acquire a sense of unique freedom, to breathe liberty and to live democracy.

This is what he said on March 4, 1865, at the time of his second Inaugural :

"With malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations."

Lincoln's God is not the god of an eighteenth century deist but a deeply realised, personal god who is the source of all moral energy controlling all life, individual as well as public. The Bible was the source of all moral and spiritual inspiration to him as well as the reserve on which he drew to tell his irresistible anecdotes. With Carlyle and Emerson, he shares the belief that in the ultimate analysis of things, it is the mind which rules the matter: "In great contests,"

he writes, "each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be, wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time. In the present civil war, it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party."

A party of clergymen, it is said, once called on the President and started to quote at length from the scriptures to prove their point. Lincoln listened patiently and when he could listen no more, rose saying: "Well, gentlemen, it's very rarely one is favoured with a delegation direct from the Almighty." Here is what he expressed to a lady, who got the release orders for her husband held a prisoner:

"You say your husband is a religious man; tell him when you meet him, that I say that I am not much of a judge of religion, but that, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their government is not the sort of religion on which people can get to heaven."

Throughout Lincoln's writings, we find a strong undercurrent of historical romanticism but his longings and nostalgia for the past should not be considered as an exercise in escapist imagination but an affirmation of the long-lost, long-forgotten moral values and his spiritual birth almost crushed under the heavy weight of 19th century scientific and political materialism, making him the loneliest and the saddest individual at times. In a letter to his friend during the days of courtship with Mary Todd, his wife-to-be, he writes: "I am now the most miserable man living. If what I feel were equally distributed to the whole human family, there would not be one cheerful face on earth."

In a touching farewell address to his Springfield friends, he says:

"To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried..."

Here is a note of pessimism, but it is not the philosophical pessimism of Hardy, or the soft sadness of Arnold, but a pensive melancholy that expresses itself in its biblical metaphors, his compelling folk-tales, his dry humour, his raucous irony. When Tad, Lincoln's 12-year old son, was told after his father's assassination that Lincoln had gone to heaven, the boy is said to have remarked: "Then I am glad, for he was not really happy here." This note of melancholy is present since his first public utterance when he compared his politics to "an old woman's dance" to his last official note on April 14, 1865, when he wanted the Union to be a "Union of hearts and hands as well as of States."

In fact, Lincoln's sorrow was universal, his grief immeasurable. Often, he shed tears silently over the tragedy of man, often he paid tributes to his inherent nobility (of which he himself was the finest specimen); often he talked of a new birth of freedom, often he affirmed man's fundamental right to dream. Often he said: "As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master." Lincoln's mastery of language was exceptional; his choice of words often unique. Witness the depths of sincerity, the poetic poignancy, the anguish and sympathy in a letter of condolence sent by the President to a mother of five sons who had fallen in the American Civil War:

"I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so

overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save.

"I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours, to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the Altar of freedom. Yours very sincerely and respectfully, A. Lincoln."

No wonder, therefore, if such a mind is made a hero of history, a lord of legend, a theme of song and drama. Lincoln no longer belongs to any one country; he is a citizen of the world—a martyr to the world's sorrow—a supreme liberator who has taken his place with Washington and Garibaldi and Bolivar and Lenin and Gandhi and Nehru; with uncompromising moralists and spiritual dictators like Knox and Bunyan and Newman and Carlyle and Emerson and poets like Walt Whitman and Tagore. Lincoln was a historian whose telling of history was more interesting than that of a Scott, or a Stubbs, or a Macaulay. Like the famous Flying Dutchman and Coleridge's Ancient Mariner, Lincoln's narrations were more engaging than the stories of fiction or the tales of fairies.

Listen to the music of the immortal Gettysburg address: "Four scores and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal . . ." Lincoln, in fact, is a philosophical historian whispering better times and lighter burdens to the suffering mass of men and women, a simmering hope to lessen the miseries of the tired and the sickened generation. He was a prophet of the legend who delivered America from the

chaos of disintegration. He was a colossus who bestrode this earth in most difficult and decisive days.

And, yet, he is a man of first-rate humour—awkwardly tall with his ill-tailored clothes, socially inexperienced with his original and unsophisticated manners, amazingly outspoken, he was a man and an artist of unflinching sincerity and unparalleled rational morals with which his whole writing permeates. Here is a piece out of his own autobiography :

"If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said, I am, in height, six feet, four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair, and grey eyes—no other marks or brands recollected."

A tale still survives of young Lincoln coming out of the District Courts at Springfield :

"Will you carry this coat to my house?" He asked his friend, going in his car.

"But how do *you* propose to go in this cold?"

"I propose to go in it." Lincoln replied characteristically.

Humility is Lincoln's mainstay, his chief forte: "I am not ashamed to confess that 25 years ago I was a hired labourer, hauling rails, at work on a flat boat—just what might happen to any poor man's son."

Lincoln in fact was a series of individuals—a multitude of men, but the writer in him outshone every other facet. Lincoln was a highly evolved human-being with whom words unfolded a new vista of vision, opening new avenues of beauty,

exploring new spaces of originality. According to Carl Sandburg, he "talked to thousands of people as if he and another man were driving in a buggy across the prairie, exchanging their thoughts."

If the history of world literature is to be conceived as a history of moral ideas, Abraham Lincoln occupies a very high place in it—he shared with Gandhi the personal conviction of what he preached : a conviction which came as a direct consequence of deep,

personal morality and a keen intellectual idealism, both having evolved a testament of their personal faith out of their own personal and private experiences, with the further consequence that nothing remained private with them. Like a true leader of thought, he has inspired men and movements since that assassin's bullet stopped the passionate beating of that merciful heart. Here, too, he stands with Christ and Gandhi, and with them he belongs to the ages.

### The Bengal Government On The Press

In the Bengal Administration Report for 1909-1910 we find the following passage :

"In almost all the Indian-owned newspapers, whether English or Vernacular published in Bengal, the main interest centred in politics or in information out of which a political moral could be drawn. With certain exceptions, the general tone of the press, though moderated by legislation and prosecutions for sedition, remained hostile and suspicious."

This amounts to saying that the cause of the somewhat "moderated" tone of the Indian-owned Bengal press is fear, not increased attachment to the Government. The Report does not say what efforts, if any, were made to secure the attachment of the conductors of the press and their clients, the people of Bengal. Perhaps such efforts were thought either not necessary or not possible ; or it may be that they were considered undesirable in as much as they might be thought to be the outcome of weakness :—for is it not true that orientals can understand only an appeal to the feeling of fear ?

Ramananda Chatterjee

in *The Modern Review*, June 1911, Pp. 638-39

# Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

## Devaluation of The Rupee

The rupee has been devalued in terms of foreign currency with effect from the 6th June last; its par value in terms of sterling has been reduced from Rs. 13 3 per £ to Rs. 21 per £ and, in terms of the U.S. Dollar, from Rs. 4.76 per \$ to Rs. 7.50 per \$. By an inexplicable method of calculation, the Union Finance Minister computes the extent of the reduction in the price of the rupee to have been of the order of 36.5 per cent. By process of simple arithmetic, however, the actual difference between the new rupee-price of the U.S. \$ or the £ sterling and the old rupee price works out at approximately the officially computed 36.5 per cent of the new price level; but when the difference of the new rupee-price of these currencies is compared with the old prices, the measure of depreciation in the purchasing power of the rupee of either the \$ or the £ sterling actually works out at the far more colossal proportion of 57.5 per cent. That, in fact, is the actual measure of the devaluation of the rupee.

It has been officially claimed by the Union Finance Minister that the decision to devalue the rupee was entirely India's own, that there has been no kind of external pressure from the aid-giving countries compelling the decision. The decision had to be taken on account of the progressive deceleration in production over the years of the Third Plan and the consequential crisis in the balance of payments position which had been assuming increasingly alarming proportions. Attempts were made to correct the situation by introducing such artificial

stimuli as export credit certificates and import entitlement bills etc. which proved largely ineffective and substantially wasteful. All this continued to impose an increasingly heavy strain upon budgetary resources. By deciding to devalue the rupee what has actually been done was to have accepted the only possible course of action that the realities of the situation demanded and which, it was hoped, would help to stimulate exports and enable us, thereby, to liberalise imports sufficiently for the idle industrial capacity in the country, which has been languishing for lack of essential raw materials and spares, to be fully utilized, giving a boost to production which had been gradually grinding to a halt. The Prime Minister herself has endorsed fully what the Union Finance Minister had to say on this account and has even sternly upbraided those who had been thinking otherwise. Both the P.M. and her Chancellor of the Exchequer have, however, conceded that they had listened to advice from those whose business it was to give advice in this behalf although, they stubbornly continued to reiterate, that the decision to act thus has been entirely their own and merely conformed to the compulsions of the situation.

Unfortunately, certain very obvious facts combine to wholly disprove this contention. The pressures,—and however vociferously the Prime Minister and her keeper of the public treasury may repudiate the suggestion, pressure there has undoubtedly been—have been gradually building up over the years (roughly over the last three years and longer since, in fact, after the cessation of active hostilities between People's China and India) which had ulti-



mately to lead to the present decision. It was during the Chinese invasion that, for the first time, the glaring weaknesses of the economy, in spite of more than a decade of so-called "development Planning," were publicly revealed. The pressures that led to this public exposure were not channelled through the surreptitious alleyways of diplomacy alone but were quite openly exercised by withholding committed aid, especially after the war with Pakistan. Although our defence potentials had substantially improved in the meanwhile, the compulsions of the Indo-Pakistani armed hostilities revealed the gaping inadequacies of the economy.

The basic fact of the matter would seem to be that our Planning exercises have been mainly **outlay-oriented** and, necessarily, therefore, **foreign-aid oriented** and not **production-oriented** as they should have been. Matters have so shaped out in consequence that the report of the notorious Bell Mission of the World Bank—the very existence of which, incidentally, is being stoutly repudiated by that enfant terrible of the **Yojna Bhabana**, Ashoka Mehta, would now seem to set the pattern for what our Fourth Plan is likely to be and reduces to utter and wasteful futility all the fanciful exercises that the Planning Commission have indulged in for years and which provided the ingredients for the Fourth Plan Preliminary Memorandum produced in 1964 and which was somewhat amended after the Indo-Pakistani armed hostilities. The content and manner of the "advice" from those "whose business it was to give us advice" and which was said to have merely confirmed India's independent and unaided decision to devalue the rupee, began to manifest themselves when the World Bank—of course, in unison with the U.S. Government—"advised" us to accord top priority to agriculture. We readily accepted this advice because we suddenly discovered that although we started our initial exercises in planned development with a target of self-sufficiency in food-grains production by the end of the Second Plan and substantially increased the quantum of capital appropriations for agricul-

tural development in the Second Plan estimates, we had woefully neglected agriculture and that it was necessary to attain self-sufficiency in food within the shortest possible time. To what extent acceptance of this particular advice hinged upon the fact that this was also the only condition under which immediate and massive U.S. food assistance under PL 480 would be available would be anybody's guess. The acceptance of the advice to devalue the rupee would likewise seem to have been the only condition on which the flood-gates of western, especially U.S. aid, were likely to be reopened again.

And that we are helplessly dependant for two vital things—both food and planning—upon U.S. aid is a fact which is wholly beyond repudiation. The Ministers-in-charge of Food and Planning, the wily Subramaniam and the not too dexterously plausible Ashoka Mehta, are the very ones in the Union Cabinet who are reported to have led the campaign for devaluation within the Union Cabinet and against the considered views of many of their colleagues. Subramaniam started the ball rolling by playing down the figures of food production to steeply lower levels during the last two years. Ashoka Mehta provided an added momentum to the psychosis of bankruptcy when formulating the Fourth Plan estimates for a gross investment of Rs. 22,500 crores at 1962-63 prices, he put down the level of foreign aid requirements at Rs. 3,200 crores and then brought down the gross investment quota to Rs. 21,500 crores at 1964-65 prices while raising its foreign aid content to Rs. 4,000 crores and, finally, to Rs. 4,800 crores. For the initial year of the Fourth Plan, Ashoka Mehta is reported to have been pleading with the World Bank and the U.S. Treasury for a credit of \$ 1,600 million; now that the rupee has been devalued and the initial hurdle against the resumption of western aid circumvented, it is learnt that the quantum of this aid is unlikely to exceed \$ 900 million.

On purely academic grounds devaluation of the rupee in the manner it has been done, may be supported as one of the measures necessary to arrest the downward drift

of the economy, as well as a recognition of its actual realities. There is no denying of the fact that the purchasing power of the rupee had steeply fallen over the last ten years by almost four-fifths. This flowed mainly from the heavy investment programmes under the Plans which, however, were not correspondingly reinforced by proportionate increases in production and productivity. Be that as it may, this proved somewhat of a disincentive against increasing exports not merely because there was distinct lack of exportable surpluses, nor also because demand in the home market was very high, but mainly because Indian exports failed to maintain a competitive price parity. Devaluation would correct the latter and play down the home demand by adversely affecting employment and wages which it is extremely difficult to bring about by any more direct means.

But on practical considerations what this devaluation of the rupee would be more likely to produce would be to put a far heavier strain upon our balance of payments position than hitherto. Our bill on account of redemption of capital and interest charges on our foreign loan liabilities, heavy as they are, would be bound to steeply increase by at least some 57.5 per cent. Our exports are not likely to look up very substantially in the immediate future, not until, in any case, after the effect of liberalized imports have begun to bear substantial fruit in increased productivity. In any case all the beneficial prospects that, it is being hoped, would flow from the devaluation of the rupee, would basically depend upon our ability to arrest the inflationary spiral in the price structure. The Prime Minister has announced certain measures towards this end but none of them seem to be spontaneously enforceable or self-sustaining. In the meanwhile there has been a general further upward movement of prices all along the line, especially of essential edibles like food-grains etc. If the price spiral cannot be effectively suborned, as it looks very likely that it may not be, what will have to be the next step in the process?—a further depreciation of the rupee?—Or, what?

What is most important in this connection is to understand the reasons which may have led to the present situation. In plain and unambiguous language the fact is self-evident that in the name of Planning and a **socialistic order of society**, we have simply been living on capital. We have consumed so much capital without being able to account for its employment in terms of production (translated, naturally, into revenue earnings) that we naturally find ourselves on the very verge of bankruptcy. In the long term view our salvation can only lie in our ability to plough back into **productive investment** the capital that we have consumed. It is not an easy process, nor can it be painless and without tears. It will also have to be a painstakingly slow and gradual process; it will also have to be ruthless regardless of the gains and losses of individuals, however privileged or powerful. Devaluation may be one of the instruments in the process of this regeneration of capital; but there will have to be others no less potent and powerful; devaluation of the rupee by itself can hardly serve the purpose.

#### *Wages, Incomes and Productivity*

In a statement under date line Bombay, May 7, the Union Finance Minister, Shri Sachin Chaudhuri, was reported to have averred that "there should be a general reconsideration of the wage structure in the country and there would have to be a proper survey to devise a long term policy on incomes, wages and production." Explaining the proposition, the Union Finance Minister was reported to have said that the wage structure in the country *was not related to productivity* and he was considering "how this question should be handled." He said he would discuss the problem of increasing prices and the demand for increased dearness allowances with appropriate agencies. The ideal solution, he said, was to produce more. He explained the measures the Government had taken to increase food output and in the industrial sector also necessary efforts would have to be made to raise the level of output. He expected that as a result of the discussions then being held by the Planning Minister in the U.S.A., it would shortly be possible to liberalize

the imports of industrial raw materials and components.

It is heartening to see that the attention of our new Chancellor of the Exchequer has been focussing on this very vital question. We have, again and again, discussed in these columns in the recent past that the method of endeavouring to compensate rises in the price level by corresponding increases in the money incomes of the wage earners does not help the wage earner, but merely helps to initiate a vicious circle of continuously spiralling money incomes and prices in an endless chain. The only way to break through this vicious circle is to evolve an appropriate income-wage-productivity policy under which incomes would only be related to productivity and not to the price spiral. Such a policy has long been overdue; in fact the enunciation and enforcement of such a policy should have been one of the principal foundations of planning and should have been initiated along with the launching of the First Plan. Unfortunately none of the succession of Union Finance Ministers appeared to have been at all concerned with these matters. Their principal preoccupation appears to have been to more and more raise the level of revenues by the easiest means available with the result that increasingly greater reliance has been placed upon a correspondingly widening areas of indirect taxation,—a very substantial proportion of which assumed the shape of excise and other similar imposts upon a variety of essential and near-essential consumables,—a method of taxation which inevitably carried a heavy inflationary potential. When, by the end of the Second Plan period, prices began to assume an increasingly alarming level—as then confessed by the then Minister for Planning, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda that the steep rise in the price level had correspondingly attenuated the achievements of the Second Plan although the estimated investment level had been attained—many of the leaders of the Government, including the then Union Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, endeavoured to play down the implications of the situation by complacently averring that a certain measure of price rise was not merely a concomitant of development, but was even an indicant of an increasingly widening base of national prosperity. It is amazing how these one-time political-agitators-turned-economic-theorists continued to disregard the basic postulates of development as

enunciated by Prof. A. C. Pigou who must be acknowledged to have been the original founder of the concept of a welfare economy, and who holds that in a process of rapid economic development although it may be unavoidable to prevent a one per cent rise in the price level, a 2 per cent rise in the general price index must be considered as *raging inflation*. The result has been that, as the present Union Finance Minister has recently averred in another context, during the last ten years the general price level has risen by well over 80 per cent and correspondingly attenuated the achievements of development.

If Shri Sachin Chaudhury's statement on wages, incomes and productivity and his stated intention to evolve a policy to relate wages to real productivity indicates a basic shift in the policy of the Government in this behalf, the Finance Minister would deserve to be congratulated on this account. But he may find it hard to implement his ideas in this behalf because concerned vested interests may try to spike his guns and these vested interests he may even find among his colleagues in the Government.

#### *Price Measures Following Devaluation*

The measures to hold the price line following devaluation of the rupee would appear to have been following traditional official lines which, in the past, had proved to be utterly useless and futile. The present decisions, according to information so far available, envisages the establishment of a centrally administered Control Room on prices under a proposed Commissioner of Civil Supplies to be appointed shortly. His job, it appears, would be to review the price situation, especially in respect of some eighteen commodities reported to have been listed so far, at frequent intervals and to advise the appropriate Central Government and State Government agencies, agencies of the Co-operative sector and others as to the measures and disciplines necessary to check hoarding and profiteering and any undue rise in the level of prices. The State Governments would be asked, it is reported, to invoke the Essential Commodities' Act whenever found necessary for the purpose and to even assume wider legislative powers, if found unavoidable, and essential for purposes of dealing with hoarders, profiteers and price racketeers.

To assist in the task of holding the price level from escalating further following the devaluation of the rupee, it has been announced, a more liberal flow of supplies of essential consumption goods would be ensured by immediately opening some 50 department stores all over the country under direct Government initiative and management, one for each town with a population of 200,000 and more, two each for towns with populations of 1,000,000 and more. Late last year, when the Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture had been tentatively toying with the idea of promulgating statutory rationing of foodgrains and sugar all over the country on account of the developing crisis in the food situation, it was estimated that there were, altogether, 8 cities in the country with populations of one million and more each and accounting for an aggregate population of approximately 17 millions and the total population covered by all urban areas and townships in the country with populations of 200,000 and more each, aggregated 45,000,000 only. For the present, therefore, the total population that the proposed Government owned department stores would be catering to would cover only about 9 per cent of the national population, leaving some 91 per cent more or less wholly uncovered. It is true that inflationary pressures usually incubate and sprout initially in the more favourable urban environments where there is overwhelmingly heavier concentration of purchasing power and any administrative measure to deal with escalating price pressures must, necessarily therefore, be also concentrated around these areas. It cannot, however, be denied that although price pressures usually and initially generate in urban areas, they soon fan out to the more vulnerable rural areas, especially in respect of the more essential commodities of primary consumption like, for instance, foodgrains, sugar and cloth, which according to one estimate of the Planning Commission covered well over 75 per cent of the expenditure budget of the average population, at 1960-61 prices. It is this vulnerable sector of primary consumption commodities which, generally, determines the measure of susceptibility to inflationary pressures of the over-all price structure in the country.

The decision to open Government department stores in selected urban areas in the country is,

no doubt, a correct administrative step in the right direction; the principal consideration in a situation like the present one being the ability or otherwise to assume a commanding position over supplies of essential commodities, especially those which enter very deeply into the expense budget of the overwhelmingly numerous and economically the most vulnerable sections of the community. But, as we have seen above, the most overwhelming proportion of the economically more vulnerable sectors of the population would be left uncovered by the proposed department stores. Moreover, even among those whose consumption needs are proposed to be so covered, only 50 such stores are expected to cater to the needs of 45 million persons; in other words each store would have to cater to 900,000 persons! If consumers are expected to obtain their supply from these stores directly, they would be required to deal with some 30,009 customers every day, assuming that no one would visit the stores more than once a month for his purchases and that there were no closed days. If our assumption in this behalf is correct, there is every apprehension that a new kind of racketeering may organize itself around those proposed department stores.

As we have already seen, even after these proposed department stores have been started and begun to cater to the needs of their urban customers, some 78 per cent of the country's population comprising what are known as agricultural families, would be left uncovered. So far as these persons are concerned the needs of price control would be served if they were able to obtain supplies of their foodgrains requirements, cloth, edible oils, salt, gur and sugar at reasonable and legitimate prices. So far as supplies of foodgrains are concerned, the official assumption would appear to be that since these people belong to what are known as "agricultural households", they would produce their own consumption needs in this behalf and no official organization or arrangement would seem to be needed to assist them to obtain supplies of foodgrains to satisfy their own consumption needs. Such an assumption would, however, seem to disregard one significant fact of the prevailing agricultural situation in the country, that is, that more than 10 per cent of the agricultural population consist of landless hired labourers,

and of the balance nearly 70 per cent produce only enough to satisfy their own consumption needs for anywhere between 3 to 9 months in the year, and that only about 20 per cent produce a surplus. It is this basic fact of agriculture that makes the rural sector comprising some 78 to 80 per cent of the national population, so vulnerable to price pressures upon essential consumables.

The crucial factor in any endeavour to contain price pressures would, therefore, seem to hinge around the Government's ability to assume a commanding position over supplies of essential consumables of primary need. The inescapable desideratum in the situation must therefore be rapid and substantial increase in production and the ability to devise and enforce effective measures to obviate speculative hoarding and profiteering as also to squeeze out supplies of already hoarded stocks, again primarily of food grains, to augment market supplies. Nothing, so far, has been done to ensure this last requirement. It is demonstrable that if hoarded stocks of food grains withdrawn from market supplies for purposes of speculative profiteering could be squeezed out into the open, the back of the present crisis in food supplies and prices could be effectively broken and the greater part of the price crisis correspondingly eliminated. In addition the present need for massive food grains imports with its concomitant pressure on the Government's budgetary resources—and the burden would be very substantially increased on account of the need to subsidize imported food grains in terms of the rupee to enable supplies to be maintained at pre-devaluation prices—would be correspondingly relieved. This would appear to be a very crucial factor in the entire gamut of the present price situation in the country and without any effective measure to deal with this aspect of the matter, most other measures would be likely to prove largely futile.

And, unfortunately, this is the very aspect of the situation upon which the official voice, from the Prime Minister downwards, appears to have been maintaining a significant silence. On the contrary the official view—judging from occasional statements by leaders at the states' level—would seem to have been endeavouring to

evade the issue. In a recent note the West Bengal Chief Minister was reported to have claimed that since 60 per cent of the state's population are now covered partly by statutory and partly by modified rationing, the question of any increase in the price of rice would not arise. In the first instance, to this 60 per cent, comprising 86,00,000 persons covered by statutory rationing and 1,13,00,000 persons by modified rationing, weekly rice allocations comprise 1,000 grammes and 500 grammes respectively per head; this means that 86,00,000 persons covered by statutory rationing get a gross food grains allocation of a little more than 9 oz per day consisting of 1,000 grammes wheat and 1,000 grammes of rice per week and 1,13,00,000 persons, getting 1,300 grammes of wheat and 500 grammes of rice have a daily gross food grains ration of only about 8.3 oz per head per day. According to officially computed estimates, the very minimum that they should get is at least 16 oz per day. Another 1,91,00,000 persons in the state are wholly uncovered and even at the present rate of allocation for those covered by modified rationing a supply of 17,87,760 tonnes or, roughly: 18,00,000 tonnes of food grains would be required. Mr. P. C. Sen should be very well aware that there is an open market in rice over which any kind of price control measures could never be effectively enforced. The price level in the open market had actually sagged to around Re. 1/- per kg. or roughly at a level less than 20 per cent higher than the statutory price for about a couple of months following the 1964 bumper harvest, but soon began to rise again. It had risen by roughly about 190 per cent over the 1964 harvest season level immediately before the food demonstrations in April this year and had, again, sagged to something like Re. 1.50 per kg. immediately afterwards. Following devaluation prices have again been steeply rising and, as we write, it stands at Rs. 2.25 per kg. or, roughly, at a level approximately 225 per cent higher than the harvest price level of 1964. Whom does the West Bengal Chief Minister hope to delude by such a statement? Certainly not the suffering victims of his dishonest food policy in West Bengal? The only person he may, possibly have expected to delude was, perhaps, himself, that all was well in the state of West Bengal.

### Bangla Congress

The former President of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee and a past member of the West Bengal Cabinet, Shri Ajoy Mukherjee, who was, some time ago, ejected from his high office in the party under a vote of no-confidence, formed a splinter group with a number of his adherents in the party which he has named the Bangla Congress. He publicly declared some time ago that his group would contest the ensuing general elections next year and would endeavour, for the purpose, to seek electoral alliances with parties on the left except the Left C.P.I. For his activities in this behalf the official Congress Party in the state has now expelled him and his adherents from the parent Congress.

It is understood that the Bangla Congress has now invited some elder politicians, most of them old leaders of the Congress, who left the party earlier for one reason or another like, for instance, Dr. P. C. Ghosh and others, to join the Bangla Congress to fight the parent Congress body at the next general elections. It is also understood to have invited some retired civil servants of known integrity to join the alliance.

Shri Ajoy Mukherjee has been well known for his reclusiveness and incorruptibility among leaders of the West Bengal Congress. With him as the leader of the new Bangla Congress, it may be possible to rally a great deal of public support around his newly set up organization. But to what extent it will be able to erode the present invincible strength of the parent Congress body and threaten the latter's success at the polls at the ensuing general elections, is a matter for speculation and will have to depend on a variety of factors.

For one thing, will this new splinter off the parent Congress Organization be able to muster the necessary resources to match the wherewithals that are bound to be brought to fighting the elections by the official Congress? The question of resources is, obviously, a very important one. But more important than mere resources is the other crucial question, as to whether the Bangla Congress will be able to hold out any reasonable prospect of an alternative Government apart from that by the Congress, even if its efforts at the polls were largely successful? The answer

to this last question will have to depend on the manner and the character of the alliances that the Bangla Congress may enter into with parties on the left and the prospects of such an alliance eventually coalescing into a stable and integrated parliamentary party for purposes of functioning as a Government.

This, really, is the crucial question upon which, as we see it, the results of the next elections in the state will largely turn. The people of West Bengal are thoroughly disgusted with and are wholly disillusioned by the misgovernment of the Congress during the last eighteen years now and would very much like to shift their loyalties to some other party or an alliance of parties which may be able to hold out reasonable prospects of an alternative government likely to prove more trust-worthy than that of the Congress has. It is only upon such a certainty that the voter's loyalties may be expected to shift to an alternative party. If the Bangla Congress with the help of such alliances with parties on the left as it may be able to arrive at, is able to hold out such prospects to the electorates in the state, the results are bound to be significant even if the Congress cannot be wholly routed out of a simple majority in the legislature; it will then have been robbed of its present overwhelmingly absolute strength on the one hand, and a really *effective opposition* will have been evolved on the other, which the ruling party will then be compelled to respect and beware of. In either case it will be a far better state of affairs than the indefinite continuance in power of the present Congress oligarchy.

### Planning And Devaluation

Although the recent decision to reduce the par value of the rupee in terms of foreign currencies has obviously been a primary compulsion for saving the Fourth Plan, the actual effect of the decision—which has been universally acknowledged to have been the most crucial in India's financial world since Independence—would seem still to remain more or less an imponderable quantity. Apart from the fact that the rupee contents of the Plan-frame will now have to be adjusted to its depreciated par value, most of the variables in the Plan estimates are likely, under the present altered circumstances, to be so subject to a great deal of possibly erratic fluctuations, that firm

estimates and targets may be found quite difficult to categorically enunciate for quite some time to come.

Indeed, it may be asserted without any great apprehension of being effectively contradicted, that the downward drift in the economy which had already begun to make itself mildly felt even as early as within the Second Plan period, and which had begun to gather significantly both mass and momentum even before the Third Plan was half-way through and which had almost been grinding to a dead end by the last year of the latter Plan, has been mainly a product of the kind of Planning we have been indulging in and which now, in its turn, has compelled us to depreciate the value of our currency by more than a third of the quantum it commanded when we had first started out on this venturesome enterprise. It can be asserted now with reason that this has been mostly due to the wrong priorities and lack of balance in Plan framing which consistently disregarded the basic conditions which alone could take us on to a stage of self-generating and self-sustaining growth.

One very obvious point at which we appear to have gone wholly wrong was in the toning down of agricultural priorities, a process which had already become evident in the estimates as well as the methods of implementation of the Second Plan and which acquired increased emphasis in the Third Plan with which, naturally enough, we had at last to come to grief. We have endeavoured to point out in these columns, over and over again during the last three years, that a sound basis of rapid industrial growth can only be laid upon the acquisition of an adequate agricultural surplus. The history of industrial development in all the more industrially advanced countries of the world would, incontestably, seem to uphold such a view of the matter.

The result inevitably has been that with massive investments on the one hand, we have been suffering from a chronic shortage in the agricultural sector, making it imperative that we diverted a great deal of our very limited resources in

importing foodgrains, correspondingly attenuating our ability to sustain industrial production at the level postulated by the volume of investment undertaken. This, and the increasing volumes of money supply generated by a reckless process of deficit financing, has led to a situation that prices have spurted, in the wholesale market, by well over eighty per cent—that is the real value of the rupee has depreciated internally by almost four-fifths—over the last ten years.

Now that devaluation had to be accepted as an inescapable compulsion of the situation created by this kind of wrong Planning, the question as to how the process of Planning during the next five years will thrive under these conditions, will have become of paramount importance. Certain adjustments in the Fourth Plan priorities have, no doubt, been promised as a compensatory requirement; measures are also being devised to hold the price line; but the prime requirements of the situation would seem to be to lay the utmost emphasis upon increasing production as well as accentuating the base of productivity to conform to measures of investment. And the highest priority must, of necessity, be accorded to agricultural productivity which alone can develop a sound and enduring base for industrial growth. Will mere adjustments within the conventional Plan-frame achieve this purpose? Or, will the Plan-frame have to be completely redrawn to suit the changed circumstances?

One of the basic compulsions of the situation would seem to be the urgent need to redraw the entire Plan-frame with a hard core of highest priority projects which can fit in within the limit of our real resources, that is, available rupee capital plus what foreign aid may be actually available, avoiding altogether any venturesome expedition into the troublous waters of deficit financing, and then with the progress of the Plan, expand its size gradually on a correct priority basis to put into commission such additional real resources that may thus be generated.

# Indian Periodicals

## The English Language in India

Writing in *CURRENT CAREERS* for May, 1966 under the above caption, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand discusses the case of the use of the English language in independent India with characteristic courage and forthrightness. While not denying that the contrivance of the use of the English language in the changed political context and the shifting social contents of India of today, was bound to be under certain pressures, he submits the thesis that the wholesomeness of the effect which English has had on the Indian mind, its outlook and tastes, is wholly beyond repudiation.

Of the English language in India today, it can be said that it is a 'red herring across the trail', in every sense of that trite phrase. Its ancestry is uncertain. Its integrity, in its Indo-Anglian form, is questionable. And its utility for the future is hotly debated. And yet, for good or evil, it is with us, a force of history, which we can neither throw out nor quite absorb. And perhaps, it is destined to remain a 'red herring across the trail' always.

In any summing up, we are, therefore, constrained to ask what we really feel about this language, because on some kind of answer to that question, depends our ability to adjust ourselves to its awkward presence in our midst. In the first instance we must enquire into the reasons for its prevalence in India. Actually, there have been three major languages which have enjoyed supremacy during the last two thousand years.

The first of these was classical Sanskrit.

This was mainly a court language of the first thousand years of our history, restricted to about one per thousand of the Indian population of that time. There is no doubt that this language became the repository of the early culture of India, produced one of the most magnificent literatures of the world, through the classical Gupta renaissance and later, left a heritage of tremendous consequence for all times. Already, in the first few centuries of its dominance, Sanskrit language and literature had begun to give place to the people's speech, Prakrit, in the mediaeval period. And this people's speech with many words borrowed from Sanskrit language and from Persian speech, which was coming in through the Muslim influx, became common currency in various form all over the country.

The second language, which commanded attention for over six hundred years, was Persian. This was the court language of the various Sultanates of India from the early thirteenth to the sixteenth century and from the Mughal period in the sixteenth century to the early British period of the nineteenth century. The general character of this speech remained provincial Persian, a kind of highly accentuated version of the original Iranian speech. It too was spoken by only one per thousand of the population. The Mongols from Central Asia had roughened it considerably, with the amalgam of their own dialects. And when they came to India, they continued to speak it in the Central Asian style, also accepting various words from the local Indian tongues. At the lower fringes of the mixed



army of the Mughals, the official languages mingled with the people's speech, Braj Bhasha, and became Urdu, with a Persianised literature of its own.

The third important official language of India was English. This was brought in by the British and adopted by them, side by side with Persian, as the language of administration and education, during the two hundred years in which they ruled the country.

The atmosphere in which this language was imposed is worth recalling. In the first instance it was the Minute on Indian Education of Lord Macaulay that led to the adoption of the English language as the medium of instruction in the British-Indian Universities of India. "English," wrote Macaulay, "is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic...What Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India...The languages of the Western Europe civilised Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindus what they have done for the Tartar."

Of course, such a dictum was the culmination of the kind of attitude which the John Company had already shown, during the later part of the eighteenth century, towards the school system in India. In 1797 Charles Grant had said: "To introduce the language of the conquerors seems to be an obvious means of assimilating the conquered people to them." But this attitude had not been accepted by many of the Indian intellectuals, as well as the English Orientalists, who wished, genuinely, to encourage the indigenous tongues as the medium of instruction. And the controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists was prolonged and bitter.

But, on the basis of Macaulay's dictum, the then Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, brought in a special ordinance,

making English the *via media* of all education in the schools and universities of India. In this way, the English language was promoted as the official language of the various departments of the Government of India and as the language of the courts of justice.

Although there thus seems to have been a certain inevitability about the coming of the language into India, as the language through which the country was to be ruled, the actual results were neither anticipated by the Anglicists nor by the Orientalists.

The former could never make more than one person in a hundred among the populations of India learn the English language. Thus it could never become the real language of the country, as it became in Wales or the U.S.A. On the other hand, through the medium of the English language, were introduced certain branches of human knowledge, and concepts, which had grown up through the Renaissance in the West, and which became part of the life of the Indian intelligentsia. First of all, the inductive sciences of Europe, as against the deductive assertion of Indian religions and philosophies, entered Indian consciousness. Then, along with the introduction of imperialist government, there arose the recognition, among the Indian literate classes, that in the West itself there were protest movements against imperialism, which had led to the acceptance, by the thinking peoples of Europe and America, of the doctrines of national freedom, the rule of law, the primacy of conscience, the sacredness of personality, the concept of the common good, the uplift of the masses, and the sense of brotherhood among citizens. And, slowly but surely, in spite of the discouragement of the English rulers of India who had begun to ally themselves with the bureaucratic system of the Mughals whom they displaced, who had

accepted the feudal kingdoms as their allies, and who suppressed all talk of the values of the liberal culture of Europe, renaissance ideals began to percolate among the native intelligentsia. The rulers tried in vain to stop these ideals from spreading, but they had themselves introduced not only the English language, in which a good deal of thinking had been done from Hobbes to Hobhouse, but also the railway and the postal systems, and the first processes of the industrial civilisation. And soon, these forces were to spill over into all the consequences of enlightenment, and to pronounce the death knell of imperialist rule itself.

The fears of the Orientalists also seemed to be unfounded. Although the languages of India were in effect discouraged by an official decree, these languages did not die out. In fact, research in the classical languages, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, flourished because of the age-old tradition of learning in the old seminaries. And the vernacular languages were adopted by the missionaries for the propagation of Christianity, thus getting an impetus for their growth which would not have been possible without the attention given by English speaking people to the grammar, syntax and diction of the indigenous tongues. Apart from this gain by default as it were, there accrued a further advantage from the coming of the English language, in so far as the Indian intelligentsia began to read in the English language, the polite literature, not only of Great Britain but also of the continent of Europe which had been translated in the West and imported into India. And those among the literate sections of Indian society who became familiar with the English language began to compare and contrast the qualities of the indigenous literatures in relation to the creative works

of poetry and prose which had become accessible in the English language. As both the poetry and prose of the West had significantly gained in technique, through the mental climate introduced by the process of the industrial revolution (free verse had become inevitable in poetry and the long sentence in prose had become much shorter), the influence of English studies was unconsciously received by those who read or wrote in the indigenous languages.

The whole process of the dissemination of English language and literature was, however, encouraged by the emergence in India of a number of men who seized upon the real crisis of British Indian education as a whole.

The foremost of these men was Raja Rammohan Roy, in whose genius was combined the knowledge of the Asian classical languages, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, as well as classical Greek and Latin, and who knew and loved his native Bengali as well as the new English language which had been imposed by the British on their realms in India. Possessed of uncanny insight into the consequences of the impact of the West on the East, he self consciously evolved the theory of synthesis of Asiatic and European learning. And he showed the way by himself acquiring a mastery of those aspects of European culture, particularly of the continental renaissance which were not being brought into India by the semi-literate British officials who governed the country. Thus he indicated a new approach towards the English language, which was later to become the basis of the fusion of Asian and European cultures.

The examples of Raja Rammohan Roy were followed by a number of ardent spirits in Bengal. From his liberal teaching, there ensued a whole tradition of learning which

was to obsess men like Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Rabindranath Tagore.

The translation of some of the most important books of philosophy, science and literature into the Bengali language began, which has never since ended. The popularity of the printing press, from its early inception by the British, promoted the spread of these translated works, until there were few English books of any importance which had not already been rendered into Bengali by the end of the nineteenth century. And as soon as the new generation began to taste the flavours of English literature in their own languages, they naturally tended to go to the original sources themselves. And in this way, the language which had been despised as merely an imposition became the second language of the Bengali intelligentsia. Thus at the same time as the inhibiting forces of British rule were exerting themselves on the minds of the bureaucratic intelligentsia, the processes of the Indian Renaissance were beginning to work themselves out in the hearts and minds of the liberal and radical literate classes.

Apart from the impact of the English language on the vernacular literatures and cultures the alien language began to be accepted as the common speech of the intelligentsia in the various linguistic zones of India for the purpose of exchange for the renewal of Indian consciousness. And this was particularly so on the political platform. The reason for this was that the fundamental ideas, on which the claims of Indian nationalism were being asserted, were derived from the vocabulary of Western liberal and radical thought, which had come into India through the English language. The speeches of Edmund Burke, the *Essay on Liberty* of John Stuart Mill, the brochure on the *Rights of Man* by Thomas Paine, had almost become gospels

to the more favoured among the newly educated students of the British Indian Universities. The adoption by the courts, apart from Hindu and Muslim Law, of the classics of British jurisprudence, both civil and criminal, made available the Western heritage of Roman law and the British parliamentary system, and all the forms and conventions associated with the struggle for democracy, freedom of speech and opinion, became the models for the kind of government which the Indian educated classes aspired to.

These processes seemed to enter deep into the subconscious sensibility of the upper layers of Indian educated society. And, through their contact with the masses at large, the living thoughts and ideals imbibed from Western learning through the English language entered into mass consciousness. Even the illiterate population began to use certain English key words in common parlance. And it may be said that quite a few hundred basic words from the English vocabulary have entered into Indian languages, some because they were the names of the new goods brought into India from the industrial West, others because they were the symbols of emancipation and still others by way of slang words, epithets and the clichés of trade and journalism.

No amount of chauvinism can, therefore, disprove the deep and wholesome effect which the English language has had on India, even on the superficial values of the practical life. The stirrings in the interior life of the English-educated Indian intelligentsia, through the appreciation of polite literature from Great Britain and the West, is more difficult to measure. It is true that poetry is kinetic; and that it is nearly impossible to write verses, or to liberate the rhythmic life in an alien language. And yet the miracle happened

in a few rare cases. For instance Manmohan Ghosh who had been brought up and educated in England, wrote with genuine feeling a few poems in the English language, which do not suffer from any diminution of quality merely from the fact that this poet's mother tongue was Bengali. Certainly, in so far as narrative was concerned, many Indians began to write in a highly accomplished English prose, coloured by the passionate Indian temperament as well as by the traditional Indian depth of philosophical penetration, and our natural fluency of expression. The resulting style was not English in the various accepted senses of the word in Great Britain, but a vigorous Indian-English, enclosed in new metaphors, possessed of the nervous energy of the tropics and redolent of the native modes of feelings—on a par with Irish English, Welsh English or American English. The British ruling circles were inclined at first to mock this emergent style of the English language. But they soon came to accept the fact that many Indians had achieved a mastery of the English language, syntax and diction beyond the courses of their routine academic training. The British intelligentsia at home was more objectively appreciative. They greeted the original

creative writers of English prose with warmth and recognised it as an important school of writing, authentic in its synthetic accent and characteristic with the new lush imagery it had brought into the pool of English literature.

The residuum of appreciation in India, of the graces of English literature during the last fifty years or so, has led to the evolution of certain values of criticism, which are now being applied to regenerate, exalt and enrich the literatures of India. In this sense, the English language has become a kind of bridge between the two countries of Anglo-America and India, where the traffic to and from is constant.

Whatever change may take place in the official status of English a decade or so from now, it will be found that the forces of the One World, which are working through the spread of industrial civilisation, and the need to avert its ultimate crisis, war, are likely to exert themselves on the Indian imagination and encourage almost every literate person to acquire English as a second language, for the uses to which this growingly popular international speech can be put for exchanges of all kinds.

**For**  
**Thoughtful Views**  
**And Correct Assessment**  
**of Values**

**R e a d**

**P R A B A S I**

**Estd. 1901**

**Founded By**  
**The Late Ramananda Chatterjee**

# Foreign Periodicals

## Focus on Washington

With enough of material wealth, but no resource of spirit, the American life has been betraying something that may not be considered very healthy. This very situation has been leading the once healthy nation on to a path of which Cato, under the caption *Focus on Washington*, writes in the *National Review*, thus :

Dollar escalation is becoming a crucial factor in the Vietnam War. Viet jungles force us to use helicopters as trucks. But where trucks cost a few thousand dollars, helicopters run up to a million dollars for the largest models. In addition they consume enormous quantities of gasoline compared with ground transportation. The jungles are also forcing the Army to provide sophisticated communications gear in smaller units than ever before. Radio frequencies have to be sliced more finely to handle the heavier communications traffic,—which jacks up costs. In addition, jungle fighting necessitates sophisticated target sensory gear, which is costly and requires technical staff. Unlike the Korean War which used WWII equipment, all are more costly here. A jet fighter now runs to several million dollars and planes are being consumed rapidly. Insurance on shipping to Saigon has skyrocketed. (It is even higher in Haiphong, a factor which is affecting commerce there). There are higher ratios of support to combat troops than ever before. Because the Pentagon is *cannibalizing its global forces to wage the Viet war,*

the true costs don't [begin to appear in the budget.

## Welfare in Affluence

"Pentagon is cannibalizing the global forces" writes Cato, but Reece McGee, writing in the *Nation* of February 14, 1966, under the legend *Welfare in Affluence* considers this very life to be a nihilistic call to death :

... that there is, indeed, 'something wrong' with the state of our society, although John Kennedy did not define it, and it is not what Barry Goldwater described, what is wrong is a great malaise of spirit, indeed, essentially by rationalism and individualism which, when coupled with materialism, have led us to the conception of a man-centered (and self-centered) universe in which to seek our fates. In the United States their notions have been ratified and exacerbated, especially for the lower middle classes, now everywhere coming to power and position, by traditional Protestantism and what Weber called the 'Protestant Ethic' and they have left us with an outlook and a self-conception both weak and bleak. And however well-intentioned the programmes mounted by the Government may be, and however well they may alleviate conditions of material want, even among those new members of the communities of the left-behind, they will not resolve our dilemma. They are incapable of dealing with the spirit, and self conception of man and thus our undoing. Men need gods greater than themselves to live by ; one need not be a theo-

logian or a believer to comprehend this. Our human history teaches it and, if it did not, we have the witness of our present condition and our frantic rush to escape it.

Part of that condition and that rush is clearly visible throughout the 20th Century, with its search for 'causes' larger than themselves to which millions have given, and are giving themselves. Archetypal among these was Nazism, as clear a call to death as any ever sounded, singing paeans of death and dealing it wholesale; to its own adherents as well as to others, *and with no other promise from the beginning.* (For long before Churchill offered to his grateful people the bitter bread of blood and sweat and tears, Hitler had offered the sweatmeat of killing and death for the Fatherland. It is relevant and sinister that the same self-destructive fervor is today visible in the preventive-war enthusiasts of the far Right who would rather that all of us be dead than any of us Red.)

In the United States, where we have thus far managed to escape the consuming ravage of 20th Century war, the philosophical and behavioral responses are beginning to appear, and are almost equally appalling. For *our* response (still in its first, tentative, faltering steps) is nihilism and anarchy. And knowing the root of the malaise the response

seems obvious. Nihilism—in the form of material destruction—is an old reaction of the dispossessed. It does not seem accidental in Rochester and in Watts, where the Negro protest inflamed the ghettos into mob action, that the thrust of collective reflex was against property. In so utterly materialistic a society, 'Burn Baby Burn' is more than a mob pass-word; it is a nihilistic call to death. (For in such a society remember, things are self.)

Equally anarchy is a response to a material ethic on the part of a new rich class whose ideology has consisted in getting the material prizes their society has offered them but which has found them totally unsatisfying. For if the order to which they have given themselves and which has given them the only meaning they have ever found, has provided no resource of spirit to uphold them, then they have been betrayed and that order must be brought down. The radicals of the Right are bitter critics of our society, but even their intellectuals have been notably silent on constructive suggestions for replacing the social structures they so despise. It is probably not accidental either that much of their political activity consists of spoiling for engagements which they cannot win, and which can have no other consequence than destruction of their natural political allies, the traditional Republicans.

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